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PRAGUE

POWER AND SOCIETY IN
THE MEDIEVAL CZECH LANDS



LISA WOLVERTON

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HASTENING
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*Power and Society in the
Medieval Czech Lands*

LISA WOLVERTON

PENN

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To my parents and my husband

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Duke Vladislav commended the city to his brother, Theobald, . . . with some very fierce warriors to protect the castle and the princely throne, a certain stone one, which even now stands in the castle's center; for its sake, not only now but from of old, many thousands of warriors have rushed to war.

— Vincent of Prague

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INTRODUCTION

This book has two purposes: to study society and politics in the Czech Lands between roughly 1050 and 1200, and to reexamine the nature of power in the High Middle Ages generally. In the former guise, it offers a thorough revision of the current scholarly literature on Bohemia and Moravia; simultaneously, it introduces medievalists outside the Czech Republic to a little-known but integral area of medieval Catholic Europe. As an analysis of power per se, it tracks the logic of dynamism and evolution within largely unchanging political institutions and social structures, revealing the values and strategies that sustained the Czech Lands as a political community. The components of its political and social landscape were stark, simple, and durable: a throne, located in Prague Castle; the duke and the dynasty who dominated it; a society of property owners undifferentiated by hereditary strata; the incipient Roman church; and recognized natural boundaries. But their interplay was fluid and complex, and bespeaks the maturity, sophistication, and cohesion of a flourishing Czech polity. Action and imagination in the Czech Lands presumed, and at the same time shaped, a coherent political community, insulated but not isolated from the rest of medieval Christendom and transcending particular individuals or institutions. All this belies Bohemia's, and Moravia's, implicit status as a "frontier" region on the fringe of western Europe, while providing an extraordinary opportunity to explore the exercise and logic of power, universal issues observed here operating in a specifically medieval context.

At the outset this project asked several elemental questions: What powers did the duke of Bohemia possess, what was their basis, how were they effected, and how far did they extend? Consideration of the duke's power raised a number of corollary issues: What was the status of the Christian church and its leaders? What was the nature of the duke's relationship to the German emperor?¹ Were conditions substantially different in Moravia compared to Bohemia? These historical issues, essentially institutional in character, together with their associated and subordinated questions, still provide the skeletal organization of this book. Early on, however, investigation into ducal power showed that it would be impossible to imagine it, in theory or in practice, without reference to the Czech freemen. They were the duke's subjects. But they were no less his partners, his warriors, and, in very concrete ways, a significant check

upon his power. The goal of the project shifted then to consider not only the foundations and exercise of ducal lordship, but the form and progress of resistance to it. Concurrently, basic issues of “context,” matters of social structure, law, economics, and religious life, invariably involved the duke, and further disclosed the deep interconnection between ruler and ruled. Over time, and under close scrutiny, a linchpin emerged for understanding the structure and development of Czech social and political life in this period: the interdependence of the duke of Bohemia and the freemen, the implicit tension between them, and the resulting balance of power.

Although the Czech Lands were undoubtedly governed by a single ruler of great might, wealth, and prestige, the concept of community proves pivotal to the study of his power. The duke of Bohemia stood well above and was yet intimately linked to those he governed. He was responsible — and responsive — to his subjects, even as he dominated them. For their part, the freemen maintained close ties to the duke and to Prague, and assured that the duke governed according to their interests by threatening or carrying out deposition and revolt. While the various constellations of freemen, collegial and contentious, shifted constantly, as did the specifics of their concerns, designs, and allegiances, the goal was the same in every instance, namely, the duke’s throne. The Czechs were not always in harmony with their duke or with each other, but whether in uniting or in struggling to determine the occupant of the throne, laymen of diverse status were *de facto* empowered. Power in the Czech Lands must, therefore, be seen to reside both in the duke’s throne and in the community of those subject to it.

Themes of power and community together govern the book in its entirety. Power shapes society from its foundations, and is in turn shaped by it. In the Czech case, issues of power dominate all the sources, of whatever medium or genre. Power, vigorously wielded or tacitly acknowledged, is here conceived broadly, as reflected or enshrined in institutions and social structures, and as abstracted in office or ideology. Community is more elusive, but entails coherence among the inhabitants of the Czech Lands, both in deed and in conception, and their active involvement with one another and engagement with the governing authority. Power pervaded society, not only in its divisions, but in the way each related to the other in a constantly moving dynamic of resistance to, and reassertion of, might. Coming to terms with political community, in turn, requires attention to structures that fostered shared identity, developments which tested or sundered it, and symbols and ideals of unity and of joint action. It is precisely by grounding abstract notions of identity and community in the dynamics of the actual exercise of and resistance to power that we begin to understand their influence.² Though their exact relationship is multi-

faceted, this book will ultimately argue, power and political community are inseparable.

The key to both power and community, and the relationship between them, this book shows, lies in analyzing the course of events, the actions of individuals, their aims, methods, and consequences. The progress of politics must be understood primarily as a continuous chain of strategies and counter-strategies. Their particulars serve as much to shape, or constrain, ducal lordship and Czech social structure as they were framed by them. Likewise, symbols of rulership, the cult of saints, and relations with neighboring rulers are all viewed as resources mobilized (sometimes without success) toward particular ends. It was, moreover, the dynamics of power in action that constituted the driving force of change. While the fundamentals of ducal lordship remained unaltered from the eleventh century well into the thirteenth, and individual laymen were only beginning to transform the social structure at the end of the twelfth, the world of the 1070s was quite unlike that of the 1120s, 1150s, or 1180s. And while outside influences may be credited with certain developments, especially in ecclesiastical affairs and imperial politics, the internal political dynamic conditioned their reception and appropriation as they were made to serve strategic needs, interests, and goals specific to Czech society. To decipher the logic driving the interplay between duke and freemen in the Czech Lands, we must reexamine “events” in the standard historical narrative in relation to underlying patterns.

Put simply then, this study describes and defines the balance of power, and then traces the implementation of strategies intended to tip it. The book begins with ducal lordship, describing its basis in rights, resources, and privileges in Chapter 1, and then turns to social structure, elaborating, in Chapter 2, the opportunities and limitations that governed the lives of Czech freemen. It then turns to the complexities of power in action, and ultimately shows how these sometimes antagonistic forces shaped a political dynamic, the balance of power analyzed in Chapter 3. It argues that while the Czech freemen were institutionally disempowered by the duke’s extensive lordship, an unconventional rule of succession within the Přemyslid dynasty enabled them to exert decisive leverage against him. Chapter 4 considers the status of ecclesiastical institutions and their leadership, showing that their ever-increasing resources and protected status as members of the church hierarchy assured their independence, even as bishops, abbots, and other clergy long stood outside the play of politics.

The book’s second part is entirely devoted to political strategies: the efforts by dukes and freemen to tip the balance of power in their favor. Chapter 5 treats the cult of Saint Václav (“Good King Wenceslas”), the Přemyslid

duke murdered by his own brother ca. 929 and hailed soon after as a martyr; he came to be widely invoked and celebrated among the Czechs as their special patron. The dukes capitalized on reverence for Václav by mobilizing his image on coins and seals to suggest a close association between themselves and their holy predecessor and thereby imbue their authority with a Christian sanction. In many ways the core of the book is Chapter 6, which analyzes three intertwining issues bearing on the nature of revolt: magnate uprisings and conflicts over succession to the throne, intradynastic relations, and conditions within Moravia. Here, in an unceasing play of strategies over the course of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, interdependence is revealed as a dynamic force, rather than a static structure, and the balance one of constant, though never crippling, tension. Chapter 7 explores the alliance between the duke of Bohemia, who governed the Czech Lands autonomously, and the German emperor, who had no power over internal Czech affairs but was recognized as a superior authority. It argues that the duke manipulated his imperial connections to gain specific advantages vis-à-vis the Czech freemen at home; these met with limited success and ushered in some unforeseen complications, but ultimately led to the permanent elevation of the dukes of Bohemia to the rank of kings after 1198.

This study's methodology, like any other, depends heavily upon the written and material remains of the society under examination; they consist of chronicles, charters, coins, seals, saints' lives, liturgical books, and the rare manuscript illustration. There also exists a number of letters, papal privileges, and an occasional imperial charter. Nearly all of the analyses presented in this book rely heavily upon four consecutive historical narratives and upon a very small group of charters. Neither type of source is comprehensive per se; they have therefore been read from a variety of perspectives for answers to tiny questions as well as larger conceptual ones. Two other source bases, one textual, the other material, are of particular importance to specific lines of inquiry: the tenth-century *vitae* of Saint Václav and the vast array of silver pennies of varying types issued by the dukes of Bohemia.³ While both the latter receive full treatment in Chapters 5 and 7, the chronicles and charters demand fuller introduction here.

Cosmas, author of the *Chronica Boemorum*, was the conscious originator of the Czech chronicle tradition.⁴ Dean of Prague cathedral, he undertook his writing circa 1120 as an octogenarian; in his youth he had studied grammar, he tells us, at Liège. Cosmas's plan was to tell the history of the Czechs in three books: from mythic times to the accession of Břetislav I in 1055; from 1055 to 1092, when the last of Břetislav's sons died; and from the subsequent enthronement of Břetislav II until the time of his writing.⁵ Cosmas indeed completed

his history, bringing the narration up to the enthronement of Soběslav I in February 1125, then adding a few retrospective chapters before his own death on 12 October that same year.⁶ The *Chronica Boemorum* is a long, rich text, brought to life by the author's unmistakable voice, his singular style, and his opinion of the deeds he tells. Cosmas's literary pretensions, manifest through copious classical and biblical citations, vibrant speeches, and dramatic scene-setting, may neither be filtered nor dismissed. There is no way to silence Cosmas the author in order to extract "facts" from his chronicle. Likewise, his "bias" may not be easily categorized and compensated for: a priest writing for a clerical audience, he can nevertheless hardly be characterized as exhibiting a specifically clerical perspective on secular affairs; although living (like other canons of Prague) within the confines of Prague Castle and preoccupied with the deeds of Bohemia's dukes, he was by no means a court chronicler; and while he offers ample criticism, only lightly veiled, of rulers both dead and alive, he espouses the view of no contemporary political faction, so far as we can determine. Put simply: Cosmas was enormously concerned about the exercise of power and, although to some extent he saw power as inherently corrupting, he clearly also hoped—and argued—for its just exercise.

Cosmas, however much he seems to dominate the pages that follow, is by no means our only narrative source for twelfth-century Bohemia. Two anonymous continuators, one at the collegiate chapter of Vyšehrad and another at the monastery of Sázava, copied Cosmas's text, made minor additions concerning their own houses, and then, at the same time, carried the chronicle from 1126 to 1142 and 1162, respectively.⁷ Probably both were inspired to write by the Czechs' great victory at Chlumec in February 1126, only four months after Cosmas's death. The chronicle of the Canon of Vyšehrad, while it opens in a distinctly "Cosmovian" style, soon shows the author's keen interest in astronomical and natural phenomena; after 1130 his reports of events are laconic, and the weather occupies a significant portion of the text. The so-called Monk of Sázava, which I believe actually represents a composite text, is even more terse and makes particular note of monastic affairs at Sázava and other Benedictine houses. A third author, working at Hradiště monastery in Moravia, selected excerpts from these texts to form an annal, which he augmented with bits of his own; as the lone Moravian voice, this short work (usually called the *Annals of Hradiště-Opatovice*) is especially valuable.⁸ For the second half of the twelfth century, a separate chronicle was begun by another canon of Prague, named Vincent, devoted to the reign of Vladislav II (1140–73). He carried it with him when he accompanied his bishop on the Milan campaign of 1158, and his account of that expedition fills half of the chronicle. Vincent's work was continued by a Premonstratensian abbot, Gerlach of Milevsko. Writ-

ing in the early thirteenth century about the last quarter of the twelfth, Gerlach was chiefly concerned with the well-being of the Czech church. He also diverts a substantial portion of his text to relate the life and death of Abbot Gottschalk of Želiv, a Premonstratensian from Saxony with whom Gerlach immigrated to Bohemia as a boy.⁹ We thus have, besides the *Chronica Boemorum*, four other prose narratives and a set of annalistic notes, each the work of an author of different status and affiliation, each writing in a distinct style with unique perspectives and purposes, though all were clerics.

These texts are crucially supplemented by the corpus of charters surviving from the Czech Lands.¹⁰ Very few charters, however, survive or seem ever to have been written: for the period from 1000 to 1198 only seventy-four genuine, original charters, plus twenty-four extant as copies, and an early collection of donation records. Only the barest handful are extant from the eleventh century or from Moravia.¹¹ Of this hundred or so documents, the majority date from the last quarter of the twelfth century, when a burgeoning land market spurred an increased recourse to writing to safeguard transactions for posterity. Yet these same records of donation, sale, or exchange of land indicate that, even circa 1200, oral norms and customary law governed property transfer and the resolution of disputes. For a variety of reasons, therefore, these documents constitute an imperfect source of evidence for the period examined in this book. At the same time, though, they contain valuable information that the narrative sources overlook or take for granted: they show land changing hands, the duke resolving disputes, freemen assembled as witnesses, and canons moving up the ranks of cathedral offices. Fortunately, too, many of the originals that survive from the twelfth century bear contemporary seals.

Any picture of the eleventh- and twelfth-century Czechs must be carefully, and creatively, crafted through a matrix of these texts and archeological remains. It is my intention in this study to treat the extant variety of source materials comprehensively, and thus to blend or juxtapose not only the sources but the types of analyses that usually arise out of them. In recent decades high medieval social history has been constructed overwhelmingly on charter evidence and the close analysis of families, landholdings, and relationships with local institutions. By contrast, the cultural and intellectual subfields of medieval history have embraced narrative sources, with primary emphasis on how these texts were written and why. Ecclesiastical materials usually support religious history, except where they serve regional or cultural studies. And coins have normally been relegated to the highly technical realm of numismatics; when integrated at all into medieval studies, they are deployed largely for illustrative purposes. This is to paint the canvas with the broadest of brushstrokes. Yet my point here is a simple one: whether because or in spite of the paucity

of sources for the medieval Czech Lands, I have endeavored to draw from all the extant genres and upon a variety of approaches rather than to follow any particular paradigm or methodological approach.

* * *

My work is not the first treatment of Czech politics during this period; still, it attempts to break from all previous historiography on the subject and to offer a comprehensive alternative. Previous historians of the Czech Lands, while writing in a variety of styles and employing diverse methodologies, have invariably adopted a central focus on state and/or nation formation. This is true whether they write narratively or analytically, with or without overtly Marxist concepts, within or outside the Czech national tradition. Each among the half-dozen or so major works operates within a paradigmatic framework governing the analysis of power in society. The most venerable and pervasive of these takes the exploits and vicissitudes of political rulers to stand for the development of a state or nation; Václav Novotný's magisterial, multivolume narrative, *Czech History* (*České dějiny*), exemplifies this approach and remains canonical ninety years after its publication.¹² Another, which includes Václav Vaněček and other legal and administrative historians, effaces the dukes and their personalities behind abstract institutions and mechanisms of domination.¹³ Power, in both these cases, is understood in a straightforwardly top-down fashion. By contrast, two other models embed power in social conflict. Historians of estates politics and protoparliamentarism, most notably Stanisław Russocki, chart the give-and-take between ruler and (noble) representatives of the people, thereby complementing static institutional accounts with an agonistic view of political development.¹⁴ Finally, Rostislav Nový offers a Marxian analysis that classically presumes an inherently oppressive relation between ruling classes (ruler, dynasty, and elite strata, lay and clerical) and the rest of the population.¹⁵ These four approaches are not mutually exclusive and should not be construed as a comprehensive typology; they appear to varying degrees in different accounts and yet cumulatively reinforce each other.¹⁶ All, however, support a teleological, developmental drive toward nation or state, in most cases subsuming the former under the latter.¹⁷

A deeper problem than the bias toward teleology is the recurrence of free-floating, reified assumptions which then feed into stock, uninterrogated interpretations. Ubiquitous catchwords carry baggage from other developmental frameworks and ascribe an institutionalized status to what were very fluid and inchoate practices during the Middle Ages. Whether they actually existed in the eleventh and twelfth centuries (as in the case of assemblies of freemen called *colloquia*) or not (such as the princely retinue or *družina*), by their very invo-

cation, they create anachronisms by importing further assumptions into the analysis. In the same way, certain citations from the sources (“familia sancti Wenceslai,” “corona Boemiae,” “the bishop is my chaplain”), recycled in the literature, come to carry the weight of the analysis even as they are ripped from context and never reinterpreted by the authors who use them. Down-right erroneous conclusions—about the comprehensiveness of administrative districts or the impotence of the church—once smuggled into the historiography, reproduce themselves, without justification, in successive works. These effectively construct a predetermined frame of historical reference, complete with its own vocabulary, concepts, source base, and objects of investigation.

Underlying many of these assumptions, as well as the various state-formation paradigms, is an implicit understanding of what the “prince” ought to be doing, what the “nobility” ought to be doing, and how their interactions fit them into a certain script or onto some normative path of development. By prescribing set roles, however defined, they take an enormous amount for granted and predetermine the answers to the sorts of basic questions with which this examination begins. Neither the duke, the freemen, the church, nor their interaction, I would argue, have ever been studied on their own terms. My account of Czech political development, certainly, stands outside the historiographic tradition of the last century by its refusal to place either state or nation formation at the heart of the analysis. It thus eschews the implicit value judgments these developmental narratives tend to impose upon the eleventh and twelfth centuries. But its lasting contribution, I hope, consists in asking simply: how did the duke, freemen, bishop, or emperor act under particular circumstances and why? The hallmark of the present work, then, is the rigorous rejection of all of these assumptions and methodological crutches, together with a comprehensive rereading of the source material.

Dissecting and reconstructing, rereading, interrogating, and reorienting minute bits of evidence, I have worked from the ground up in an effort to re-frame Czech history of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. This same project, of evoking a complex society by careful attention to details, was Georges Duby’s in his classic study of the *Mâconnais*, as well as that of other historians working in other regions with different evidentiary bases. Where Duby and scholars following his example sought to illuminate regional social structures,¹⁸ I have tried to understand and elicit political dynamics. The differences between their and my approach to questions of power in the Middle Ages stem from several factors: not only the absence of comparable sources for the Czech Lands but also, and importantly, the undeniable, nearly overwhelming influence of a single autonomous ruler, the duke of Bohemia. Nevertheless, I have also strenuously avoided traditional monarchical paradigms, such as they are: be-

cause the Přemyslid dukes simply were not kings, because without real evidence of bureaucracy one cannot speak of the development of an impersonal “state” in the eleventh- and twelfth-century Czech Lands, and, finally, because this would have veered dangerously close to the production of still another national historical narrative. My analysis of power in Bohemia and Moravia instead owes a profound debt to Eleanor Searle’s *Predatory Kinship* and to William Ian Miller’s work on saga Iceland.¹⁹ Searle’s rereading of chronicles to illuminate machinations within a ruling dynasty proves exemplary for understanding the actions of ever-contentious Přemyslids as described by Cosmas and his successors. And Miller’s anthropologically informed analysis of power relations is instrumental for imagining horizontal bonds within a community and for understanding the role of coercion and violence in that cohesion. The hybrid methodology employed here, treating social structures, rulership, dynastic politics, and communal coherence, has nonetheless, I believe, generated a unified thesis.

This book’s analysis is not explicitly comparative; nowhere are the conditions or events described as obtaining in the Czech Lands set in relation to those elsewhere, in England, or Flanders, or Bavaria, or Poland. The book’s emphatic aim, rather, is to treat Bohemia and Moravia on their own terms. As a region long overlooked by medievalists and with an isolated specialist historiography, the Czech Lands deserve no less. The question nevertheless begs answering: what indeed do Bohemia and Moravia have to offer the study of power in the Middle Ages? The response in no way concerns their uniqueness; none of the book’s conclusions seek to establish the Czechs, their duke, or their land as exceptional. Readers familiar with other areas of medieval Europe will find much here that resonates with the world they know, as well as much that seems anomalous. The points of similarity between the Czech Lands and other parts of Christendom chiefly arise from the fact that, by the later eleventh century, the Czechs had been in contact with their neighbors to the west for centuries, and they had also long since espoused Catholic Christianity. Yet their particular geographic position, the mountains and forest that made Bohemia so easy to defend, safeguarded their autonomous political development. The Czechs’ hybrid position securely within, yet on the margins of, medieval Christendom is precisely what makes them interesting.

Hybridity emerges with particular salience when issues of power are involved. The structure of power in Bohemia and Moravia deviates from the norm, without constituting an exception to it. Thus it challenges, if sometimes only very subtly, the lessons scholars of medieval politics have learned from other regions. The Přemyslids were a ruling dynasty, recognized as charismatic and patently self-conscious, yet their internal structure was altogether different

from a “dynasty” (or *Geschlecht*) classically defined. The Czechs came late to the use of written records, and yet their coinage, in its use and in its production, was precocious. The duke of Bohemia was, apparently, a vassal of the German emperor, and yet he had no vassals under him. More examples will emerge in the pages that follow. Many characteristics of the Czech polity appear atypical even as they offer up a series of unquestionably familiar scenarios. For this reason, they enable us to anatomize the commonalities underlying all medieval polities. Analyzing a duke made king, and his successor made duke again, or the interplay between the religious and political functions of the cult of Saint Václav, enriches our knowledge of medieval kingship and of “national” or dynastic patron saints, for instance. But at a deeper and more rudimentary level, this procedure yields new concepts and vocabulary (interdependence, leadership, community) with an implicitly universal scope, and therefore determinedly comparative application. The particulars of Czech political culture, by the same token, potentially challenge the meanings ascribed to succession conflict, to political violence, to lordship, to *dux* or *regnum*. The Czech case thus points toward novel ways of conceiving the exercise of power in the Middle Ages.

* * *

Very few readers outside the Czech Republic are familiar with events in Bohemia and Moravia during the Middle Ages and the efforts of nearly two centuries of Czech- and German-speaking historians to explain and interpret them. This book is not a survey, an introduction to Bohemia,²⁰ nor does it offer a narrative account of Czech history. Some analyses deal explicitly with change over time, most notably the chapters of Part II, but only as they affect or shed light upon the matter at hand, the exercise of power. It may, unfortunately, be disorienting to follow the analysis without some familiar points of reference to serve as guideposts. Readers should have frequent recourse to the list of dukes provided here (Table 1), the genealogical chart of Přemyslid men in Figure 1 and the list of bishops of Prague and Olomouc in Chapter 4, Table 6. As further orientation, the paragraphs that follow provide a cursory overview of the 150 years discussed in succeeding chapters.

This study takes as its rough starting point the end of the reign of Duke Břetislav I. The four decades after his death in 1055 were dominated by his five sons: Spitihněv, duke from 1055–61; Vratislav, duke from 1061–92 and king after 1086; Conrad, vice-duke of Brno and duke of Bohemia for less than a year in 1092; Jaromír, bishop of Prague from 1068 to 1090; and Otto, vice-duke of Olomouc. Spitihněv died relatively young, leaving his four brothers locked in mutual fear and antagonism for the next thirty years. Otherwise this period is most notable for developments in ecclesiastical affairs: the establish-

TABLE 1. DUKES OF BOHEMIA

<i>Duke</i>	<i>Reign</i>
Břetislav I	1037–55
Spitihněv	1055–61
Vratislav	1061–92, king after 1086
Conrad	1092
Břetislav II	1092–1100
Bořivoj	1100–1107; 1117–20
Svatopluk	1107–9
Vladislav I	1109–17; 1120–25
Soběslav I	1125–40
Vladislav II	1140–73, king after 1158
Soběslav II	1173–78
Frederick	1173; 1178–89
Conrad Otto	1189–91
Václav	1192
Přemysl Otakar	1193; 1198–1232 as king
(Bishop) Henry	1193–97
Vladislav Henry	1197

ment of a bishopric in Moravia, at Olomouc; the fight over the Catholic Slavonic liturgy at the Benedictine monastery of Sázava; the first recorded visit of papal delegates; and a general intensification of contacts with the papacy. These activities, together with a host of others both known and unknown to us, furthered and substantially completed the Christianization of Czech society in this period. Vratislav's reign also witnessed new, closer connections to the German emperor, as both the duke and Bishop Jaromír allied themselves with Henry IV in the civil wars that rocked the Empire. As a reward for his staunch military support, Henry crowned Vratislav king in 1086.

The deaths of Vratislav and Conrad, both in 1092, marked the end of one generation of Přemyslids; the next generation, comprising Břetislav I's eleven grandsons, created a situation considerably more complicated. This period began peaceably enough with the accession to power of Vratislav's eldest son, Břetislav II. But a series of assassinations, succession conflicts, and attempts at deposition ensued after Břetislav's murder in 1100. In essence, only the enthronement of Soběslav I and his subsequent victory in February 1126 over Otto II of Olomouc, the only other living Přemyslid of his generation, brought the dynastic strife to an end. Cosmas, in Book III of the *Chronica Boemorum*, describes in detail the intense jockeying between freemen around the duke and various Přemyslid pretenders of this period. Its most spectacular result, per-

haps, hardly concerned the throne at all: the widespread massacre of a broad kin-group (perhaps) called the Vršovici, ordered by Duke Svatopluk (1107–9) in 1108. On the whole, however, these were not decades of chaos. Outside specific instances of conflict, in preparations for and actually fighting on the battlefield, life in the Czech Lands went on as usual. The reigns of Vladislav I (1109–25) and Soběslav I (1125–40), in particular, were long, relatively quiet ones.

Vladislav II succeeded his uncle, Soběslav, in 1140. Almost immediately thereafter, in 1142, he successfully defended his hold on power against a massive revolt of senior freemen and Přemyslids; in his camp were his brothers, Theobald and Henry, a substantial number of younger magnates, and the German ruler, Conrad III. Together with the powerful, activist, Premonstratensian bishop of Olomouc, Henry Zdík (1126–50), Vladislav supported a renaissance in monastic life: many new monasteries were established throughout Bohemia and Moravia, including convents for women as well as houses for Cistercians, Premonstratensians, and Hospitallers. Both Henry Zdík and Bishop Daniel of Prague (1148–67) assiduously cultivated contacts in the Empire and in Rome; they were frequent travelers, the former even preaching to the pagan Prussians and the latter serving as imperial diplomatic envoy. Perhaps the most noteworthy pair of events of the twelfth century came at the midpoint of Vladislav's long rule: his elevation to the rank of king in 1158 and the participation of a Czech army in Barbarossa's war against Milan. The king's last years were spent trying to secure the succession of his eldest son Frederick, in whose favor he abdicated in 1173.

Vladislav's reign, first as duke and then as king of Bohemia, hardly passed free of dynastic tension. His efforts to contain it were largely successful so long as he ruled, but they erupted dramatically upon his abdication. Some Přemyslids and freemen demanded the release of his cousin Soběslav, the son of Soběslav I, incarcerated for fifteen years. With the backing of the Czech freemen and Barbarossa's intervention, Frederick was passed over and Soběslav enthroned. Vladislav II ended his days in exile. After four years, however, Soběslav II proved unpopular (though the chronicler, Gerlach, would extol him as a defender of the poor and of the church), and Frederick was able to regain the throne. Duke Frederick seems to have been a weak, inept, and rather corrupt ruler; although aided by his capable wife, Elizabeth, he barely managed to stave off a pair of serious challenges to his power before dying a natural death in 1189.

A motley assortment of Přemyslids were alive at the time of Frederick's death: the younger brother of Soběslav II, Václav; his own brothers, Vladislav and Přemysl; his cousins, Theobald and Bishop Henry of Prague; plus Conrad

Otto and the minor sons of Otto III in Moravia. Conrad Otto, who governed the combined appanages of Moravia during most of Frederick's reign and was his chief rival, must have been recognized as the senior Přemyslid in 1189: he succeeded to the throne apparently without contest and then died on campaign in Italy two years later. The 1190s then witnessed a series of short ducal reigns, as various Přemyslids made bids for, or were ousted from, the throne. The longest-ruling was, remarkably, Bishop Henry—who seized the throne from his young cousin Přemysl in 1193 and ruled jointly as duke of Bohemia and bishop of Prague for four years, before his death in 1197. Vladislav succeeded him but almost immediately faced a challenge from Přemysl. The two brothers agreed, before battle ensued, to divide the Czech Lands between them: Přemysl thus became duke of Bohemia and Vladislav margrave of Moravia. (Both subsequently adopted double names: Přemysl Otakar and Vladislav Henry.) That same year, in the midst of an imperial civil conflict, Přemysl was crowned king. Because the Czech Lands would be ruled by kings, rather than dukes, in the centuries after 1198, this seemed a fitting closing date for this study.

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PART I
THE STRUCTURE
OF POWER

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1. DUCAL LORDSHIP

In the story of the first duke Přemysl, as told by Cosmas, the Czechs become dissatisfied with appealing their disputes only to arbiters, however wise, and so choose to subject themselves to a single ruler with the power to enforce decisions. Libuše, a prophetess and their most respected judge, is deemed unsuitable for the task as a woman. She agrees to take a husband, who might become the first Czech duke, yet warns them at length of the risks:

O most pitiable people, who do not know that they live free and that no good man leaves freedom except with death. You flee that freedom not unwillingly and submit your necks voluntarily to unaccustomed servitude. Alas later you will regret it in vain, as the frogs regretted it when the serpent, whom they had made their king, began to kill them. If you do not know what the rights of a duke might be, I will try to tell you in a few words. It is especially easy to appoint a duke, but very difficult to depose one appointed, for he who is now under your power, whether you established him duke or not, when later he is established, you and everything yours will be in his power. In his presence your knees will tremble and your mute tongue stick to a dry palate. Because of great fright you will hardly respond to his voice: “Yes lord, yes lord,” since by his command alone and without your forejudgment he will damn this one and slaughter that one, order these sent to prison and those hung from the gallows. He will make you yourselves and those among you whom he pleases some servants, some peasants, some tributaries, some tax-collectors, some executioners, some heralds, some cooks or bakers or millers. He will establish for himself tribunes, centurions, villagers, farmers of vineyards and fields, reapers of corn, makers of arms, shoemakers of various hides and skins. He will place your sons and daughters among his followers; from even your oxen and horses and mares and cattle he will take, at his pleasure, whichever are best. Everything yours, whatever is better in villages and towns, in fields and meadows and vineyards, he will take away and render for his own use.¹

The Czechs persist in the face of this admonition: the new duke, a ploughman named Přemysl, thus gains power directly from those he rules. The legend, in Cosmas’s telling, seeks less to glorify the Přemyslid dynasty than to account for the origins of ducal lordship. In the process, the passage conjures a striking picture of raw power. The considerable disadvantages associated with a monarch are not attributed exclusively to bad rulership or usurpers, but depicted as inherent in ducal authority from the start. The tone of the speech, and the attitude toward power it betrays, belong unmistakably to Cosmas. Yet

in attributing these words to a famously discerning seer, he intended them to resonate with his present while simultaneously explaining the past.

The myth of Libuše and Přemysl, or any other consideration of the origins of Přemyslid overlordship, cannot answer questions about the exercise of power in the Czech Lands. Libuše's speech is not construed, nor surely was it intended by the chronicler, as a depiction of the ruler's actual rights and privileges. Yet it points in the right direction. We begin therefore, almost as Cosmas did, by taking stock of the resources, rights, and obligations comprising the lordship of the duke of Bohemia. Since the duke was undoubtedly lord of all the Czech lands and inhabitants, far and away the preeminent authority in his territory, we need to consider more closely the foundations for such power. This is to ask institutional questions of a sort, although, since bureaucratic institutions of governance based on written records had not yet been established and law was customary and oral, explicitly institutional or legal methodologies cannot be employed.² Extant materials remain limited and rarely answer directly the questions put to them, thus also disallowing a quantitative approach.³ Preoccupied with the duke and with political affairs, the authors of extant sources, whether chroniclers describing the notable events of their day or scribes redacting charters, took for granted basic issues of social and political structure. The method applied here endeavors to read between the lines, to look for patterns that manifest across time and varied materials, and to search for the structures behind the deeds the sources recount. Libuše describes ducal power, from its outset and by its very nature, as extensive and invasive, affecting the lives of the duke's subjects in very tangible ways. This chapter seeks to determine whether it was indeed so, that is, to understand the depth and extent of the duke's reach.

Understanding the ways in which secular lordship permeated the lives of eleventh- and twelfth-century Czechs requires, in addition, attention to the fundamentals of medieval Czech social structure. Even if power relations were not quite the zero-sum game Cosmas envisioned, Libuše's admonition serves as a reminder that for one to have, say, the right to judge, others must stand among the judged. Although the focus in this chapter is the duke, the significance and breadth of his rights and assets emerge by comparison with conditions prevailing in Czech society as a whole during this period. Put simply: to determine the degree to which control of land formed a basis for the duke's power, we must comprehend the nature of landholding generally and among the freemen specifically; to assess the importance of control of castles, we must speculate as to their function; to imagine the duke's judicial authority, we must know something about the law. For all these issues, and particularly with regard to military service, the duke's rights must be weighed by their limitations

as well as his obligations. How far above or outside the community of the governed this Přemyslid ruler stood becomes clear only by close analysis of the circumstances of broader lay society — though such a picture remains only partial without independent consideration of the Czechs themselves, the subject of Chapter 2.

Land

Material resources largely form the basis of social and political power in any age. The importance of more liquid assets in monetized economies should not be discounted, but real property carried particular value. We begin, therefore, with analysis of the land resources available to the Přemyslid duke of Bohemia. Given the erratic nature of the documentation, including the absence of central administrative records, reconstructing a complete list of the duke's lands and sources of income is simply impossible. The charters record only those lands relinquished, usually to ecclesiastical institutions. Yet since wealth is always measured relatively and mobilized in a specific culture and context, the duke's assets cannot be considered in isolation. This section thus describes the nature of landholding generally in the Czech Lands of the eleventh and twelfth centuries and the comparative breadth of the duke's resources.

None of the extant sources comments directly on the nature of land ownership *per se*, but the basic terminology of the charters is nonetheless revealing, as are a few exceptionally telling phrases. In reference to landholdings, whether villages, arable fields of different sizes, or various appurtenances, almost all the documents speak of "possessiones." The nouns "patrimonium" and "hereditas"⁴ appear regularly and, in all the charters, the verb most frequently used is "possidere."⁵ Many charters also explicitly note the conditions under which the recipient was to hold the land. From the end of the eleventh century, and routinely in the last quarter of the twelfth, such properties were given "perpetuo possidendam," "iure perpetuo possidendas," or "hereditario iure possidendum."⁶ A charter from 1197 explicitly links these suggestive phrases, noting that Zdeslav "sold by legitimate right" his "inheritance" at Bdeněves, "which he owned according to hereditary right."⁷ In another case, the Vyšehrad bellringers clarified that they exchanged lands with Marcant "according to the good and proper order, to be possessed in hereditary right by him or his sons or transferred to another whom he chooses."⁸ Whether by an individual or an institution, lands were owned outright before and after any transfer. Grants conditional upon the death of a wife or heir, leased back to the donor for the remainder of his lifetime, or dependent upon the donor's return or death on crusade, so stipulate.⁹ The possessions

themselves could range considerably in size and seem not to have been legally distinguished. Whole mountains could be traded as easily as tiny plots.¹⁰ Likewise, landowners probably were not legally differentiated, though individual wealth must have varied greatly.¹¹

Because land was owned by laymen or churchmen of every station, it could be traded freely as a commodity, that is, acquired through purchase or exchange as well as by means of inheritance or grant. A ducal grant to the Hospitallers from 1169 states plainly: "I assigned certain of my villages, which I either bought justly with my money, exchanged by just transfers or acquired legitimately by other just means, according to the judgement of the senior nobles of Bohemia."¹² The donor in this case is the duke, but the charter states that he was simply acting within the legal norms of his society. In fact when the frequency of documentation increases, trading or selling land is revealed as routine among landowners. A grant to Plasy made "by hereditary right" on the part of a woman named Agnes, for example, included a village: "bought back from Drslav with my own money, which my husband Kuno had sold to him before our marriage."¹³ Plainly these are not instances of subinfeudation or the like, as the verb is consistently "emere" for sales, while an exchange is usually labeled as "concambium." The property in these transactions is valued in terms of money: either a sum is paid directly for a piece of land, or the values of two plots are compared and a sum paid to even out the trade as necessary. For instance, at the request of the abbot of Plasy, Soběslav II agreed to an exchange: "giving them an estate named Újezd for theirs, which is called Sušany, with eight talents added from their side so that the exchange would be of equal value."¹⁴ Another charter records that the bishop of Prague, in need of money, sold a village to Mechtfrid of Slavčeves for 15 marks of pure silver, though the latter promised that the property would be returned after his death should his five children die without heirs.¹⁵ Among the Czechs, then, land was owned absolutely, and the owners were free to exploit or alienate their possessions as needed or desired.¹⁶

Ownership was the normative way in which people and land were connected. Nowhere in the charters does the word "feudum" appear, with a single telling exception. In a document from 1185, issued to the Austrian ministerial Hadmar of Kuenring, Duke Frederick states that, "we undertook to bind him to us by a promise of fidelity, granted him part of our land adjacent to Austria . . . by right of benefice, and enfeoffed him without objection."¹⁷ In its entirety, the language of this document contrasts sharply with all other Czech charters from the period, reflecting instead the norms of the recipient—or at least the duke's understanding of them. The phrase here, "sibi iure beneficii concessimus et . . . infeudavimus," highlights all the more those grants

routinely made *iure hereditario*. Beyond this document *feudum* appears only in Cosmas's chronicle, where the phrase "pheodo vel allodio" is used twice.¹⁸ In the first passage, the author is making a broad, inclusive statement about Bishop Ekkehard's institution of a tithe that everyone was to pay, regardless of status, while the second comes in a description of the arrangement by which the new bishopric of Olomouc was endowed with lands taken from the bishop of Prague.¹⁹ The first, understood in context, is not a technical usage, and the latter is sufficiently detailed to make clear that no fief was involved. Neither here nor in any other source is *feudum*, or some like term, used to describe a layman's relationship to his land. In one charter, a magnate named Čěč sold to a monastery land that he received as a reward *for* service — not which he holds *in* service — and thus possessed on the same basis as all his other holdings.²⁰ As will be discussed further with regard to castles, the duke had castellans who must have received income from lands designated for their upkeep, but such property was not in the castellan's power to alienate and, for this reason, never appears in the charters recording land transactions.

Unfortunately, the documents provide little information about perhaps the most important point: the norm of inheritance. On the basis of a few charters in which the donor grants lands from his patrimony combined with others bought from a brother or other relatives, it appears likely that some sort of partible inheritance prevailed. The canon Zbyhněv, for instance, refers to "fields which I bought for my own patrimony from my brother."²¹ Likewise, the foundation of Strahov includes a gift from Bishop John of Prague of "the whole of his patrimony, what he had in Lochenice and what he bought there from his relatives, named Msteň and his sons, and from other relatives."²² From the latter, and other instances in which donors attempted to assure that their relatives would not dispute their gifts to monasteries, it seems that legal claim to land was shared by a range of relations, denoted in the plural.²³ The foundation charter for Hradiště mentions the property of Vice-duke Otto's wife, Euphemia, but since it seems to provide for his daughter, Bohuslava, only if she remains unmarried, it is difficult to ascertain the conditions under which daughters customarily inherited land.²⁴ Partible inheritance, division among several claimants, and provisions for women would have meant that the size, composition, and ownership of arable land shifted almost constantly throughout the Czech Lands as a whole, and even in specific localities.

In the charters, land is most frequently mentioned in terms of whole named villages, which included a wide array of appurtenances usually unspecified, or in smaller units *ad aratra*.²⁵ "Ad x aratra," shorthand for "ad aratrum sufficientem," that is, "land sufficient for one plough," or a certain number of ploughs, became the normal means of measuring out parcels of land.²⁶ This

also indicated that it was arable and for tilling, rather than for pasturage or some other use. Although in one instance forty are counted,²⁷ measurements of one, two, or three *aratra* appear most commonly. The charter issued ca. 1141 by Bishop Henry Zdík of Olomouc, testifying to all the holdings of his church, lists countless villages in which the bishop owned only a few *aratra*.²⁸ The bulk of the Moravian church's property, in fact, consisted of such plots. Villages could also be subdivided, thus references to "halves." In their efforts to secure Čechín in its entirety, for instance, the Cistercians at Plasy dealt with a magnate named Hermann, Duchess Helicha, and the bishop of Prague, each of whom owned a significant portion of the village.²⁹ These cases illustrate two fundamental characteristics of landholding in the Czech Lands. First, though villages with their appurtenances were conceived as wholes, they comprised landowners, sometimes many—and some of them probably absentee—who farmed plots of different sizes. Second, those with more property, whether individual laymen or ecclesiastical institutions, possessed holdings that were fragmented and diffuse. Both conditions were probably perpetuated by partible inheritance. Only a concerted effort to consolidate holdings, such as was practiced at Plasy, worked against this tendency, but it remained rare even in the late twelfth century (see Chapter 2).

Appraising ducal landholding is more difficult still than any assessment for medieval Czech society as a whole, even though much of the discussion above rested upon charters issued by the duke himself.³⁰ Because the charter evidence tells us only about lands given away, the amount retained by the donor remains undetermined. The 1169 grant to the Hospitallers, however, reflects the diversity of the duke's holdings:

And these are the villages which I gave and assigned to the brothers of the aforesaid Hospital of Jerusalem, namely four in the *circuitio* next to Plasy, that is Hodovice, Osojný Dvůr, Pláně, Kuchov. Moreover I add and confirm for the same house of the Hospital the possession, which my father Duke Vladislav granted to my relatives, Vratislav and Micus, but which returned again into my use when they died a short time after. Manětín from the Nečtiny boundary up to the Plasy boundary with all its appurtenances, namely Lipí, Kuchov with the *forum*, Vískov with the adjacent river Manětín as far as Plasy, granting to them every sort of liberty for doing whatever, whether fishing or erecting a mill on the same river. Also the forest named "Cozodre" and other adjacent forests I grant by legitimate right and confirm to be possessed perpetually. I also give and confirm two villages in the province of Bílina named Bořislav and Hrbovice, which pertain to my crown [*que corone mee adiacebant*]. At the request of my brother Henry, I add for them the village named Lovín and a certain forest necessary for their use, next to "Olesnice" reaching to the middle of Mount Chvojen to the river called Libouchec and to the village Kamenice and to Prosetín, and thence to "Tesík"

and then to the Red Well and thus adjacent to the said river Libouchec where it takes its source.³¹

This document is quite typical, though there is a great deal of variation among the extant charters in the types and amounts of lands granted. Not surprisingly, perhaps, there is no record of a ducal grant of small plots; in cases where the duke owned only a portion of the village he wished to donate, he first purchased the remainder.

Both chronicles and charters give the impression that the vast breadth of unsettled forest belonged to the duke. Cosmas reports that a group of conquered Poles requested resettlement in Bohemia, and Duke Břetislav I “gave them not a small part of the forest called Crnína.”³² Dukes similarly made grants of mountains, though they were not alone in this.³³ The charter for the Hospitallers just cited includes a broad tract of forest, with mountains and rivers; in the case of “Cozodre” the woods alone are mentioned and thus seem not simply to be pertinent to a village. As elsewhere in medieval Europe, the customary rights that went with forests—for hunting, foraging, woodcutting, and so forth—made them valuable village assets. Yet such huge tracts of Czech territory lay unsettled during this period that much forested land surely fell outside village boundaries. If all uncleared land not appurtenant to other holdings belonged to the duke, to him also belonged considerable control over later expansion and its profits. Such broad uncultivated tracts may, alternately, have belonged to no one and thus been open to anyone ready to exploit them. Landclearing, however, required no small investment of resources; these the Přemyslid duke possessed in abundance.

The 1169 donation to the Hospitallers also demonstrates that the duke was bound to the same legal norms of acquisition as everyone else. An earlier charter for the same house, in which similar language appears, reflects this even more explicitly as it lists the means of acquisition for each piece of property granted:

I give to the same church to be possessed by perpetual right certain land pertaining to the crown of my realm [*ad coronam regni mei pertinentem*] in Prague next to the bridge by the water between the four roads, and the water itself from the upper part of the lower island up to the bridge, with fishing and all other uses, which are able to be had there. I also add and confirm to the same place, for my salvation and that of my freemen and all my predecessors, the village which is called Letky, which had been Bora's, who was hung in Prague, with the vineyard and all other appurtenances. I add moreover near the same village one field pertaining to my crown [*ad coronam meam pertinentem*] named “Ostruzen.” For the growth of the same new plantation, that is, the church to be built, I add and confirm the possessions which were Henry's, son of

Hartmann, and which he gave to me after the death of his wife to be possessed by perpetual right, when he committed himself to me against his father³⁴ before many noble Czechs. I confirm also the possessions which [the Hospitallers] acquired for themselves in other just ways, . . .³⁵

The language of this grant also begins to indicate differences between the duke and other Czech landowners. He had, for instance, another means of acquisition at his disposal, namely the administration of justice.³⁶ A charter issued to the chapter of Vyšehrad in 1187 constitutes the first grant to an ecclesiastical institution of the profits from jurisdictional rights: "If one of the men of the church is condemned to execution, his property should go to the church and his head to the noose."³⁷ This exceptional document provides telling evidence: the right to land forfeit in capital cases must routinely have been very lucrative for the duke.

With regard to the origins of ducal landholdings, the lines between conquest, usurpation, and legitimate confiscation were extremely thin. Since the eleventh- and twelfth-century chronicles recount innumerable stories of magnates summarily executed, imprisoned, or driven into exile by the duke, one can easily imagine that he had little compunction with regard to taking over their lands. For instance, in 1096 Břetislav II exiled Mutina, one of the Vršovici, and confiscated his property; in 1105, those who backed Bořivoj's effort to seize the throne were similarly punished.³⁸ When the Vršovici were universally massacred with their women and children, in 1108, their lands were surely seized by Duke Svatopluk;³⁹ in fact, according to Cosmas, he promised the land of two of them, Božej and his son, to whoever killed them.⁴⁰ In this light, the language of the grant to the Hospitallers from midcentury sounds rather defensive; the need to assert that all the lands granted were owned or acquired legitimately and according to "just ways" acknowledges the dukes' occasional willingness and ability to abuse their power and seize the lands of their political opponents.

The magnitude of lands at the duke's disposal far outweighed those available to any other member of society. When one of the Vršovici (for whom we may assume some prominence given the need to eliminate them so thoroughly⁴¹) donated everything he owned to the chapter at Vyšehrad, it consisted of "five villages . . . the whole *familia*, and whatever I have."⁴² In contrast, a grant of five villages is routine from dukes; many monasteries and chapters, for whom mostly ducal grants are recorded, held considerably more. The Vyšehrad chapter, for instance, which was the recipient of Němoj's five villages, obtained nine from Duke Soběslav in 1130 for the specific use of the brothers, though this grant was considerably augmented by monetary income from a

variety of sources.⁴³ By the end of the twelfth century, when a series of forged foundation charters were drawn up, the Vyšehrad chapter named some eighty villages which they claimed to have received from Vratislav II (1061–92).⁴⁴ The duke gave away a great deal of land; we can only assume that he possessed substantially more.

The Czech Lands on the whole, even in local regions, were a patchwork of variegated holdings and owners. Partible inheritance assured that consolidated holdings fragmented, even as some landowners inherited distant properties. The breadth of the duke's holdings means that he had land in every corner of Bohemia. The legal or *de facto* right to unowned land also meant that the landed resources at the duke's disposal were almost inexhaustible, something ordinary freemen could only wish for. This, more than any legal distinctions—and especially in their absence—must have separated the duke from other landowners. In the legend told by Cosmas, messengers were instructed to find Přemysl ploughing land possessed by no one, surrounded by fields owned by others. The legend thus reflects—as a curious parallel if nothing else—the same basic presumption found in the charters: land is owned individually, in units both large and small, while vast lands, arable and uncultivated, fell to the duke.⁴⁵

Income

In addition to land, the duke of Bohemia held the right to a variety of taxes and tolls, as well as exclusive minting rights. Our knowledge of these sources of income comes incidentally, from charters to ecclesiastical institutions granting them all or a fixed amount of the income from tolls or taxes, although never the right to erect a new toll. Evidence from both numismatic analysis and written sources indicates that already from the eleventh century the Czech economy was monetized—that is, people of all stations were accustomed to carry and use coin daily. Although the numismatic literature has traditionally seen the duke's primary source of income in his control, and supposed manipulation, of the coinage,⁴⁶ it was actually quite stable, rarely debased, and not routinely exchanged. Rather than relying on minting itself, the duke profited from a variety of taxes, some fixed and others from which the income must have fluctuated according to economic conditions. From these, without doubt, the duke of Bohemia derived considerable wealth and a supply of ready cash.

Frequent references in all the extant sources point to the widespread use of money in medieval Czech society.⁴⁷ It was used for purchasing land and as a valuation of property, collected by the duke through tolls and taxes, and, from all indications, used as a means of everyday exchange. The Přemyslid

duke monopolized the right to mint the silver coinage in common use during the eleventh and twelfth centuries,⁴⁸ though in Moravia it was delegated to the vice-dukes and, for a time, the bishop of Olomouc.⁴⁹ Although Bohemia would later become famous for its silver mining, the only information about mining before the thirteenth century appears in a charter from ca. 1188, granting Plasy “twelve marks of silver to be paid every year from the silver mine on the upper Mže [river].”⁵⁰ As in later centuries, this mine was in the duke’s hands. The role of locally mined silver in minting, its effect on the medieval Czech economy, and its exact contribution to the duke’s treasury unfortunately cannot be determined.

Přemyslid rulers could count on both silver and minting as sources of income, but greater profit lay in taxation. The duke’s income from taxes may be divided into three categories: tolls on travel, commerce-related taxes, and fixed annual levies. Tolls are most frequently mentioned at roads but noted as well for rivers, bridges, and border crossings. In 1078, Vice-duke Otto of Olomouc granted the monastery he established at Hradiště: “from the Olšava [river] the sixth *denár*, and from the bridge of the castle of Břeclav the sixth *denár*, and from the road which leads to Poland past the castle of Hradec the sixth *denár*, and from the mint the tenth *denár*.”⁵¹ In an earlier charter, dated ca. 1057, the chapter at Litoměřice was to receive the toll paid by all ships passing the town on the Elbe, including those whose cargo was too small to merit taking a portion: free or unfree, their owners were to pay 15 *denáry*, if foreign, as much in *denáry* as they were carrying, or, for peasants from Litoměřice or neighboring Bílina, 12 *denáry*.⁵² These constitute major commercial routes, upriver from Meissen toward Prague on the Elbe, across Moravia to Cracow, and south through Břeclav to Hungary and points east. The other important trade route ran from Regensburg to Prague through Plzeň; from the mid-eleventh century a toll was collected at the border crossing at Domažlice.⁵³ A ducal grant to Teplá from 1197 mentions a toll there, on the twelfth-century route from Žatec through Sedlec to Stauffer Eger, pertaining both to a market and to a border gate.⁵⁴ Control of transport routes, including the most heavily travelled, must have been a steady and lucrative source of ducal revenue—one which could easily adapt and grow according to economic circumstances.

Among the commercial taxes, a grant to the chapter at Vyšehrad from 1130 describes what must be considered a sales tax: “At Kamenec they have and should have the tenth coin in sales, as was established in antiquity.”⁵⁵ It hardly seems likely that such sales taxes were limited only to Kamenec. If levied in bustling towns like Prague, Vyšehrad, Litoměřice, or Žatec, they must have generated considerable income. The mid-eleventh-century endowment of the collegiate chapter in Litoměřice mentions income from the “sales of

foreigners.”⁵⁶ The duke apparently taxed, if not monopolized, the trade in salt.⁵⁷ He seems also to have controlled, perhaps even licensed, taverns. The so-called Břetislav Decrees explicitly prohibit taverns and drinking generally, while the charter of privilege for the Prague Germans speaks of “secret taverns.”⁵⁸ Possibly alcohol was not sold or consumed publicly in the Czech Lands throughout the later eleventh and twelfth centuries. Given the many references to drunkenness, an alternative scenario might be that, in the course of enforcement of the restrictions announced by Břetislav I, infractions overlooked by the duke soon translated into “exemptions” and thus into *de facto* oversight of the trade in potables.⁵⁹

Finally, there exists evidence of general taxation, although its origin or rationale is impossible to determine. Soběslav I’s grant to the Vyšehrad chapter includes the tenth mark of the “annual tribute” collected from sixteen of the most prominent castles, including Prague, as well as from three “provinces.”⁶⁰ This may, or may not, be the same as the “*tributum pacis*,” mentioned in Soběslav II’s reform and confirmation of the chapter’s income almost fifty years later.⁶¹ Another charter issued to Vyšehrad, this time by Frederick in 1187, allows the church to collect “*venditio seu collecta generalis*” from the people on its own lands.⁶² Hradiště, given a similar privilege in 1160, was allowed to collect both “tribute” and tithe.⁶³ At the end of the twelfth century, Duke/Bishop Henry absolved the newly established monastery at Teplá from paying “the collection of pennies, which is accustomed to be collected throughout Bohemia.”⁶⁴ Whether these comments all refer to the same general levy, or several, they together indicate that the duke garnered income from a tax collected annually, in castles and in the countryside by province, paid by every Czech regardless of the land on which he lived.

These passing references in charters undoubtedly describe only a small portion of the duke’s earnings: whenever a monastery was granted a tenth of the tax, the duke reserved the other nine portions; for every toll income donated, he retained several others; and besides the “tribute” he allowed monasteries to collect, everyone else’s payments went into his coffers. Since the charters record legally binding grants to ecclesiastical institutions, they must also reflect the degree to which dukes felt secure about the cash in their treasury. The duke of Bohemia was not only quite wealthy, but rich in cash. Such liquid assets could prove most valuable in a pinch, say, for securing troops from the emperor to aid in a succession conflict.⁶⁵ Viewed from another perspective, people everywhere in Bohemia carried coins with the duke’s name and image, and used those coins not only for routine transactions. High and low, rich and poor, everyone paid taxes when they sold their goods, as they traveled, and once a year directly to the duke himself.

Jurisdiction

No legal codes are extant from the eleventh or twelfth centuries, even as redacted in later times. When legal historians have approached this period looking for sources—outside ordinary charters—they have found only three.⁶⁶ None is, in fact, strictly a text of *law*; two are charters of privilege and another appears in Cosmas's chronicle. This last, the "Břetislav Decrees," concerns Christianization and thus will be discussed in Chapter 4. One of the two charters of privileges, usually called the "Statutes of Conrad Otto," though conventionally dated to 1189, pertains to the early thirteenth century.⁶⁷ Here the focus is upon the third item, a privilege granted to the German community in Prague. It opens a tiny window onto law and rights of jurisdiction, which are of particular relevance to the analysis of ducal power.

This exceptional legal privilege, a document recording the grant by Soběslav II to the German community in Prague ca. 1174–78, merits citation in its entirety. (To summarize its content would take almost as much space and inevitably be less lucid.)

I Soběslav, duke of the Bohemians, make it known to all those present and future, that I take into my grace and defense the Germans who dwell in the suburb of Prague. It pleases me that, just as these Germans are a different nation from the Czechs, so also are they divided from the Czechs by their law or custom. I concede to these Germans [the right] to live according to the law and justice of the Germans, which they had from the time of my grandfather, King Vratislav. I grant a parish priest, whom they themselves should elect freely to their church, and similarly a judge, and the bishop should in no way contradict their petition. Seven ought to swear by hands [compurgation] for theft and for that which is called *nadvore*. They ought to go on no expedition, except in order to fight for the fatherland [*pro patria*]. If the duke is outside Bohemia on an expedition, then the Germans should guard Prague with 12 shields. To judge concerning homicide pertains to the prince, namely for such homicide 10 talents of Regensburg money should be paid to the prince or the right hand of the killer, or it is to be ordained according to grace. Whoever breaks the peace among them, should pay 10 talents to the prince, whoever is guilty. If a Czech should have a case with a German, which ought to be proved by witnesses, the Czech should have before the German two Germans and one Czech, all Christians. Similarly, if a German should have a case with a Czech, then the German should have before the Czech two Czechs and one German, but Christian. Similarly concerning "Romans" [Romance language speakers] and Jews. If a Czech or Roman or whoever should accuse a German, then the high chamberlain should send a messenger to the Germans' judge and the Germans' judge himself will decide that case and nothing more will pertain to the chamberlain. I also concede to the Germans, that they should be free from guests and pilgrims and immigrants. You should know that the Germans are free men. Whatever immigrant or guest coming from whatever land should wish to remain in the city with the Germans, he should hold the law and custom of the Germans. If theft is to a German, [the thief] ought

to be seized with the Germans' judge present. If the thief is German, then the prince will judge him. If the thief is captured at night, he will be hanged. If he is captured during the day, he should be scourged in public and ordered out of the city; if later he is captured, he will be hanged. Whatever the Germans do, they will not be captured nor put in prison if they have *fideiussores* or their own house. In whatever matter the Germans should be guilty, their children and wives will suffer no harm or shame. If anyone enters through the villages of the Germans at night and does not have a torch, if that person is killed, the Germans are blameless. If false or broken money should be found in the box of a German, he is guilty whosever box it is. But if it should be found in a courtyard or house, he is blameless whosever house or courtyard it is, on account of evil and bad men who are accustomed to throw such money into houses or courtyards. If a stolen horse should be recognized among the Germans, he who recognized the horse will swear to have lost it earlier by theft; afterward the German will swear, standing in a circle made with a sword in the ground, that it was not a stolen horse or any such thing, but had been bought, and he did not know the seller or his house. The Germans ought never to swear except in front of the church of St. Peter, except by command of the prince. If a secret tavern should be found in the house of a German, the lord of the house should be seized, with the Germans' judge or his messenger present, and no one else.⁶⁸

Dukes may have granted similar privileges for the Jewish and Romance-speaking communities in Prague mentioned here. The claim in the document, that Soběslav was merely affirming a custom already established by his grandfather Vratislav (r. 1061–92), rings true: Cosmas reports that his predecessor Spithněv (r. 1055–61) had summarily expelled all Germans from Bohemia, and thus it would not be surprising to find that they sought, and Vratislav granted, more clearly enumerated rights when they or others returned.⁶⁹ The practice of granting special jurisdictional rights to non-Czech communities is attested even earlier: Cosmas says that Břetislav I transplanted a group of conquered Poles to Bohemia in 1039, at their request, “establishing for them one man from among them as prefect and judge, and decreed that both they and their descendants should forever live under the law which they had had in Poland.”⁷⁰

The privilege makes no reference to the customary “law of the land” and provides only the barest clues about what its norms might have been—that witnesses were sworn to testify before judges; that trespass, counterfeiting, and especially theft carried heavy penalties; that mitigating circumstances were recognized, whether in favor of the accused or the victim. It does, however, show the exercise of ducal jurisdiction, specifically stipulating that the duke should decide cases of homicide and certain instances of theft. It may be that the duke simply held special jurisdiction in and around Prague or specifically over foreign communities. However, evidence of ducal jurisdiction over capital crimes surfaces in other documents in which property is declared to have been acquired by the duke from men who were hanged.⁷¹ More fundamentally,

it was for the duke to give these jurisdictional rights to the Germans' judge, to reserve certain decisions to himself, and to prejudge particular circumstances. The duke not only granted these privileges, he must also have been the sole authority ensuring their enforcement.

No cases involving peasants, free or unfree, are recorded to indicate whether ordinary people had access to the duke's justice. Cosmas, in an anecdote he uses to prophesy the death of Spitihněv, relates that on his way to war the duke was approached on the road by a widow who asked him to vindicate her against her adversary. When he tried to put off her case, she asked whom he would send to vindicate her if he did not return from the campaign. According to Cosmas, "immediately, at the petition of a single widow, he interrupted the expedition and vindicated her against her adversary by a just judgment."⁷² Since Cosmas follows this with an injunction to "modern princes" not to neglect the defense of widows and orphans, a common trope of good Christian rulership, this story can hardly be admitted as proof that the duke's jurisdiction was accessible to any Czech who asked for it. On the other hand, Gerlach of Milevsko reports that Soběslav II was such a just judge that he was commonly called the "prince of the peasants" because he defended the claims of the poor against the magnates and rendered judgment without respect to person.⁷³ Since Gerlach's point is to emphasize Soběslav's particular zeal, it was probably not common for dukes to put peasants before the more powerful men of the realm. Yet even if "prince of the peasants" was meant with irony or as outright ridicule, it must argue that, whatever the practical obstacles, no legal impediment existed to prevent the lowest freemen and women from appealing to the duke.

The privilege granted the Prague Germans includes a clue about procedure: cases were initiated when brought to the attention of the duke's chamberlain, who made some decision about venue before they went before the duke. About this same time, first ca. 1170 and regularly thereafter, the *iudex curiae* appears in witness lists among other court officers, although his precise function is unknown.⁷⁴ The few actual suits described in charters, however, reveal that controversies between lay or ecclesiastical magnates were not decided by the duke and his servants alone. In the dispute over Němoj's grant to the chapter of Vyšehrad, the old charter was read aloud before the duke and his court.⁷⁵ The chronicles report the same. In 1130, when Soběslav I got wind of a plot to assassinate him, he called "three thousand" men, "noble and ignoble," to Vyšehrad for the interrogation and sentencing of those involved.⁷⁶ The duke possessed jurisdiction over the important men of the realm, but their fellow magnates could expect to be present and consulted when such matters arose. Concerning lands exchanged with and then denied by the sons of Slavek,

Hartmann of Miřkov avowed: "But producing witnesses, from the law of this land I obtained my right before the king and all the princes of the land."⁷⁷ In important cases, not merely the duke but the "princes of the land" were also present.⁷⁸

More than any other right, jurisdiction was explicitly associated with rulership. The need for respected persons who could solve disputes was seen, by Cosmas at least, as a natural political development, and it was the belief that such judges needed the power to enforce their decisions which, in the tale of Libuše and Přemysl, led to the appointment of the first Czech duke.⁷⁹ That jurisdiction could be a formidable, and easily abused, basis for power is expressed in Libuše's own admonition to the Czechs. Her speech seems to voice the worry that the duke would be the sole arbiter of the law, standing virtually above it. Yet Hartmann pressed his case not merely before the duke but according to "the law of the land." The phrase *ius terrae* appeals to a law recognized among the Czechs, founded on custom, and independent of the duke. Likewise, the charter in which the duke claims to have acquired the lands granted "legitimately by other just means, according to the judgment of the senior nobles of Bohemia" asserts that the Přemyslid ruler was indeed bound by such laws. Transactions were performed and disputes resolved in the company of various lay and ecclesiastical magnates as well as the duke. These, and the other witnesses assiduously noted in twelfth-century charters, must have served as *de facto* coadjudicators. Justice was too important to be treated in private, to be left to one man alone, and their presence must have assured that the duke abided by custom.

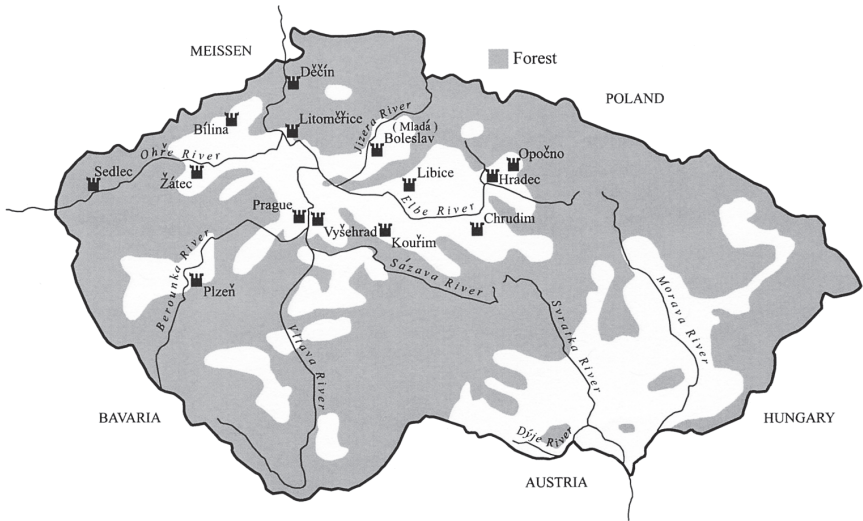
Castles

The duke of Bohemia controlled all castles within his territory. Archeological evidence shows that the destruction and rebuilding of castles accompanied the Přemyslid expansion of power in the ninth and tenth centuries.⁸⁰ Whether this process established the duke's direct and absolute lordship over castles in the Czech Lands, or some legal justification prevailed, all fortifications of any size and function without any doubt belonged to the duke in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. He built and refortified them, and assigned his followers to them at will. Castles as structures were less valuable than the allegiance of those that manned them; oversight rather than ownership was the real issue, and in many cases their importance was more political than military. The ruler's delegation of authority over castles and his means of maintaining control profoundly affected the social, political, and economic conditions of laymen, especially those of middling and high rank. For this reason, questions

of appointment and oversight will be treated more fully in the next chapter. We need here, however, to reflect upon the number and function of castles in the Czech Lands and upon the duke's monopoly.

As usual, the evidence demands a cautious approach: it is impossible to determine the total number, location, or relative prominence of castles throughout Bohemia and Moravia at any given time. Many more fortifications of various sizes and functions must have existed than are noted in the written sources. On the basis of topographical, archeological, and written evidence, Jiří Sláma lists 144 known or suspected castles in Bohemia, but this number has not been adjusted to account for changes over time or to specify sites of activity during particular eras.⁸¹ How many of the ninth- or tenth-century walled sites were destroyed or declined in importance by the eleventh or twelfth centuries therefore remains unknown. Sláma's own analysis of Přemyslid expansion and consolidation demonstrates that castles were systematically destroyed.⁸² Cosmas describes ancient sites overrun with trees.⁸³ A few of the older fortifications are known or presumed to have been put to more benign uses, becoming sites of early monasteries: Ostrov, Hradiště (at Olomouc), Rajhrad, Postoloprty, and later Mnichovo Hradiště.⁸⁴ Even Mělník and Stará Boleslav, two castles of considerable importance in the tenth century, were later notable mainly as sites of collegiate chapters.⁸⁵

The other handicap is that the written sources, typically, employ terminology very loosely.⁸⁶ A castle may be indicated by *civitas*, *urbs*, *castrum*, *castellum*, *oppidum*, *arx*, *munitio*, or *presidium*.⁸⁷ Yet none of these variants exclusively denote differences between castles, for instance, to distinguish critical border posts from minor guard-towers, major urban centers, ducal hunting residences, or stopping points on trade routes.⁸⁸ Regardless of terminology, context sometimes offers clues about specific sites. Chlumec, the site of many battles, was obviously a border post on a well-traveled road.⁸⁹ Tachov and Pímda are likewise located near the border, but in deeper isolation—hence Pímda's use as a prison for Soběslav II.⁹⁰ Křívoklát too is known from Cosmas as a prison for lesser Přemyslids, but lies in central Bohemia.⁹¹ Though important in their own way, none of these four is associated with a "province," nor are their castellans noted in witness lists. By contrast, Litoměřice and Žatec were less defensive posts than urban centers.⁹² Places like Plzeň and Kladsko, located on major roads to Bavaria and Poland respectively, may have begun as relatively isolated stopping points but clearly developed into towns of some prominence—even as Kladsko probably remained critical for defense.⁹³ Whether the outposts in southern Bohemia—Pracheň, Doudleby, Netolice—developed similarly in this period remains uncertain.⁹⁴ So too does the fate of



Map 1. *Civitates* listed in CDB no. 111 (1130).

a number of castles in eastern Bohemia, some quite old, such as Čáslav and Kourim.⁹⁵

Which of these castles and castellans had administrative functions, and what sort, remains a matter of speculation. Precisely because most of those of the first rank later developed into towns, chartered from the mid-thirteenth century, they may have served as regional economic centers in the earlier period as well. When Duke Spitihněv granted to the collegiate chapter at Vyšehrad a tenth of the yearly tax in sixteen *civitates*, we recognize the same most important Bohemian castles mentioned in other sources: Prague, Vyšehrad, Žatec, Sedlec, Litoměřice, Bílina, Děčín, (Mladá) Boleslav, Kamenec, Hradec (Kralové), Opočno, Chrudim, Kourim, Plzeň, Libice, and Vratno⁹⁶ (see Map 1). Charters and chronicles occasionally mention “provinciae” and some of the same names appear there, most notably Litoměřice, Žatec, Bílina, and Sedlec.⁹⁷ That these provinces are not labeled according to geographic location (in other words, “North Bohemia”) or with reference to natural monuments (such as the “west Elbe area”) points to the pivotal role played by these castles within the region.

Conceivably, castles served as centers for tax collecting and the oversight of markets, for organizing raiding parties and defense against foreign invaders, or within a system of courts. In positing administrative districts ori-

ented around castles, however, we must exercise caution.⁹⁸ At no time do the sources permit a complete picture, allowing us to subdivide all of the Czech Lands into clearly bounded provinces or castellanies. There is no way to determine which among the known castles formed centers for administrative districts, or precisely when. Surely Litoměřice and Žatec did throughout the eleventh and twelfth centuries, so too Plzeň. But settlement patterns shifted dramatically. None of the *civitates* listed in the grant of annual tribute to the Vyšehrad chapter lies in southern Bohemia but there, and elsewhere, colonization must have increasingly challenged whatever organizational structures had previously existed. Central Bohemia presents as many difficulties, paradoxically because more castles are known there, the territory was more densely populated, and the duke's own capital at Prague was located close by. It remains uncertain whether Prague and Vyšehrad constituted regional administrative centers, as well as of Bohemia as a whole—or how they related to one another. The castellany of Vyšehrad was undoubtedly considered among the most prominent of appointments, but the castellan of Prague, a man rarely mentioned, seems charged only with the defense of its fortifications.⁹⁹ Other questions too—for instance, about how assets were allocated to castellans and/or garrisons according to the needs and purposes of each castle, and as economic and demographic circumstances changed—are crucial for understanding the tasks castellans were expected to perform; but they cannot be answered.

One thing, at least, is certain: only the duke is ever mentioned constructing, strengthening, or refortifying castles of any kind. When a group of Germans crossed the border and erected a castle in Bohemia, the stronghold was swiftly seized and its occupants slaughtered.¹⁰⁰ Castle-building was expensive: most likely the duke alone had or could command sufficient resources for the task. Only he could compel freemen to take part in their construction or refortification (see below). In the twelfth-century chronicles, these construction projects merit mention on their own, among the most noteworthy events of the year. The Canon of Vyšehrad begins his entry for 1129 by reporting simply two events: “Vratislav, son of Oldřich, was captured by Soběslav and afterward sent into exile. The castle Kladsko was renovated and strengthened by Soběslav.”¹⁰¹ Apparently, so exclusively did the task fall to the duke that he even rebuilt a castle before giving it away: “Duke Břetislav [II], coming with an army into Moravia, rebuilt the castle Podivín and returned it to the power of Bishop Hermann [of Prague], as it had been earlier.”¹⁰²

Despite this last reference, castles were never alienated in the manner of property, whether to lay or ecclesiastical magnates; the status of Podivín was exceptional—and therefore revealing. Located not far from the Austrian bor-

der, Duke Vratislav had given it to the newly established bishop of Olomouc, apparently withdrawing it from the bishop of Prague.¹⁰³ It changed hands and was a bone of fierce contention between the bishops of Prague and Olomouc for almost a century. By the 1140s, the powerful bishop of Olomouc, Henry Zdík, secured it for his own see. The ducal charter—the only one in which a castle is granted¹⁰⁴—provides the key to these disputes: “Intending to reform the rights of age-old institution concerning this castle, we ordered that a mint be there, as there had been in the beginning.”¹⁰⁵ The castle served primarily as the site of the mint. Since there is no sure evidence that coins were minted separately in Moravia after this time, Podivín may have reverted to the duke (and thence to the vice-duke of Znojmo) when the mint ceased to function.¹⁰⁶ In 1178, when a portion of the income from the “toll below Podivín” was given to the chapter of Vyšehrad, this amounted to only two denáry.¹⁰⁷ The only other mention of Podivín is a witness list from 1174, in which one Tvrdša is listed as its castellan; since the same man appeared in an earlier list as castellan of Hodonín, he was probably not from the bishop’s entourage, but among the prominent magnates of Moravia who served as castellans throughout the region.¹⁰⁸ Whatever its allocation at the close of the twelfth century, the recurring disputes in preceeding decades over the exceptional episcopal castle and mint at Podivín seems to emphasize all the more how a different norm governed the disposition of all other castles in Bohemia and Moravia.

Castles, of whatever distinction, were undoubtedly manned by someone; the question is under what conditions and with what accompanying rights. Given the purposes known with certainty, the man or men charged with their control must be viewed as functionaries, rather than feudatories. Certainly their job was to hold the castle and to defend it against intruders. When, during the conflict with the emperor in 1041, a castellan deserted the castle under his charge in exchange for a bribe, Břetislav I ordered him dismembered and thrown from a bridge.¹⁰⁹ Castellans were undoubtedly rewarded for their services. Two charters, issued by the duke and referring to “land pertaining to the castle,” suggest that castellans received produce from lands specifically allocated for maintenance of the castle and garrison.¹¹⁰ They may also have received a percentage of taxes collected locally, though no sure evidence supports this conjecture. Still, income from markets would have made the castle of a thriving town, such as Žatec or Litoměřice, quite a plum appointment—an impression reinforced throughout the sources.

How these men were installed, and how tenuous and dependent their position, is best illustrated by the assorted references in the chronicles to castellans deposed, or worse, by the duke. Soběslav II, for instance, in revenge for the many years he spent in prison at Přimda, in 1174 captured its castellan and

executed him publicly, in spite of his promise of grace and security.¹¹¹ But the removal of castellans was not necessarily accompanied by their violent deaths: it could be as simple as a whisper in the ear. According to Cosmas, soon after Vratislav's accession to the throne, Mstiš, the castellan of Bílina invited him to a church dedication there, although surely aware that the new duke harbored ill-will against him for the mistreatment of his first wife while imprisoned at Lštěnín some years before, under Mstiš's care.¹¹² Vratislav agreed to attend, saying "I will come, I will make my city joyful, and I will do what the affair and justice demand."¹¹³ The duke apparently felt that justice called for the public disgrace and deposition of Mstiš at his own party: "While feasting, a messenger came who said in the ear of the *comes*: 'The castellany of the city is withdrawn from you and given to Kojata, son of Všebor,' who was at that time first in the ducal palace. To this the *comes* answered: 'The duke is also the lord; let him do with his castle what he pleases.'"¹¹⁴ This story, whatever its basis in fact, demonstrates well the duke's undisputed control of both castles and castellans. Still another remark by Cosmas is telling: After the assassination of Duke Svatopluk in 1109, when it was still undetermined whether Bořivoj or Vladislav would succeed, Fabian, castellan of Vyšehrad and undoubtedly among the most prominent magnates, "having left his city of Vyšehrad, tarried in villages in its neighborhood, dependent upon the uncertainty of fate."¹¹⁵ Nothing in the sources suggests that appointments as castellan were ever more than temporary, or expected to be. The witness lists to charters of the late twelfth century provide an equally vivid, and more reliable, picture of the rotation of magnates in and out of castellanies and court offices; because of the profound effect this arrangement had upon the structure of the medieval Czech nobility, these documents will be treated in detail in the next chapter.

For our purposes here, it suffices to note the success and significance of the duke's dominion over castles, large and small, and over the men who administered them — an argument that may also be made compellingly from negative evidence. In the many revolts and occasional battles against invaders from outside, none of the decisive confrontations centered on castles. In fact, virtually all of the military engagements described by chroniclers were waged in open terrain. The chief and most notable exception is Prague itself, which, as the emblem of the duke's authority and site of his throne — the object of every pretender's ambition — was frequently besieged.¹¹⁶ Likewise only the castles on both sides of the Austro-Moravian border functioned as bases from which to launch or wait out raids.¹¹⁷ Although Soběslav II successfully holed up in a castle, remaining at Skála for the better part of 1179 after Frederick managed to oust him from the throne, on no other occasion was a magnate or any other

Přemyslid able to do so, whether seeking to establish an independent lordship or simply to avoid the duke's wrath.¹¹⁸

The information available from written sources or archeological research remains inadequate for resolving many crucial issues with regard to castles in the Czech Lands: the origins of the duke's exclusive lordship; their defensive, economic, or other administrative functions; the organizational divisions obtaining within Bohemia and Moravia at specific times; and the privileges, duties, and assets of castellans. We can be certain, however, that they played a significant social and political role, and that the thorough domination of all castles constituted a vital foundation of the Přemyslid duke's power. Accountability was enforced and ensured as a matter of routine by treating castellanies, like court offices, as temporary if lucrative appointments to which no magistrate had a specific or lasting claim. Nevertheless, since castellanies were, by definition, meaningless in the absence of a garrison and its leadership, ducal control of castles rested upon the loyalty of the freemen. Castles thus occupied a central place in the delicate balance and interdependence of the Czech duke and freemen; their fates hung together—as we shall see in Chapter 3.

Military Service

In 1039, when Duke Břetislav I prepared to attack Poland, taking advantage of a succession crisis there to expand his realm, Cosmas reports: "Having taken counsel with his men, he ordered them to attack and immediately pronounced a terrifying sentence, sending throughout the province of all of Bohemia a collar of twisted cork as a sign of his command, so that whoever came out into camp slowly would know without a doubt by the given sign that he would be hanged by such a collar in the gallows."¹¹⁹ The atmosphere of fear is palpable, so it hardly comes as a surprise that "in the blink of an eye and to a man they gathered into one."¹²⁰ The resort to coercion seems designed to induce speed, however, not to press into service men unaccustomed to it. Nothing in the story suggests that the call to campaign was unusual, or considered unjust. This occasion, then, was like so many others throughout the eleventh and twelfth centuries: the duke summoned an army of freemen, as was his right, and served as its leader, as was his obligation. The Czechs, for their part, took up their arms, as was customary, expected, and mandatory.

It is impossible to know which men fought in particular military engagements, under what conditions they served, or how they were organized.¹²¹ The little extant evidence indicates only—and not insignificantly—that the duke had the right to issue a universal muster and that this applied to freemen at all levels of society. Cosmas, in describing the factions aligned with Vratislav

against his son Břetislav in the summer of 1091, mentions “the whole army of ordinary people,” who stood with the king.¹²² In 1158, Vladislav II announced his intention to participate in the imperial campaign against Milan, for which he had already promised troops. The chronicler, Vincent, who himself traveled to Italy with the army, reports that throughout the realm there was great excitement as everyone readied their weapons and bade farewell to their families. Even the peasants, he says, put down their ploughs for swords: “In their songs and in their words the siege of Milan resounded; everywhere arms were prepared and arms were repaired, and not only the youth of the nobles but also many from the people, throwing off peasant work, fit their hands, more suited to hoes and ploughshares than to shields, lances and the rest, to military arms.”¹²³

Later still, concerning 1174, Gerlach of Milevsko says of Duke Soběslav II: “Whenever an expedition loomed before him, when his magnates were in chariots and on horses, he was not confident unless he saw the poor people also with him, some on horses, others footsoldiers, according to the means of each.”¹²⁴ Some of these “poor people” had sufficient resources to fight mounted, indicating that this was a practical matter rather than a privilege. By the late twelfth century, military service among the lowest ranks of freemen may have become exceptional, however, since Gerlach describes Soběslav’s reliance on ordinary men as something unusual. Still, these passing references provide clear evidence, even for the later twelfth century, that more than an elite group of freemen were prepared for and accustomed to warfare, and that they expected to serve at the duke’s call.

The duke’s right to impose a universal muster is reflected not only by campaigns in which lesser freemen served, but by the exemptions from service he granted. In the case of the Milan campaign, for instance, the duke did not in fact mandate universal participation. When Vladislav II announced to the men at court his plans to proceed against Milan, they objected strenuously to his promising aid to the emperor without consulting them. He therefore absolved them from *mandatory* service while offering rich rewards to those willing to join him. Vincent of Prague ascribes these words to the duke: “Whoever intends to help me in this matter, I will adorn him with fitting honor and the money necessary for this, as is proper. But whoever declines, content with women’s games and leisure, may sit at home secure in my peace.”¹²⁵ Vincent tells a similar story of the objection to Vladislav’s plan to intervene in a Hungarian succession crisis, although on that occasion the magnates joined without delay once release was granted.¹²⁶ Selected documents also show the duke granting permanent exemption from obligatory military service. In a

mid-twelfth-century charter for the bishop of Olomouc, the duke declares that the Moravian vice-dukes may not press the bishop's people, whether free or servile, into military service: "no one should dare disturb them for the rebuilding of castles located in that land or for going on any kind of campaign."¹²⁷ Similar immunity was given to Hradiště in 1160.¹²⁸ The Germans of Prague were absolved from fighting unless *pro patria*, but they remained obliged to defend the city if the duke was away.¹²⁹ It was surely a mark of their exceptional position in the land for these Germans to be released from military service, but even they—merchants probably—were responsible for defense.

When the duke absolved the bishop's men from military service, as protection against the unscrupulous exercise of the rights held in his name by the Moravian vice-dukes, the absolution was directly linked with exemption from building castles; so also at Hradiště. Such an onerous job, one which could not supply the glory and booty available on campaign, must have been an unwelcome aspect of military service. Cosmas, in a story about the tyrannical behavior of Boleslav I "the Cruel" (929–955), provides an explanation for the obligation's origin:

He [Boleslav] immediately called the leaders of the people into one and to a man. Leading them to a place on the Elbe and pointing to this place he opened up to them the secret of his heart: "Here," he said, "I want and command, that you build for me the walls of a city in the Roman manner very high and in a circle." To this they said: "We who are the mouth of the people and hold the staffs of honor, we refuse you, because we do not recognize and do not want to do what you command, and nor did our fathers do such a thing before. Behold, we stand in your presence and we submit our necks to your sword rather than to such unbearable servitude. Do what you wish, but we will not obey your commands."¹³⁰

Boleslav called this bluff and, brandishing his sword in a terrifying manner, killed a man who was "first among the *seniores*" in order to help the people decide "whether it was lighter to submit their necks to the sword or to the bond of servitude." They instantly capitulated, agreed to do whatever the duke ordered, and built a city—named Boleslav—according to his desires.¹³¹ Although in this case the story recounts the construction of an entirely new castle, most references specify or imply the refortification of existing sites. That men could be pressed to this task, as well as active military service, is reported in a simple fashion by the Canon of Vyšehrad: "At that time, the Czechs rebuilt certain fortifications, which are called Přimda, Žhořelec, and Tachov in Slavic."¹³² The obligation to erect castles was linked to mandatory military service, and like it, seems to have applied universally to all freemen. The Czechs were also

obliged to fell trees as a defense against invaders along certain forest roads, a barrier called *přesecka*. Soběslav II absolved the men of the monastery of Kladruba from this “cutting of the forest,” except in one location.¹³³ Road and bridge building obligations are also mentioned in the Hradiště immunity, although whether they also arose out of military obligations, for instance, in accordance with the need to move men through the territory for its defense, remains uncertain.

The duke’s right to muster the Czech freemen was undoubtedly associated with his role as their chief military leader. His obligation to lead expeditions personally must have been taken for granted. The chroniclers, for instance, apparently felt no need to state something so obvious: the Přemyslids whose blindings they report were thereby automatically removed from the line of succession because this disability prevented them from leading men into battle. The only military engagement mentioned in which the duke is not present was a raiding party apparently undertaken with his permission.¹³⁴ For imperial campaigns in Italy, which occurred regularly during the reign of Frederick Barbarossa and were apparently considered outside customary military service, the duke sometimes designated another Přemyslid to lead the army in his place.¹³⁵ The only duke ever shown to be unwilling to fight is the mythical Neklan, whose very name translates as “not esteemed.” In Cosmas’s story, Neklan contrives to place his closest counsellor in command, dressed in his own clothes and on his horse. This man, called Tyro, likewise assumed the duke’s task of exhorting his men to fight valiantly in the imminent battle, noting at the outset of his speech: “It is fitting for a duke to add strength to his warriors with words.”¹³⁶

Přemyslid rulers no doubt derived substantial authority from their military role and prowess. As Cosmas says, “What would limbs do without a head, or warriors in battle without a duke?”¹³⁷ Besides the benefits to the duke’s personal prestige, say, from the successful expansion of his territory, much political clout — especially in the eleventh century — must have depended upon his leadership of bounty raids, profitable to ruler and warriors alike. The alternative was also true: Duchess Elizabeth apparently had more military sense than her husband, Frederick, and, according to Gerlach’s account, prevented his overthrow by Soběslav in 1179 by her forethought.¹³⁸ Not surprisingly, the chronicler speaks in another context of “Lady Elizabeth, who governed Bohemia more than her husband did.”¹³⁹ Ultimately, the duke of Bohemia was charged with defending the realm and its inhabitants, and his subjects with assisting him in that endeavor. As with jurisdiction, this was not a task the duke could fulfill alone, as Cosmas notes as a corollary to his earlier question: “just

as a warrior without arms lacks his function, so a duke without warriors has not even the title of duke.”¹⁴⁰

The Přemyslid duke of Bohemia must have enjoyed extraordinary wealth and undisputed predominance in the Czech Lands. He maintained complete control of all fortifications and their castellans, and held supreme jurisdiction. Minting in Bohemia was centralized at Prague and coins were issued in the duke's name alone. The Czechs could be compelled to perform military service at the ruler's command, as well as being required to build castles, bridges, roads, and *přeseky*. The duke amassed a substantial treasure from a wide array of taxes, from sales, tolls, and annual collections. And he had at his disposal far more land, arable and especially unsettled forest, than even the wealthiest magnate. The power of the duke of Bohemia was vast and — outside Moravia — hardly delegated. The worries of the mythic prophetess Libuše seem, then, to have been justified. But the Czech freemen were not so disenfranchised before their duke as her speech made out. The ruler did not himself stand above the *ius terrae* but was charged with upholding it and, in many instances, bound by it. He had no claim to land owned by others, whatever their status; they were free to utilize their property as they wished. His right to demand labor services was limited by custom, and his warriors stood ready to remind their leader of that fact. The realities of politics, most importantly, were a potent and omnipresent constraint upon the duke's exercise of his extensive rights and privileges.

2. THE FREEMEN

In Cosmas's account of the mythic origins of ducal lordship, Libuše prophesied "what the rights of a duke might be" and predicted the duke's indisputed domination of medieval Czech society. He would, she said, do with the Czechs and their property as he pleased. Indeed, in the preceeding chapter the duke of Bohemia's rights and assets proved extensive; he exercised comprehensive oversight in his territory and enjoyed a near monopoly of the institutional bases for power. Libuše warned the Czechs that the decision to subject themselves to a duke would result in their own near-total disempowerment. Yet throughout the *Chronica Boemorum* and the chronicles which succeeded it appears ample evidence that Czech laymen were by no means powerless, their lives and goods disposed according to the duke's whim. Nor, as Chapter 6 demonstrates at length, were they too terrified of their lord to oppose him.

All power, it goes without saying, entails relationships. Even at the highest political levels, there always existed some connection — real or idealized — between ruler and ruled. We need, therefore, to bring the Czech freemen out from behind the duke's shadow, to treat them in their own right. Only then will it be possible to understand their motivations, constraints, and internal dynamics, as well as their stance toward the dukes they were so often ready to depose. Nevertheless, understanding the "ordinary folk" in medieval Czech society is exceedingly difficult, often quite frustrating, because most of what can be known about laymen per se must be deduced from their relations to the duke, around whom the narrative and documentary materials are oriented. The duke's subjects, the lay inhabitants of the Czech Lands, comprised a wide array of individuals, nearly all of whom lived and died beyond the purview of the extant sources.¹ It is impossible to put faces and names to more than a few men, rare to know any background for those, and altogether futile to look for any comment about their mothers, wives, or daughters. Distinguishing between laymen of different stations, even knowing what the defining social strata were, likewise relies largely on guesswork, as do assumptions about the apparently "elite" men who appear in the sources.

In the last one hundred years of scholarship on the medieval Czech Lands, historians have tried to remedy the dearth of sources by recourse to sociological models or by extrapolating backwards from conditions obtaining in

later centuries. Such approaches have invariably led more to distortion than to clarification. For instance, the nineteenth-century preoccupation with the origins of later medieval and early modern noble families has generally obscured our knowledge of the magnates during this crucial time because many of the assumptions about the nobility in the late twelfth and early thirteenth century depend upon conceptions of lineage, especially those partrilines later associated with specific castles and heraldic devices, which we cannot be certain prevailed in the twelfth century.² At the other end of the spectrum, the Marxist effort to study the peasantry relied on anachronistic assumptions about conditions among a class oppressed by “feudal” lords. Far less information is available concerning the unfree than for those that might be construed as “the elite,” but even so no evidence supports the assumption that the countryside was populated by substantially more unfree peasants, or slaves, than freemen.³ Bridging these two approaches, however incongruously, is the “*družina* model” presumed by all current scholarship.⁴ It seeks to describe the Czech protonobility, to explain their relationship to the duke, and to understand the structure of lay society in Bohemia and Moravia in terms of an early medieval retinue. The assumption of its institutional existence has been taken as a starting point, rather than as the subject of focused research, with the result that every reference in the narrative sources to *cum suis*, *clientes*, *satellites*, *cum militibus*, *comitatus*, and any other description of men traveling with other men is taken as evidence of *družiny*.⁵ The flaws in such a circular argument are self-evident. A fourth approach attempts to combine all these assumptions, together with those about state development, ducal administration, and castle districts (discussed above), in order to chart a trajectory for the “development of the nobility” over several centuries; the resulting theories have only the slimmest grounding in the extant evidence.⁶ We must move away from such misguided approaches, whether the convenient short-hand designations by which kin-groups are identified in the historiography or abstract conceptual categories like the *družina*, in order to begin to examine the freemen’s own consciousness of kinship and lineage, notions of property and inheritance, and social, economic, and political relations with their ruler.

One final note before proceeding: The term “freemen” is used throughout this study broadly to designate laymen in Czech society in this period, though we hardly know enough about them to determine the English term that would most accurately represent the group of individuals described by any given reference in the written sources. In other instances, “magnates” seems to be the term that approximates most closely the usage of such words as *comites* in the Latin sources and is also analogous to the medieval Czech *župani*. At the same time, even “magnate” risks misunderstanding, since it implies an elite group

whose preeminence is based on landowning; the latter is certainly not the case in the Czech Lands, and we have few means of determining how “elite” individuals or groups among the *Boemini*, *milites*, or *meliores* were. Because they were not a closed, hereditary social group, as we shall see, “nobility” is inappropriate. The broader term “freemen” is therefore used as the basic term for the free, land-owning warriors of all ranks. “Freemen,” “magnates,” and “Czechs” — understood without explicitly ethnic connotations — are employed loosely, and deliberately so.

Identifying the Freemen

As with ducal lordship, consideration of the Czech laymen, their circumstances and interactions, must begin at the most basic level. Although the answers often remain elusive, structural questions need to be asked about distinctions between the free and the unfree, between those with and without landed property, among those bearing titles and moving in the duke’s circle, among various kin-groups or lineages, and between individuals of different ethnic origins. Such queries attempt to understand the Czechs in collective terms, whether in self-consciously identified groups or within the social stratifications defined by custom. This section takes another, complementary tack by examining the circumstances and careers of selected individuals. Some freemen step out of the sources by name, whether because they played a key role in the events described by chroniclers or were listed as donors or witnesses to late-twelfth-century charters. Examining their lives and roles, and the differences between these various men, offers a striking counterweight to analysis of abstract notions of status. Both the social-structural and prosopographical methods proceed by recourse to charters and chronicles, where passing remarks often provide the only clues. At times, the soundest conclusions to be drawn are negative or inconclusive. Still, while a roster of all that is *not* known easily becomes tedious, it can also prove revealing, especially where it helps dislodge assumptions made too easily or casually.

Categories of Status and Lineage

The Czech Lands, the previous chapter argued, comprised a society of land-owners, most of moderate means. Small plots simply meant small landowners. Since there were no legal distinctions between lands, none apparently separated their property owners. Categories of personal status, free and unfree, remain altogether unclear, however, as does their relationship to landowning.

Specific individuals are almost never described in either narrative or documentary sources as *servus* or *liber*, but a few passing comments indicate that such distinctions did exist. The Germans living in Prague, for instance, were all “free” according to the privilege issued ca. 1174.⁷ Several grants to monasteries include as part of the donation men, and sometimes women, defined according to their professions; long lists appear in the mid-eleventh century grant to the chapter at Litoměřice, and in the foundation charter for the Moravian Benedictines at Hradiště.⁸ The Hradiště charter from 1078 also makes provisions for subject peasants who wished to become free:

It should be known that among those whom we have listed, some are *servi* and others are to be inducted by a fee. Four fishermen, seven ploughs with ploughmen: these are entirely to be inducted by fee; for the head of each a fee of 300 *denarii* is to be given, with the stipulation that, if at any time anyone of them wishes to leave servitude, he should pay the fee that was given for him, and from that fee someone else should be inducted into the same profession.⁹

What sort of arrangement such “servitude by fee” constituted remains unclear—this passage provides the only evidence—but it appears to have been a temporary subjection from which freedom was possible. Since these people were forced to pay their lord to redeem themselves, they were not simply hired laborers; as the bargain, for both subjection and freedom, was to be struck between lord and unfree individual rather than two owners, it seems not to imply slavery. A grant from the turn of the century likewise speaks of emancipating the unfree. Having listed the villages and *familia* he ceded to the chapter at Vyšehrad, the magnate Němoj concluded: “This is the *familia* which is given to perpetual freedom: Tutana, Bohumila, Radohna, Bratrohna, Vratena, Ubicest, Decana.”¹⁰ In other instances phrases such as “whether free or servile” lay emphasis on the categories, even as they efface them by stipulating that tithes or taxes, for instance, are to be paid *regardless* of status.¹¹

All Czechs owed the duke military and pecuniary obligations. Moreover, no evidence indicates that landless men were universally exempted from such payments and service; nor were those inhabiting property owned by someone else. Even ecclesiastical institutions only rarely secured, to their own profit, exemptions from these obligations for the people on their lands: in the 1140s the bishop of Olomouc, in the 1160s the house at Hradiště, and in the 1190s the Bohemian Benedictines at Kladruba.¹² Outside these documented cases, people on church lands continued to pay tribute to the duke, to gather in his army, to work on castles, bridges, and roads, and to bring suits before, or be punished by, ducal courts. There is no doubt that such immunities were ex-

ceptional; it was a long and hard-fought struggle between Bishop Andreas of Prague and King Přemysl Otakar I from 1216 to 1222 to secure them for episcopal lands in Bohemia.¹³ Whether this means that freemen could live on lands owned by others and still remain obliged to the duke by virtue of that freedom, or whether such persons were in fact unfree but retained a measure of his protection, we cannot know. This does, however, reinforce the impression that the distinction between free and unfree was not a rigid dichotomy, but a gradation of statuses and circumstances.¹⁴ Some freemen may have lived in conditions little different from their servile neighbors, and unfree people might have shared rights and obligations with freemen even of the highest rank.

Distinctions among elite freemen are equally difficult to determine. Below the Přemyslid rulers of Bohemia and Moravia, styled either *dux* or *princeps*, no system of ranking by title existed. When given any title, individual lay magnates are most frequently described in the narrative sources as *comes*. It is not at all clear from usage, however, what the specific significance of this title might have been. I have not translated it anywhere in this study because the traditional English translation “count” implies a position in a hierarchy which simply did not obtain in the Czech Lands; rather, the meaning tends more toward the classical Latin usage signifying “companion,” from which *comitatus* derives. Yet *comes* was not tossed around arbitrarily by the chroniclers. It is never used when listing young men killed in battle, for instance. But was it a title of honor or stature the chronicler could assign at will? Was it used by contemporaries for men of particular prestige or standing?¹⁵ Was it given to men holding particular offices? A man may occasionally be designated *comes* of a place, though whether because he was appointed to an office or because he was a *comes* and happened also to hold the castle is not definite.¹⁶ In witness lists for late twelfth-century charters, *prefectus* is used interchangeably with *castellanus*, and *castellanus* with *comes* in reference to the same individuals and locations.¹⁷ While *prefectus* and *castellanus* mean quite certainly “castellan” and are therefore always given with the name of a castle, we must still be wary of assuming that this was the only, or chief, significance of *comes*. All that seems certain is that no hierarchic titlature was used to distinguish hereditary strata among the magnates, though prestigious and administrative titles did exist.¹⁸

Analysis of continuity or heritability within an “elite” group of magnates is further hampered by lack of knowledge about specific individuals and their families. Occasionally a narrative source provides the name of a man’s father, more rarely his grandfather, sometimes his brother. Individuals who did not figure prominently in notable events are named only among the men killed or wounded in battle or, from the mid-twelfth century, as witnesses to char-

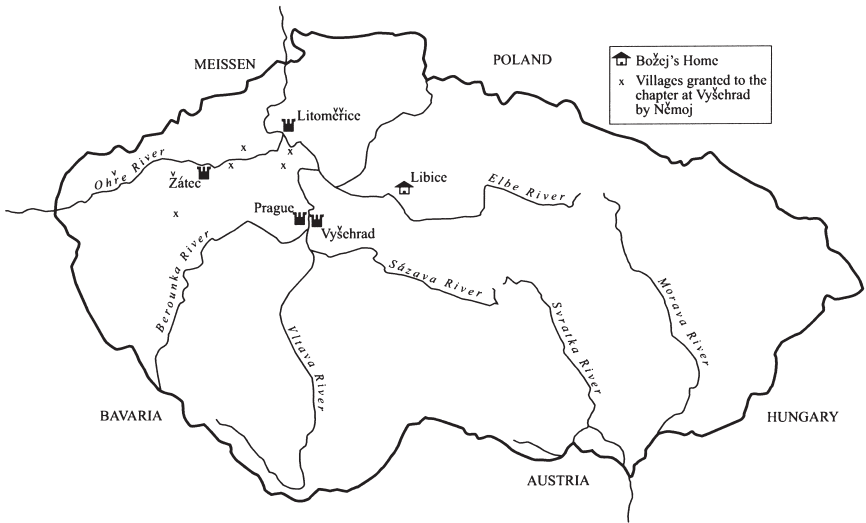
ters. Even when some of these names can be reliably connected with others, this rarely provides continuity over a long period. Cosmas, for example, tells of Olen's son Borša, who helped Břetislav II (not yet duke) kill Zderad in 1091, and later mentions one Olen, wounded reclaiming Tachov from the Germans in 1121 and identified as the son of Borša.¹⁹ Of Olen, Borša, and Olen we can only guess that men of three generations from the same family were of sufficient prominence around the turn of the twelfth century to merit mention by the chronicler. Though in neither case do Borša and Olen occupy important positions—the first is a companion of the duke's eldest son and the second is simply a “warrior of the duke” on a routine errand—both seem to be young at the time of the event. Prominence at a young age could reflect the eminence of the family, while close association with the duke demonstrates that such was the path to improving and maintaining the family's fortunes. Although this is a rare instance when naming patterns reveal, with reasonable certainty, more than two generations in a family, beyond these two references and after 1121 they disappear completely from the sources.²⁰

More often, the evidence argues against the construction of magnate lineages on the basis of patterns in personal names. One particular case provides a clear example of how naming patterns can be misleading—and of how dismal the situation is with regard to information about the Czech freemen. In the middle decades of the twelfth century four men called Hroznata are named in the sources. One is identified as the husband of Přibislava and father of Severus, who died before 1132; another, the provost of Mělník, is a witness to a charter from ca. 1146–48; the third, called *comes* and identified as the son of Hermann, traveled to Jerusalem in 1152; the fourth, listed as castellan of Kladsko, witnessed two documents in 1169. The third and fourth may be identical, but otherwise four separate men carry the same name, and significant consanguinal connections between them are unlikely or, at least, uncertain. None of these can be surely linked with the various Hroznatas who appear in witness lists from 1175–98, including Hroznata the Curly-Haired (a.k.a. Hroznata of Peruc) and Hroznata the Bald, or with Blessed Hroznata, founder of the monastery at Teplá in 1197 and a leading magnate under Přemysl Otakar I in the early thirteenth century.²¹

In spite of these difficulties, almost all descriptions and analyses of the magnates at the end of the twelfth and beginning of the thirteenth century in the current historiography refer to them by group designations, such as the “Hroznatovci” or “Drslavici.”²² These entirely modern designations are plural patronymics, formed by the addition of the suffix *-ici* or *-ovci* to a man's name: Hrabiše — Hrabišici, Vítek — Vítkovci, Marquard — Markvartici, and so forth.²³ Singular Czech patronymics do appear in the witness lists, e.g.,

Hermann “Markvartic,”²⁴ but the only plural form known from this period is applied by Gerlach of Milevsko to the cadet branch of the Přemyslid dynasty descended from King Vladislav’s brother Theobald, who died in 1167: “This Theobald, dying, left behind him a boy of great character, named Theobald, who was the father of those who are now the ‘Dipoltici’ . . .”²⁵ Writing in the first quarter of the thirteenth century, Gerlach plainly states that “Děpoltici” is what they are called “now.” In this case the “founder” of the lineage was self-evident, being the person through whom the cadet branch deviated from the main dynastic line, whose son and grandson likewise bore the name Theobald, and who briefly governed a portion of eastern Bohemia as vice-dukes.²⁶ Naming patterns provide inadequate support for the assumption that the individuals in a lineage, as identified by modern scholars, conceived themselves as a coherent group in relation to a particular man: Hermann, the son of Marquard, indeed named one of his sons Marquard, but another he called Zaviše after his own brother, while his eldest bore the name Beneš (see Appendix A). These people should not be called “Markvartici” merely because the first traceable individual in this family is Marquard, who served as chamberlain to Vladislav II in 1159.²⁷ Furthermore, many of the genealogies that can be constructed on the basis of witness lists begin with brothers whose father is entirely unknown to us. There is no modern designation, no “Ratibořici” say, for the family which included Bohuše and Ratibor, extremely prominent castellans in the last quarter of the twelfth century (see Appendix A).

A look back at the early twelfth century and the Vršovici, a large group of men, women, and children from across Bohemia summarily massacred in 1108, serves as a potent reminder of the inadequacies and dangers of these collective designations.²⁸ The term “Vršovici” was indisputably a medieval one, but we have no means of determining its origin. No man is known in the sources as “Vrš” or “Vršov.” No pattern of names appears among the men mentioned by Cosmas, nor are many blood relationships indicated.²⁹ Božej and Mutina, identified as Vršovici and as “relatives,” were sufficiently influential that, according to Cosmas, Duke Bořivoj felt obliged to allow their return from exile and reinstate them as castellans of Žatec and Litoměřice; this was patently an act of appeasement in an effort to shore up his rule.³⁰ It is impossible, however, to assess the power wielded by them, or its foundation. Božej’s land, or at least his residence, was at Libice in eastern Bohemia while “all” the possessions of Mutina’s uncle, Němoj, granted to the chapter at Vyšehrad, lay scattered in central Bohemia³¹ (Map 2). For Cosmas, the Vršovici were the quintessential domestic enemies, men of prominence whom he blamed for specific acts of violence against dukes both at the turn of the eleventh century and at the beginning of the twelfth. He describes them with equal frequency as a *gens* or a



Map 2. Vršovici lands.

natio, and once as a *generatio*; in the duke's naming them as "the enemies of our gens," it is not clear whether *gens* indicates his lineage or all the Czechs. The Vršovici are the only men who played a significant role in Czech political life—such as Kojata, Zderad, Vacek, Načerát, Marquard, Hrabiše—who are explicitly identified or associated with a group.³² Yet we know little beyond speculation about the basis for their collective identity, or how it translated into influence of the sort that Dukes Bořivoj and then Svatopluk perceived as a powerful threat. The best we can assume is that the Vršovici were a large kin group, often in the inner circle of the duke or other Přemyslid, conscious of an ancient lineage and retaining a measure of group solidarity; although there is little evidence of their acting in concert, it is clear that the duke saw this as a dangerous possibility, and that they were easily identified by their murderers.³³ Thus, the Vršovici—while undoubtedly exceptional—exemplify all that cannot be known about the eleventh and twelfth century freemen, even the most influential.

The same care is required for questions of ethnicity as for kinship or identity. We must be cautious, in other words, about classifying persons with German names as ethnically German. There is little doubt that many people immigrated to the Czech Lands from German-speaking regions—and elsewhere—and some rose to great prominence. Although many laymen of the eleventh and twelfth centuries with obviously German names appear to have been im-

migrants, nothing specific is known of their origins, much less about what German ethnicity or identity meant to them. As with one of the Hroznatas, the son of Hermann, or the sons of Marquard, named Hermann, Zaviše, and Gall, a German name is often linked with a clearly Slavic one. Probably, at some time, a German and a Czech were married and their children bear names from both ethnic groups, or simply from both sides of the family, and such names continued to be passed down among descendants. Some names appear frequently so we cannot be sure whether the name itself had simply become common, for example, Hermann or Marquard; this is further true for German names used by Přemyslid dynasts, particularly Oldřich (Ulrich), and with the names of Christian saints, such as Henry. For the majority of laymen, there is often no way to determine whether they were indeed born and raised in a German-speaking land before coming to the Czech Lands or, more important, what connections they maintained with relatives and friends there.³⁴

In reference to freemen, twelfth-century chroniclers routinely use comparative nouns, describing men, both individuals and groups, simply as “those more noble,” “wiser” or just “better” (*nobiliores*, *saniores*, *meliores*), or speaking of “the elder” and “the younger.” Thus, the written sources eschew altogether designations reflecting legal conditions of status, kinship, or titular rank. Because *seniores* is regularly juxtaposed against *iuniores*, moreover, there is little doubt that the term had nothing to do with lordship (like French *seigneur*). To be “elder” probably did not indicate any specific or even advanced age, but instead a combination of maturity, prowess, wealth and wisdom, respect, and experience that set them apart. Distinctions between *iuniores* and *seniores* primarily differentiate those eager to make their name, increase their wealth, and occupy positions of prominence, and men who had already done so. Neither narrative nor documentary sources indicate that social categories—outside free and unfree—were legally defined, ranked objectively, or hierarchically arranged as “orders.” It is crucially important not to overinterpret, institutionalize, or generate rigid social categories from Cosmas’s oft-cited remark that “all the Czechs of the first and second rank loved [Soběslav I] and supported his cause,” for it simply expresses this same broad, comparative distinction among the leading men of the realm.³⁵ *Nobiliores* appears far more frequently than *nobiles*, a word used most often to head lists of witnesses in charters—akin to but less common than *primates*, *optimates*, *comites*, or, once, the Czech term *župané* (equivalent to *comites*). Here again we get the clear impression that *comites* broadly signified “better” men, as *primates* generally did “leaders” among the freemen.

In charters from the mid-twelfth century testifying to their donations to or foundations of ecclesiastical institutions, freemen identify themselves in the

same relative terms. Miroslav, founder of a Cistercian monastery on his extensive lands at Sedlec in the mid-twelfth century, was styled merely “one of the leading men of Bohemia” (“quidam de primatibus Boemie”).³⁶ The foundation charter of 1197 for Teplá likewise opens: “I Hroznata, by the grace of God, descending from one of the more illustrious lines of the leaders of Bohemia . . .” (“Ego Hroznata dei gratia de primatum Boemie clariori stemate descendens”).³⁷ Such phrases, applied to specific individuals—even by a magnate of himself—affirm the inherent fluidity of differences within the ranks of Czech freemen, including those among the “leading men” or the descendants of “more illustrious lineages.” Outside their membership in such a loose collection of prominent individuals, men like Hroznata and Miroslav stand relatively isolated in these documents. While both make provisions for their immediate families in the body of the grant (their sisters and, in Miroslav’s case, his children), neither mentions his parents. Hroznata’s charter bears his personal seal, showing a set of antlers (which may be an early heraldic device).³⁸ Neither of these two, nor any other lay donors to monasteries, identifies themselves by reference to court offices or castellanies, though some may be seen in the witness lists to have held such appointments. However frustrating it may be to speak generally of “Czechs,” “magnates,” or “more prominent men,” these are the very terms—collective and comparative—by which twelfth-century freemen understood themselves.

The Circle at Court

As a consequence of the medieval preference for loose, comparative classifications and the ostensible absence of rigidly defined strata among the free, this study routinely refers broadly, and in a deliberately inspecific way, to “freemen”—as already noted. Before completely resigning ourselves to speaking of the Czechs as an undifferentiated mass, however, we must take a closer look at the individuals who emerge from the sources. The most detailed evidence concerning Czech laymen at any social level comes from the witness lists to charters issued in the second half, and especially the last quarter, of the twelfth century. They are invaluable—and underexploited—records of continuity and of change among the men around the duke. Certain magnates of the highest echelon are also mentioned in the chronicles, as advisors to dukes, leaders of insurrection, or men entrusted with special tasks, such as diplomatic missions. The chroniclers sometimes offer other small indications about the situation of these individuals. The witness lists, on the other hand, provide detailed information about promotion to court offices and castellanies. To these we now turn, in an effort to bring to life those individual Czech freemen who rise out

of the largely faceless crowd and the group of men that might be called “the circle at court.”

In the most dramatic events of Czech political life described by the chroniclers, not only dukes and lesser Přemyslids take the stage but their closest associates and counselors. Duke Spitišnĕv, for instance, entrusted the care of his exiled brother’s wife to Mstiř, son of Boris, in 1055 castellan of Lřtĕnĭ and by 1061 promoted to Bĭlina.³⁹ Cosmas describes him as “a man of great boldness, greater eloquence, and less prudence.” Mstiř fled into exile when Vratislav replaced him with Kojata, son of Vřebor, as castellan of Bĭlina. Although nothing is known of his connections to other magnates or his landed resources, at the time of his appointment to Bĭlina, Kojata was “first in the duke’s palace.”⁴⁰ Seven years later, still described as “palace comes” and standing to the immediate right of Vice-duke Otto, Kojata led the opposition to Duke Vratislav’s episcopal candidate at the *colloquium* at Dobenina, then again on the battlefield.⁴¹ These two men, Mstiř and Kojata, represent two slightly different types of “favorites.” Mstiř earned the castellany of Bĭlina after performing a delicate task to Spitišnĕv’s satisfaction, while Kojata was already the preeminent magnate at Vratislav’s court. Both lost office upon losing the duke’s grace, one by outright insurrection and the other, when the occupant of the throne changed, by the very deed that had earned him his duke’s gratitude.

Another type was Zderad, described only as Vratislav’s *villicus*; he died at the hand of Vratislav’s own son over a petty insult—and was, so Cosmas reports, mourned by no one but the king.⁴² Whatever his rank vis-à-vis other freemen, this hated “bailiff” had sufficient standing in the king’s presence to publicly mock his son. Another “homo peior pessimo,” as Cosmas says, was Vratislav’s chamberlain a few years earlier, Vitus, son of řelibor; in 1088 he was the only man to accompany the king in a private interview with Beneda, son of Jurata, in which both Vratislav and Beneda were badly wounded.⁴³ Since Cosmas explicitly notes that he was “reinstated” in that post upon Bořivoj’s accession in 1100, Mutina, of the Vrřovici, was apparently castellan of Litoměřice at the time of his exile by řetislav II in 1096, yet the chronicler describes him then as řetislav’s “side-kick and secretary” (“collateralem et secretarium”).⁴⁴ These examples demonstrate a clear correspondence between a close relationship to the duke, high office, and others’ acknowledgment—and resentment—of their influence. However, the circumstances of these individuals varied. Below the highest-ranking men, many others undoubtedly fulfilled lesser but equally vital tasks for the duke, whether by virtue of appointment to castellanies, household offices, and other posts, or as specially requested favors.⁴⁵

In the frantic days of the early twelfth century, the troubled times Cosmas himself observed at close hand, the *Chronica Boemorum* provides a vivid

picture of freemen jockeying for position, forming small factions, and earning the favor of the duke or other Přemyslids. A bewildering array of names appear: men offering counsel, acting as messengers, dying in battle. Similar machinations, with another dizzying array of names, continued from Svato-pluk's assassination in 1109 to Soběslav's accession in 1125. The magnate who most shamelessly — and effectively — exploited the atmosphere of distrust that prevailed in the early twelfth century, the most prominent individual in the years between 1105 and 1113, was a lowborn man named Vacek.⁴⁶ Cosmas, the only source for these years, patently despised him, even breaking into the chronology of his narrative to vituperate against him (at the end of Book I of his chronicle).⁴⁷ When he makes his first appearance in the course of events, in 1105, Vacek is among Svato-pluk's counselors, fighting to depose Bořivoj.⁴⁸ A few years later, it was he who orchestrated the massacre of the Vršovici, by convincing Duke Svato-pluk that Mutina had been suspiciously lackluster in defending Bohemia against an incursion by Bořivoj.⁴⁹ When Svato-pluk was assassinated soon afterwards, Vacek argued for Otto to succeed as duke.⁵⁰ Several months after Vladislav was enthroned instead, he fought for Otto's cause; since their forces served to fend off Bořivoj as well, Vacek and Otto may have been able to trade their army for the new duke's favor.⁵¹ When a band of Bořivoj's supporters were apprehended, John of the Vršovici, the man who arranged Svato-pluk's murder, was blinded at Vacek's order.⁵² Although the peace between Vladislav and Otto was tenuous (within six months Otto was in prison⁵³), Vacek seems to have remained in the duke's inner circle. In 1110, together with Bishop Hermann of Prague, he helped arrange a reconciliation between Vladislav and his youngest brother Soběslav, allowing the latter's short-lived return from exile.⁵⁴ In the end though, when a rumor reported that Vacek was advising Duke Vladislav to have him seized, Soběslav arranged Vacek's murder.⁵⁵ In the period when the Czech freemen and Přemyslids themselves were most intensely factionalized, he turns up on various sides, always with the duke's ear and often inciting violence. Although central to the events of the decade, Vacek remains for us an isolated individual whose motives are largely unfathomable.

In the reigns of Vladislav I and Soběslav I things quieted down, except for the attempt by plotters against Soběslav's life in 1130 (see below). Of these dukes' inner circles little is known. Cosmas tells of a converted Jew who, after Duke Vladislav himself, was the highest ranking man at court; his enemies, obviously including the chronicler himself, cast aspersions on his adherence to Christianity, and he was imprisoned.⁵⁶ Although Soběslav's "right-hand men" remain unnamed, at his death in 1140 a magnate named Načerat stepped forward; the freemen who gathered to determine succession to the throne agreed

to abide by his determination.⁵⁷ Two years later Načerát led the revolt against the duke he helped enthrone, Vladislav II, and was killed.⁵⁸ The chronicles explicitly indicate that the rebellion was instigated by *seniores*, prominent men who expected greater privileges from the duke they had selected.⁵⁹ He might, therefore, be the same man who served as a messenger before the battle at Chlumec in 1126.⁶⁰ Načerát's colleague at that time, Smil, also died in the 1142 revolt, together with his sons, though he fought on Vladislav's behalf.⁶¹ The besieged duke was himself a young man, as were most of his supporters. With the death and defeat of freemen like Načerát and Smil, new men must have risen to assume positions of greater influence. One such was Velislav, a friend to Vladislav since boyhood, appointed castellan of Vyšehrad until his death in 1144.⁶² Whether concerning schemers like Vacek, men of acknowledged prominence such as Načerát, or the ducal favorite Velislav, the stories told by Czech chroniclers help elaborate what it meant to be considered "elder" or "better" among the freemen, while also demonstrating that a variety of paths led to such positions of respect and influence.

The picture of the magnates around the duke alters dramatically with the survival of charters including witness lists, beginning with two documents issued by Duke Vladislav II to the church of Olomouc ca. 1146–48. The laymen listed, not including Přemyslids, are as follows: "Comes Drslav, Miroslav, Časta, Soběslavec, Conrad *dapifer*, Budislav *pincerna*, Ruprecht, Beneš, Svojša, Slava with his son Braniš, Zbraslav, Bavor, Střežimír, Mstihněv, Marquard of Doubrava, Budiš, Zaviše, Načaz, Jurík *agazo*, Bun with his brothers Příbran and Bicen, Němoj, Jarohněv, Chválek, Vecel, Hrděbor, Olen, Zvejslav, William, Vacek, Jarohněv of Žatec, Velislav son of Peter."⁶³ This group of names, the same in both charters, is the only witness list for another dozen years.⁶⁴ All the witnesses are men; some are listed with their titles, several stand with their relatives, a few have explicitly German names, two are distinguished by a place designation and another by a patronymic. Jarohněv was probably castellan of Žatec, though the inclusion of *de Satc* seems chiefly to distinguish him from the other man of that name present. Men from these charters appear in the later documents as well: in 1159, Načaz was castellan of Prague, Chválek castellan *Vadicensis*, Zvejslav castellan of Hradec, Zaviše castellan of Sedlec, Vecel *pincerna*, and Marquard chamberlain.⁶⁵ By 1160, Drslav had become castellan of Plzeň.⁶⁶ Though one Henry held the position in 1159, Jarohněv is named as castellan of Žatec again in 1160 and 1165.⁶⁷ Marquard "of Doubrava" remained among the most prominent magnates at Vladislav's court, and his sons feature in witness lists throughout the twelfth century. This earliest witness list and those that follow provide dramatically different information than the chronicles do, for they show these men in groups, ranked perhaps

TABLE 2. SOBĚSLAV II'S OFFICERS

<i>February 1177 (CDB no. 279)</i>	
Zdeslav	chamberlain
Vítek	<i>dapifer</i>
Dluhomil	<i>pincerna</i>
Hermann	<i>marscalcus</i>
Čeč	judge
Jarohněv	castellan of Žatec
Sežima	castellan of Plzeň
Blah	castellan of Litoměřice
Rivin	castellan of Kladsko
(and others)	
 <i>March 1177 (CDB no. 280)</i>	
Zdeslav	castellan of Žatec
Blah	castellan of Litoměřice
Sežima	<i>comes</i> of Bílina
Dluhomil	<i>marscalcus</i>
Vítek	castellan of Kladsko
Čeč	judge
Hermann	chamberlain
Stephen	<i>pincerna</i>
(and others)	

in some order, sometimes with place or patronymic designations, and occasionally bearing the titles associated with their ever-shifting appointments to court offices and castellanies.

Among other things, the witness lists conclusively demonstrate the rotation of castellans and court officers among various high-level posts. The most dramatic evidence comes from two charters expressly dated to February and March 1177, which reveal a shuffle among Soběslav II's officers in the space of a month, although the chroniclers give no indication that these were weeks of particular turmoil (Table 2). The list and titles given in the first charter, on the whole, accord with an earlier document of Soběslav's from 1175, except that Hermann was there *agazo*.⁶⁸ In the late winter of 1177, however, Hermann was promoted from *marscalcus* to chamberlain and Dluhomil from *pincerna* to *marscalcus*, while an apparent newcomer, Stephen, became *pincerna*. Two men moved from court to castellany: Vítek, from *dapifer* to Kladsko on the Polish border, and Zdeslav, from the office of chamberlain to Žatec. Sežima was transferred from Plzeň to Bílina. Neither Rivin nor Jarohněv appears in

the second document, and the posts they held at Žatec and Kladsko have been reallocated.⁶⁹ The two may have died, “retired,” or fallen permanently from favor; for all we know, these events may even have initiated the rotation. Not every office experienced a turnover: Čěč remained court judge and Blah retained Litoměřice.

One of the preeminent administrative posts in Bohemia, without any doubt, was that of duke’s chamberlain; like all other offices, it was filled on a temporary basis. King Vladislav had four chamberlains in ten years: in 1159, Marquard; in 1160, Němoj; by 1165, Stibor, promoted from castellan of Bautzen;⁷⁰ and by 1169, Bohuslav.⁷¹ Adding the chamberlains of his successors shows a small group of prominent magnates dominating the office, but still rotating in and out. Zdeslav was Soběslav II’s chamberlain, although Hermann, son of Marquard, held the post in March 1177.⁷² Frederick had three: Hrabíše, Hroznata the “Curly-Haired,” and Lothar, with Hrabíše appointed again at the end of his reign.⁷³ Hermann, son of Marquard, returned to the position under Conrad Otto in 1189.⁷⁴ After him, Hrabíše was reappointed, serving from 1192 through 1197 under both Duke Přemysl and Duke/Bishop Henry.⁷⁵ Some correspondence patently existed between turnover among chamberlains and a change on the ducal throne. Mentioned for the first time by Cosmas (concerning the year 1088), ducal chamberlains had existed well before the later twelfth century; yet, as with castellans, their precise duties remain obscure.⁷⁶ The chronicler’s remarks concerning the duke’s *camera* invariably involve sums of money, yet the privilege granted the Prague Germans ca. 1174 indicates a judicial function for the *camerarius*.⁷⁷

These charters from the second half of the twelfth century provide the first indication of the organization of offices at the duke’s court; not only chamberlains and chancellors appear but, as we have seen, men bearing the titles *dapifer*, *pincerna*, and *agazo*. The nature of these offices, traditionally translated “seneschal,” “butler,” and “footman,” remains altogether obscure (and for this reason are here given consistently in the Latin). They may have been merely honorary titles, or ones superficially adopted from foreign courts. Although the shift in documentation, whereby witness lists are recorded in charters, may account for the apparent innovation of these court offices, it may also be that Vladislav, during his long reign as duke and then king, reorganized the court: the first references to a chancellor, as well as *pincerna*, *dapifer*, and *agazo*, and especially the “court judge” (*iudex curie*) appear under his rule.⁷⁸ The first chancellor named, Bartholomew, also appears at this time; while no charter mentions his name, Vincent reports that he died in 1147.⁷⁹ Certainly, by the late twelfth century, both the ruler’s wife and the bishop of Prague adopted a similar court organization.⁸⁰ Queen Judith, for instance, sent her “highest cham-

berlain," Sežima, to escort her granddaughter for marriage to the grandson of the Byzantine emperor, in 1165. Ultimately, we simply do not know what it meant for a man to be, for instance, the "seneschal" or, literally, "plate-bearer" of the duke of Bohemia.

The witness lists provide evidence concerning the constitution of the duke's court and about the nature of office-holding among leading freemen, but may also be analyzed as a corpus for more general patterns. Compared to imperial charters, the most striking aspects of the Czech witness lists are that titles are rarely given for laymen and that they are listed without strict regard to them when included. This is congruent with the absence of titu-lature or hierarchy noted for the eleventh and twelfth centuries as a whole. The apparent failure to order the names of lay witnesses seems not to have resulted from cartulary norms or from the quirks of particular scribes: the clergy in Czech witness lists are indeed ranked strictly, and members of the Přemyslid dynasty, when present, are always identified first among all witnesses. When court officers (*dapifer*, *agazo*, *pincerna*) appear, they may be in any order, grouped together or separate, at the beginning or in the middle of the list, and so forth. Though the chamberlain (*camerarius*) is often listed first, or at least toward the top of the list, no fixed pattern prevails. This holds even when the same individuals are concerned, so we may be certain that it does not result from social rankings not associated with titles or offices (see Table 2).⁸¹ On the other hand more important men do tend to appear toward the beginning, particularly if a list is long, while men who make only one appearance in our corpus of lists are most often in the second half.

A careful reading of the lists of lay witnesses gives two other strong impressions. The first is that there was no fixed group at court or in castellanies.⁸² In the second half of the twelfth century, no two lists are the same.⁸³ Shorter lists show more stability, but presumably they have been limited to only the most noteworthy witnesses. Even among the court officers, the *dapifer* may be present, while the *agazo* or *pincerna* is not—keeping in mind here that offices are not always specified. Furthermore, taking 1175 as an arbitrary starting date, a rough average of half the names in long witness lists thereafter are new at the time of their first appearance;⁸⁴ many will not appear again. The other strong impression one gets from the witness lists is that the same laymen continually resurface, though without pattern. Remarkably, Table 3 shows no significant turnover after the accession of new dukes. Some men appear only in Frederick's charters and some are one-timers, but many appear in one or more documents before or after this one from 1187, and even in those of Sobeslav II whom Frederick deposed.⁸⁵ The same sort of table could be drawn up based on a different sample charter with similar results, since some of those

TABLE 3. WITNESSES TO DUKE FREDERICK'S CHARTER OF 2 MAY 1187
(CDB no. 317)

<i>Name</i>	<i>Title</i>	<i>Previous</i>	<i>Subsequent</i> ^a
Blah		S279 S280 S285	P336 P342 F300 F301 F306
Letar	chamberlain	F301 F304 F305 F307	—
John	judge	F296 F300 F301 F304 F308	—
Matthew	<i>dapifer</i>	? ^b	
Sežima	<i>pincerna</i>	? ^c	
Henry	<i>agazo</i>	?	
Ratibor	cast. Vyšehrad	F295 F296 F300	F320 C323 P336 H356 VH363
Veliš	cast. Prague	S288	—
Bohuta	cast. Bílina	S291 F292	F320 P342 H349 H356
Stephen		?	
George	cast. Netolice	?	
Slavibor		? ^d	
Predota		F307 F308	C323
Hermann		S288 F292 F300	F320 C323 P336 H348 ^e H358
Drslav		S288 F292	F320 P336
Rus		F292	F320 P336 P343
Diviš	subchamberlain	F308	F320 P336 P342
Trojan		F304	F342 P344
Budivoj		S285 F292	P336 H349 ^f H356 H357 H358
Klusna		—	P344
Kojata		F307 F308	—
Kuno		F308	g
Lamcus		—	—
Charles		—	—
Regner		—	—
Stephen		?	?
Romanis		—	—

a. I have given here the documents' CDB numbers, preceded by the duke's initial as follows: S=Soběslav II, F=Frederick (none from first reign), C=Conrad Otto, P=Přemysl Otakar I (first reign), H=Henry (simultaneously bishop), VH=Vladislav Henry. The range of dates is 1175–98. I have not noted, for lack of space, the few occasions in previous or subsequent documents when a title is provided for the individual named. In consideration of "previous" documents I have not included those of Duke/King Vladislav because it is difficult to assume that men from as much as forty years earlier with the same names are identical to the individuals listed here.

b. With Christian names, is it much more difficult (or merely seems so) to be sure that identical individuals are signified by the same names. I have not ventured to guess here unless I can make a determination from other evidence—for example, by family relations. In the case of John, he appears as either Johannes or Jan with the title *iudex* in all the documents listed in this table.

c. The trouble here is deciding whether this is the same Sežima we find in Soběslav II's documents (cf. Table 2) or whether this is the nephew of Vitek listed in C323. As he appears as *pincerna* here, my hunch would be the former but there is no way to be certain.

d. On the assumption that Slavibor is not the same as Slajbor, this is his only appearance.

e. There are two men named Hermann in this list. I am assuming that one is probably this Hermann, the son of Marquard and brother of Závíše.

f. Two men named Budivoj appear in the document. The subsequent three documents concern the same Budivoj, brother of Ben, but whether he is the same as Budivoj here is uncertain.

g. In CDB no. 342 Kuno's wife Agnes makes a donation to Plasy for his soul, so we may assume he was dead by 1193.

who are not listed here also appear quite frequently. Accounting for sanguinal connections—for instance, when the son or brother of a magnate named in one charter appears in another—reinforces the impression that, however much variation appears from list to list at first glance, the witnesses were largely being drawn from the same circle of men.

The witness lists paint pictures simultaneously of constant change and of continuity. If titles were provided more often, the impression of frequent shuffling would probably be even stronger. On the other hand, if we could be more certain of blood or affinal relationships the continuity might be more striking. One thing is certain: all the men depicted here constitute a minute percentage of population, however calculated, and therefore represent an elite. Sufficient overlap exists to reassure us that the evidence from the two very different genres, charter and chronicle, indeed represents the same society. Yet the number of men who appear as witnesses, court officers and castellans even, but absent from the chronicles, and the occasional reverse case, serve chiefly as a reminder of how far beyond our view the lives of the Czech freemen are. And whether named in chronicles or charters, they are a motley crowd. Certainly—most obviously in the first half of the twelfth century but surely before and after that time—the freemen were sometimes divided into one or more factions. Unfortunately, as we will see in Chapter 6, the chroniclers rarely give any indication what characterized these groups, their size or motivation. No wonder, then, that the chroniclers so often refer to the Czech freemen collectively, in loosely defined groupings, rather than as individuals or specific lineages.

Social Mobility and Shared Interests

The analysis of the Czech magnates presented so far has made no mention of the so-called *družina*, or ducal retinue. This omission has already been noted and explained; yet, given its central place in current scholarship, it seems important to revisit the model and to juxtapose it with the evidence just presented. Studies of the early and high medieval Czech Lands have universally presumed that the retinue of faithful followers formed the fundamental unit of social and political organization. Small retinues, they argue, evolved into a “state” *družina* centered on the duke, a political elite from whom the duke selected castellans and court officers and upon whom he relied for counsel.⁸⁶ Assuming a *družina* institutionalized at any social level or stage of development is unjustified, however. Certainly contemporaries knew who was allied with whom, who was dependent upon whom, who could be expected to fight for whom, but we have no evidence that this was conceived in terms of mem-

bership in a *družina*. Did one formally enter or exit? Were there conditions of membership? Did a magnate have authority over his *družina*? Was its leader their lord? No evidence provides answers to these questions. At the highest level, the *družina* model has the disadvantage of positing the *družina*'s abject dependence upon the duke, a circumstance not supported by the sources, without offering analytical precision in a broader interpretive scheme. It offers no insight into the workings of the duke's court nor to the role of castellans, and one can only guess whether or how the court or castellans are to be included in a model *družina*. The witness lists themselves give no impression of a *družina*, either ducal or "state," precisely because of the fluidity and stability they simultaneously reflect. Undoubtedly there were rich magnates whose favor with the duke was uncertain, lesser men who ranked high in his favor, great men who were powerful by virtue of both, and lower-ranking men who had little to gain or lose either way. Since these people can be fit into a *družina* model only awkwardly, in place of the *družina* I would suggest two fundamental characteristics that governed relations among freemen, as well as the political and social circumstances of individuals in the eleventh and twelfth centuries: social mobility and shared interests.

Analysis of status and of the circle at court showed the potential for social mobility among Czechs at all levels of society, both elite and servile. Even the slim evidence concerning the poorest folk shows them moving not only into but out of servitude, whether release was gained by purchase or through another's munificence. A few, admittedly exceptional, "rustics" like Vacek achieved the highest ranks. Having led rescuers to Duke Jaromír, half-dead after the Vršovci attack on him, a *servus* named Hovora was proclaimed "noble" and granted the office of hunter at Zbečno, which, Cosmas says, his decedents held from that time (ca. 999) to his own.⁸⁷ Hunter at the duke's chief hunting residence was a lesser if privileged post; Hovora's case is thus a reminder that ducal service offered opportunities not only at the superior level of chamberlain and castellan. Men like Hovora or Vacek—or Zderad, *villicus* and counselor to King Vratislav—must have been powerful exemplars to other ambitious freemen of their day. By the same token, the men at the very top were vulnerable, liable to a decline in prestige with the rise of another favorite or more serious losses if forced into exile by the duke's anger.⁸⁸

In the Czech Lands, however, neither poverty and disgrace nor wealth and prominence were altogether heritable from one generation to the next. Office-holding at court and as castellan must have been lucrative according to the responsibilities of the position but rarely were such appointments permanent, much less hereditary. The same may have been true of the wide array of lesser posts; perhaps Hovora's case was legendary because such heritability was ex-

ceptional. Property, on the other hand, was owned in perpetuity by all freemen and their heirs. These persons owned land varying in quantity and quality, and their holdings were quite dispersed. Certain families—through wealth, birth, prowess, prestige—were probably prominent across generations, and perhaps there was an accepted and acknowledged, if fluid, ranking of men and families among the magnates. Nevertheless, vast potential for mobility was imbedded in the structure of property ownership: if partible inheritance was practiced, rich men could quickly find their lands divided among a number of heirs; since land could be freely bought or sold, anyone could put liquid assets to the purpose of increasing or consolidating his lands. Although almost no women appear in the sources, except for duchesses,⁸⁹ in the day-to-day business of life in the medieval Czech Lands, freemen married the daughters and sisters of other freemen, thereby—probably deliberately—forging alliances.⁹⁰ If daughters were given dowries, good marriages must have constituted one way for prominent or wealthy families to remain so, and for low-ranking, upwardly mobile men to augment the land the duke might give them. Of course, as happens everywhere in every age, some men must sometimes have squandered their fortunes, ruined their names, fallen from grace, while others made good marriages, managed their property well, and profited from service to the duke. With heritable landowning, rich men probably had the advantage in perpetuating and increasing their holdings but because all freemen were able to own land and expected to bear arms, there existed no rigidly defined elite or lower strata. Social mobility, both upward and downward, must be assumed as a fundamental characteristic of Czech society of the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

While there probably remained a large class of unfree peasants and artisans, the middling group of freemen might range from craftsmen to farmers owning small plots, to magnates with several villages or vast lands, and upward to the most important men of the realm. These men owned lands in a society in which this was the chief form of land tenure at all levels, they performed military service with all other freemen simply as the duke's subjects, and owed no special obligations contingent upon their landholding. None, even the elite of the elite, were able to control castles independently of the duke at any time in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Since immunity was only granted exceptionally late to a few ecclesiastical institutions, there is little reason to doubt that all Czechs paid annual tribute and various tolls to the duke, were summoned to military service and related labor duties, and were equally subject to ducal jurisdiction. People at every level transacted business through the medium of the duke's pennies; only in Moravia, where the vice-dukes were allowed their own mints, was any other coin routinely used. This

gave the Czech freemen coherence, in spite of differences in wealth, prestige, and prominence at court.

For all freemen, whether the most prominent or the most denigrated, the means to augmenting their resources and improving their status were substantially the same. Most especially freemen of every rank, perhaps more so those with fewer resources and from less exalted lineages, all shared hope for improvement of personal and family fortunes through service to the duke (or a prospective duke). The duke disposed of all castellanies, from guard-posts to the administration of flourishing towns, as well as court offices, from which profit and prestige could be acquired and maintained. Office-holding or other appointment to ducal service was not the only means to profit at the duke's hand, moreover. Dukes were known to alienate land permanently as a reward for faithful service.⁹¹ The duke also called and led the military campaigns and raids, especially in foreign lands (and sometimes against Moravia), that provided booty for everyone, if not to all equally. When he promised extraordinary support to the emperor, he paid the army outright. The alacrity with which young men, in particular, responded to Vladislav II's expedition to Milan bears witness to the lure of such prizes.

Freemen, naturally, had friends among themselves, relatives or comrades whom they especially trusted, or perhaps despised. Their decisions as to which factions to join in succession conflicts were surely as motivated by feelings toward the freemen in their own or opposing parties as by views of the Přemyslid pretenders. General oaths of fidelity, however, were sworn neither to the ruler nor, so far as we know, among personal friends or bands of comrades.⁹² There is likewise no indication of feud or "self-help" among Czech freemen at any time during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Since the means to profit, or the risk of harm, lay with the Přemyslid ruler, there was no advantage to feuding among themselves; rather, a great deal was to be gained by solidarity, as we shall see. This is not to say that the magnates were always in harmony, that resentments and lawsuits did not arise among them, nor even that they never killed one another.⁹³ Tension manifest between individuals or factions—at least when reported in the chronicles—was, however, invariably mediated by the duke; that is, enemies are attacked by inciting the duke against them. Where a magnate is seen plotting against another, the reason given is always that the latter has undue influence over the duke or is excessively favored by him.⁹⁴ Such a picture may simply result from duco-centric sources, which provide virtually no information about how medieval Czech magnates related to each other, especially in the localities in which they and their families lived. By the same token, there is no sign that the duke acted positively to resolve conflict between men or kin-groups, or was asked to do so.

Social mobility and shared interests among the freemen had profound political consequences, both structurally and in specific cases. These are examined more closely in Chapters 3 and 6. Nevertheless, a single dramatic and directly pertinent example suffices to drive the point home, namely the account by the anonymous Canon of Vyšehrad of the discovery and trial of plotters against Duke Soběslav I in 1130.⁹⁵ The two men captured claimed to have been sent by Miroslav, the son of *Comes* John, and his younger brother Střežimír. With them seized in turn, Soběslav called some three thousand Bohemians, “noble and ignoble,” to Vyšehrad, as well as the canons of Prague and Vyšehrad, including the chronicler. Upon public questioning from one of his fellow magnates, Miroslav claimed to have been approached by Bolesa, a warrior of Soběslav’s nephew Břetislav, and by Soběslav’s own chaplain Božík. Miroslav then reported Božík’s persuasive words: “Dear son, was anyone more noble or more wise in this province than your father? But you are considered least among the magnates of this land. Moreover, will you allow your own brother, a long time in chains for nothing, to incur such evil? It is, therefore, better that, having thrown over this exceedingly proud duke, we enthrone such a one from whom we will have, without a doubt, everything that we might want.”⁹⁶

Božík then led Miroslav to Bishop Meinhard of Prague, to whom he pointed as the source of the plot. Miroslav reported that, in order to secure their cooperation: “Bishop Meinhard . . . placed two fingers on relics of the saints, and said words of this sort to me: ‘If you take the life of the duke, you will without doubt possess with honor whichever you choose among these five, namely Žatec, Litoměřice, the office of chamberlain, *dapifer*, or *agazo*, this on my promise and by the grant of Duke Břetislav.’”⁹⁷ More testimony followed, after which Miroslav, Střežimír, and several others were publicly and brutally dismembered. As the Canon of Vyšehrad tells it, Miroslav and Střežimír were frustrated that the status their father had achieved did not reflect upon them and translate into their own prominence in the realm; their hope for improvement lay in the offices the duke could bestow and, not having received any, their recourse was to impose a new duke. Scheming toward his own ends, the bishop tempted them with the most appealing choices: the castellanies of Žatec and Litoměřice, or the three court offices of chamberlain, *dapifer*, and *agazo*. He did not suggest they seize them but instead promised that Břetislav would grant them if they made his enthronement possible. Miroslav and Střežimír, notably, did not attempt to raise their ranking vis-à-vis their fellow magnates by usurping others’ lands or positions, or by assailing them with arms or law-suits, but instead sought to replace the duke with one who would favor them at the expense of others.

One side effect of social mobility, however, reflected in the events of 1130, was avid jockeying for position. This kind of outright competition sheds new light on Vacek's scheming, and on the resentment harbored by the duke's own sons against men like Zderad and Vojslav. No wonder men jumped at the chance to eliminate the Vršovici, to profit from the confiscation of others' lands at the duke's order. It was a game that could be played quite ruthlessly by both dukes and freemen. The duke of Bohemia, and thus Prague, stood at the center of it all—a point to which we return in the next chapter. How, when, and why the freemens' maneuvering translated into rebellions will be considered at length in Chapter 6. Meanwhile, both for the most ambitious magnates and for other ordinary families, men of middling or less wealth and prestige, and *primates* too, the combination of good luck and sound management of land and other assets remained the best way to assure their well-being. In the long run, as the twelfth-century closed, the charters show a few men working more assiduously at this level to alter the degree to which their fortunes depended upon the duke. They would thus initiate a broader transformation of lay Czech society, one that culminated only in the first half of the thirteenth century. While those decades lie outside the scope of this study, consideration of the late twelfth-century manifestations of these changes provides vital clues toward understanding the freemen during the preceding one hundred years.

Toward Independence

The thirteenth century in Bohemia and Moravia was a time of enormous, fast-paced change: the duke became a king, wide tracts of forest were cleared for agriculture, huge silver deposits were discovered and exploited, both new and long-established towns were granted charters of privilege, and waves of Germans immigrated to become farmers, miners, and townsmen. By 1250, moreover, the Czech freemen had become a nobility that looked altogether different than one hundred, or even fifty, years earlier. The seeds of this change, with regard to landholding and personal status in particular, were planted in the closing decades of the twelfth century. In sharp contrast to the discussion with which this chapter began, this “transitional” period provides the best evidence for conditions among the top, or even middle, rank of freemen. By means of contrast, the sources thereby shed light on the situation of the freemen *before*, and for most of them during, this last quarter of the twelfth century. Whereas earlier all the extant charters were analyzed for general principles and broad social conditions, the remainder of this chapter will focus on exceptional items in a few documents, which point to shifts in prevailing norms. Although anomalies will be stressed here, it is crucial to keep in mind

that patterns of content and language, about *possessiones*, say, persist in these as well as earlier charters. Likewise, while this chapter examines in greater detail documents of sale, exchange, and monastic foundation, it does not alter the conclusions reached earlier, for instance about the legal norms of property ownership. It is important, in fact, to emphasize overall continuity with conditions that obtained in previous decades and the gradual nature of the changes suggested here. Rather than indicating systemic transformations as yet, the documentation points toward the activities of a few enterprising individuals (and ecclesiastical institutions).

Consolidation of Land

Close attention to the nature and content of the charters from this time—by far the majority of those that survive from the eleventh and twelfth centuries—reveals new circumstances behind their redaction. In the second half of the twelfth century, for instance, more charters than ever before record transactions involving parties other than the duke, particularly lay freemen. This shift accompanied new patterns of land management. Of the fourteen charters pertaining to magnates from 1170 to 1198, half document exchanges or sales, rather than outright donations, to monasteries. These charters make plain that among the legitimate ways for laymen and clerics to acquire land, sales and trades allowed the most control over where and how much land would change hands. Gifts of land from the duke, for instance, could prove less advantageous than expected; two charters record freemen disposing of their rewards soon after receiving them. Circa 1180–82, Čěč sold Plasy two villages and a *circuitus*, which “the glorious Duke Frederick, mindful of my service, gave me in the first year of his reign”; he then used the money to buy an estate elsewhere.⁹⁸ Since Frederick became duke in 1178, Čěč must have made the sale only a few years after receiving the land. Hermann, son of William, similarly traded with Plasy part of a village “acquired by him for the faithfulness of his service.”⁹⁹ The duke’s gifts were certainly valuable and these magnates were grateful to receive them, but they also knew best how to profit by them. Without any doubt, exchange was incited by the desire to consolidate landholding. In a trade with George of Milevsko in 1184, Bishop Henry of Prague made his motivation clear:

We discovered episcopal fields dispersed here and there and mixed with fields of George of Milevsko. So it was agreed between us and George, that we would cede to him from ours and receive a fitting exchange from him—namely four villages: one called Stranné, another Bratřejov, a third Budov, and a fourth Chrástná. We made this

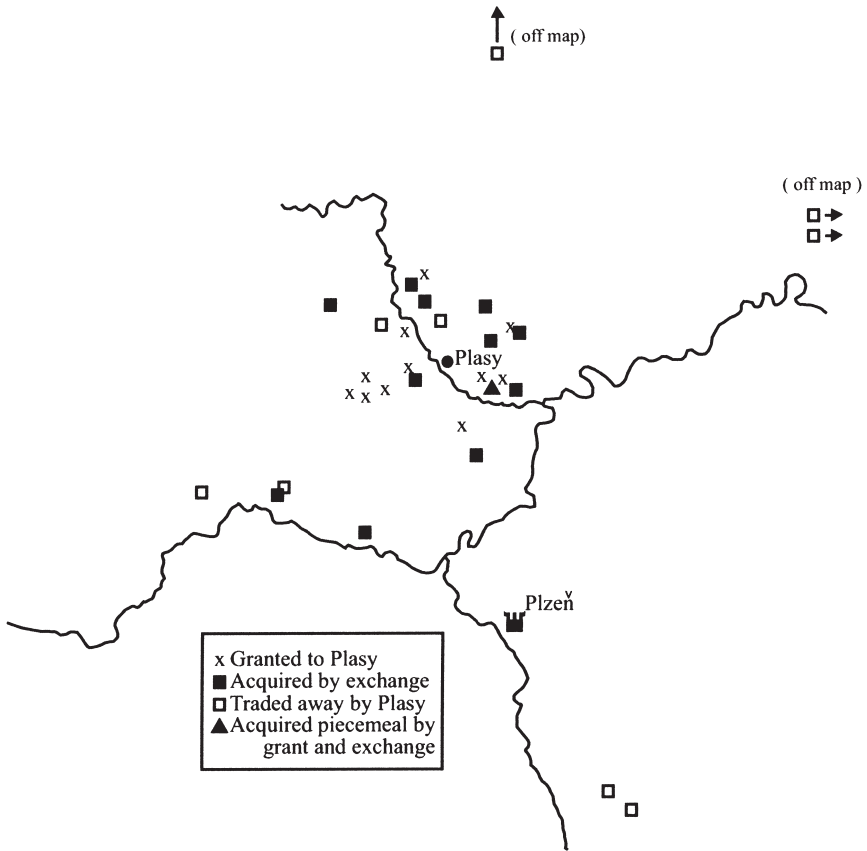
exchange from mutual goodwill, not from any necessity of ours or his, except that our field was adjacent to his and was less useful to us, while his was not far from our court at Roudnice.¹⁰⁰

How George acquired villages near Roudnice so far north of his “seat” at Milevsko—whether by ducal grant, marriage, or inheritance from a near or distant relative—cannot be determined, but they must indeed have been inconvenient to administer. The documents, thus, show laymen and ecclesiastical institutions making mutually beneficial deals with one another as they tried to improve their wealth.

It must have been as troublesome for monasteries as for bishops and free-men to own scattered properties. Plasy, the Cistercian monastery with which both Čěč and Hermann traded land, was particularly aggressive in consolidating its holdings in the last years of the twelfth century. Of thirteen extant charters pertaining to Plasy from the years 1175 to 1194, seven are sales or exchanges of some form. In trading the salt tax from Děčín back to the duke for a village named Kopidlo, the charter describes one disadvantage of distant holdings: “They held the toll in salt at Děčín, . . . the profit from which they were unable to bring back to the monastery without serious danger to their souls on account of the length of the road and the plots of thieves.”¹⁰¹ On the other hand, the monks were so eager to retain the estate of Lomany granted by Oldřich in 1193, that they paid 22 marks and another estate *quasi concambium* to compel Oldřich’s father and uncle to quit their claim to Lomany the following year.¹⁰² In another instance, they traded Luhov and 12 marks for part of Čěčín, acquired another estate in the same village from Duchess Helicha, and then made an exchange with the bishop and chapter of Prague for another estate there.¹⁰³ Earlier they had received Luhov from Duke Soběslav II in exchange for Erpužice, further west.¹⁰⁴ The Cistercians at Plasy were not interested merely in amassing sufficient resources to support the community but were busily and deliberately engaged in consolidating their holdings in a narrow area close to home (Map 3). This kind of activity, not atypical for Cistercians elsewhere in Europe, may have spurred their wealthier lay neighbors to act likewise.¹⁰⁵

Plasy was not the only landowner willing to pay a high price for choice pieces of land. The document written by the chapter at Vyšehrad confirming an exchange with Marcant demonstrates that an entrepreneurial spirit inspired some men in their efforts to acquire more profitable lands. It reads, in part:

Marcant made an exchange of fields in Zaběhlce with bellringers of our church, namely Krazon and his brother Krisan, who gave to Marcant from their fields—moved by no command of necessity, but inflamed with the spirit only of good will . . . And similarly Marcant made an exchange such that he gave his fields and his money—generously—



Map 3. Land consolidation by Plasy before 1198.

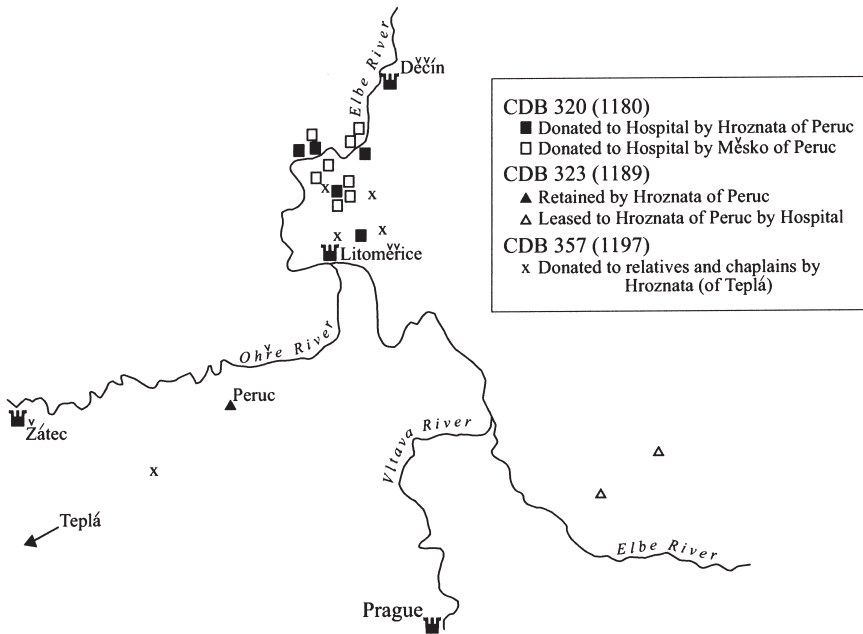
for the orchard and farm and a certain mountain, . . . On which mountain he then began to construct a vineyard. After this deed, Marcant promised the bellringers that, if any trouble should come to them concerning the fields he gave them, he would then give them other fields for those fields.¹⁰⁶

Marcant was so avid to get his vineyard planted that he was willing to promise the bellringers other fields than those originally exchanged if the need later arose. In fact, to sweeten the deal, Marcant “willingly” gave the Vyšehrad chapter two gilded candelabra and a mark of silver, and promised a tenth of the produce from the vineyard in perpetuity.¹⁰⁷ Whether similar payments “to even out” exchanges were offered simply to entice the second party to trade cannot be known but certainly seems plausible. Noteworthy, in Marcant’s document,

as in the agreement between the bishop and George of Milevsko, is the emphatic assertion that the parties entered into the exchange willingly and not “from necessity” — an obvious euphemism for coercion or duress. The stakes, like the profits, in these land exchanges must have been quite high. More importantly perhaps, the stress on the will of the donor demonstrates that the actions were taken by individuals of their own power and, again, in light of a conception of their own best interests.

Marcant apparently saw a profitable use for previously uncultivated land; he established a vineyard on the mountain almost immediately. Although we have little direct testimony, the second half of the twelfth century seems to have witnessed the intensification of a movement to clear and colonize uncultivated lands.¹⁰⁸ When such colonization began, or markedly increased, remains uncertain; probably the clearing of new lands was a regular feature of local life from the earliest times. The second half of the twelfth century, however, provides clearer written confirmation of such activities. The most common evidence appears in grants of *újezdy* (the Czech term is usually employed in the Latin documents) and villages so named. One charter defines an *újezd* as an *ambitum* (meaning “circuit” literally, “edge” in practice), in this case located “in the forest of the province of Sedlec.”¹⁰⁹ Although here no village is named, in other instances it seems to have been the forest at the outer perimeter of a village or town. These *újezdy* were the logical places for medieval Czechs to begin extending the land under cultivation. Thus many villages, presumably new, were themselves simply named *Újezd* or *Újezdec*, and the progress of twelfth-century colonization can be partially traced by analysis of such place names.¹¹⁰ Hroznata’s foundation charter for Teplá makes clear that colonization was encouraged. Men holding land “in the forest” could apparently continue to do so but the monastery was not obliged to pay them, presumably because the lands were not yet guaranteed as profitable and would require substantial effort from both those living there and the monastery to make them so.¹¹¹

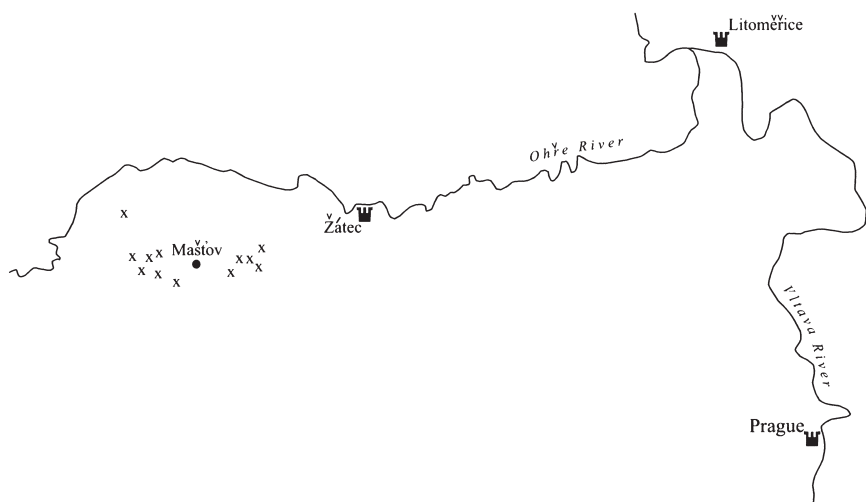
Although largely undetectable in this period, colonization must have offered great opportunities to individual magnates willing and with the resources to take advantage of them.¹¹² Milhost’s foundation endowment for Mašt’ov reflects this, as does the grant Hroznata of Peruc made to the Hospital of St. John in Prague (Maps 4 and 5).¹¹³ Curiously, the lands on the Elbe Hroznata donated to the Hospital — “all his possessions” — are rather far from Peruc, the village by which Hroznata was identified and which he retained.¹¹⁴ Although the specific villages are not listed, the new foundation of Teplá seems to have received similarly cohesive holdings from the other Hroznata, who used his more far-flung lands to buy off his relatives and reward his chaplains.¹¹⁵ Teplá’s lands, and Hroznata’s before, lay in a region previously sparsely inhab-



Map 4. Lands of Hroznata of Peruc, Měsko of Peruc, and Hroznata (of Teplá).

ited. We might surmise that Hroznata saw greater opportunity for expansion in his lands “on the frontier” than in the villages he owned near Litoměřice; with his relatives in control of all nearby villages, consolidating his holdings around Litoměřice would have been difficult, while the colonization of new lands in the west presented Hroznata with no such problems. By combining colonization with the consolidation of their holdings, some freemen were able to amass fairly large, compact tracts of land. By the mid-thirteenth century, colonization and consolidation would produce large landed estates. At the end of the twelfth century, however, it gave magnates the freedom to move away from their kin, to pick and trade for better lands, and to choose the most congenial “seat” for their consolidated holdings.

A secondary but significant effect of the consolidation of land by magnates is reflected in the striking increase in place-name designations among magnates in thirteenth-century documents, where they serve as the primary means of identification for witnesses to important transactions.¹¹⁶ At the turn of the century, the primary purpose of such designations in charters, witness lists, and chronicles—as for patronymics—was simply the identification of individuals who might otherwise have been confused.¹¹⁷ This is borne out by



Map 5. Milhost's foundation of Mašťov, 1196.

the fact that one fairly early place designation is used for a man — among several — named Hroznata, that is, Hroznata of Peruc, who was also known as “the curly-haired,” while another Hroznata was sometimes called “the bald.”¹¹⁸ Designations are also given, however, for men who must have been widely known: Hroznata, for instance, was Frederick’s chamberlain, and is so listed in the same charter which identifies him as “of Peruc.”¹¹⁹ The earliest designation by place is for Marquard “of Doubrava” circa 1146–48;¹²⁰ he and his sons appear so frequently in charters without this place-name, it is hard to imagine it was required for identification. None of the place designations were castles or towns; they seem rather to have been ordinary villages. In 1197 Ratibor is listed as “of Čechovice,” as he and his son Jaroš were in 1177,¹²¹ in spite of the fact that, in the intervening two decades, he had been castellan of Netolice, Vyšehrad, and Kladsko as well as court judge.¹²² In the case of Hroznata of Peruc, we know for certain that Peruc was an ordinary village, located, as we have seen, relatively distant from his other possessions.¹²³ These men must have perceived themselves in relation to that place and expected their contemporaries to do so as well; yet whether a designation derived from a man’s birthplace, main property holding, or conception of an ancestral seat cannot be determined. Mapping the actual locations of the village designations in twelfth- and early thirteenth-century lists yields a significant pattern, however.¹²⁴ Most fall in those areas that had been heavily forested and would later undergo intense colonization activity, especially west of Plzeň. With a few exceptions, none

are in the core area of old settlement, nor do they cluster around important castles.¹²⁵

These changes, developing at the turn of the thirteenth century, prove especially revealing by contrast with the earlier era. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries it was not uncommon for freemen, especially wealthy ones, to own lands scattered throughout Bohemia or Moravia. (It seems to have been rare, however, for a freeman based in Bohemia to own lands in Moravia, and vice versa.) For even the most prominent magnates, this dispersion of lands meant that neither individuals nor families had a local base of power, isolated from the events and influences which shaped society in the Czech Lands as a whole. The freemen's identification as a community remained centered around the duke and his capital at Prague, and their increasing local influence as wealthy landowners translated into greater leverage at that level only slowly. The occasional use of place-name designations, and their routine employment in witness lists during the thirteenth century, reinforces the impression that the consolidation and colonization of land was the means by which certain individual magnates, and others who followed their example, made themselves rich and prominent—and thereby less dependent upon the duke. At the end of the twelfth century, neither laymen nor ecclesiastics were banking their fortunes on the duke's favor alone, but working instead to exploit their own properties more actively and to amass sufficient resources to continue to do so.

Warriors and Servitude

Hroznata's foundation charter for Teplá from 1197—virtually the last charter issued in Bohemia during the twelfth century—refers strikingly to “warriors, who hold my estates from me.”¹²⁶ Here, then, is a hint that prevailing conditions of military service were beginning to change, whether by limiting participation to specialists or by connecting military activity to landholding. Certainly, at the end of the twelfth century, lesser freemen still were capable and expected to participate in military activities. The German merchants of Prague, we recall, were obligated to fight *pro patria* and to contribute “shields” to the city's defenses when the duke was away. In his chronicle, Gerlach could still describe armies made up of both warriors and “rustics” (“*milites et rusticos*”) in the last quarter of the twelfth century—even as such a description simultaneously points to a new meaning for the term *miles*.¹²⁷ Soběslav II's insistence upon having *pauperes* in his army at all times was noteworthy perhaps because it ran against the trend.¹²⁸ Vincent, who gives a vivid description of peasants turning in their ploughs for swords in eagerness to join the imperial campaign to Milan in 1158, provides a clue to the beginnings of more

restricted military participation: "For the selection of an army against Milan, a court at Prague was announced to the Czechs, at which suitable warriors were chosen."¹²⁹ Not everyone who volunteered was allowed to take part. One can imagine Vladislav II surveying the assembled men and immediately selecting all those better-trained and better-armed and ordering many part-time warriors home. However far it may have progressed at the turn of the century, the increasing limitation of military tasks to specialists surely contributed to widening the gulf between ordinary free farmers and wealthy magnates, especially in conjunction with consolidation and colonization.

This begs the further issue of whether the emergence of specialized warriors' activities might have begun to alter the relationship between military service and landholding. Hroznata's charter points to a new group forming in the growing gap between smallholders and landed magnates, for it speaks of men "who hold my lands from me."¹³⁰ Differentiated in the document from Hroznata's unfree *familia*, they held whole villages but were not the owners of the land, as the redundant "my lands from me" emphasizes. Certainly, when Hroznata donated all his property to Teplá these lands were included. Because such warriors, like Hroznata himself, would have been obligated to muster at the duke's call, it is difficult to imagine a military rationale for Hroznata's maintaining his own knights. One possible explanation for this apparent infeudation is that, in the general land-grabbing atmosphere, Hroznata felt the need to secure his relatively broad territory with warriors who would defend it as their own. Elsewhere, usurpers seized lands belonging to the German monastery of Waldsassen, who turned to the duke to have them returned.¹³¹ Hroznata perhaps took measures to assure that such problems did not arise, infeoffing (or something like it) men who would assist his colonization efforts—effectively promoting, even farming out, the hard work of landclearing and settlement. For this reason then, even after ownership was transferred to the new monastery, the warriors living on Hroznata's lands in the forest, that is, the newest lands, were entitled to keep them without the payment of any fee.¹³²

The infeudation of poorer warriors necessarily lagged behind the consolidation and colonization of lands that made it feasible. Of all the men listed in the witness lists from the twelfth century, and even into the first quarter of the thirteenth, only three are named as the "warriors" of other men. The charter, in which one Dethleb grants land to Plasy from his and his brother's holdings, concludes: "Klusen with his brother Baviar, Dluhomil, and Peter their *miles*."¹³³ The ducal confirmation of Milhost's foundation of Mašťov similarly lists: "Aгна and Peter, sons of Milhost, Conrad and Siegfried his warriors."¹³⁴ Although the reference to "their" in the first charter is obscure, the two knights

listed here are clearly attached to Milhost.¹³⁵ That only one or two men are named in both cases and the fact that they fall at the very end of the witness lists are suggestive.¹³⁶ The striking coincidence that the same men, like Milhost and Hroznata, who held broad lands and established monasteries should have been those with whom knights can be associated may, as usual, be a function of the sources. Yet it also reflects something more, because the crucial innovation appears not in the association of middling and lesser warriors with, or even their employment by, the most prominent magnates, but the role of land as a means of permanent, or at least long-term and formal, bond between them.

Consolidation of land by certain wealthy men had another, more pervasive and better documented, effect. For some men to expand their holdings, others had to lose theirs. To be sure, with the colonization of new lands this need not have been a zero-sum game, especially given how much of the Czech Lands was still unsettled in the twelfth century. Nevertheless, people were needed to work the newly cleared territory, creating conditions of abundant land and scarce labor resources. The demand for labor must have increased dramatically as forest areas were settled.¹³⁷ And as some landowners gained more and more land, they must have begun to dwarf their neighbors; ordinary freemen were probably less able to defend themselves and their lands from the encroachment of wealthy and powerful magnates. Consolidation and colonization thus had two profound social consequences: some men of middling rank, more capable warriors perhaps, became knights of other magnates and settled on their land, as we have seen; meanwhile the poorest freemen, most of whom must have been farmers and craftsmen with small plots, became the subjects of lords and thus progressively indistinguishable from the unfree peasantry.

The dearth of information about the peasantry—free or unfree—makes it difficult to trace with accuracy their fate in the late twelfth century. One reference, however, from as early as the 1140s, provides an intriguing clue. The foundation of Strahov includes the duke's grant of:

his court at Radonice with all its appurtenances, namely villages, unfree men and women, and other various pertinent things of theirs. The names of the unfree are these: Bus, Milan, Blas, Onata, Všan, Ban, Druhan, Jakub, Bohdan, Ostoj, keeper of horses, Čelek, cobbler, Modlak, Nedoma, Lubata, Radosta, blacksmith, Dedon and Straž, makers of pitch-huts. In the same village these voluntarily subjected themselves to servitude: Hradata, Sudar, Bohdan, Božepor, Gogul, a gardener, Vilkon, Bohuta, Soběstoj.¹³⁸

Assuming tentatively that all the heads of household in Radonice are listed here, two-thirds of the inhabitants were unfree, including several craftsmen.

Without more information about legal privileges or attendant obligations, it is impossible to know what led eight more to alter their status voluntarily from free to unfree. One can imagine plenty of incentive for the lord, lay or ecclesiastic, to bribe, cajole, or compel them to become his subjects, thus ensuring complete control of the village with its appurtenances. Small-time farmers, owning modest plots and wishing to maintain their independence, must have been under extraordinary pressure in a village largely controlled by a single landlord. The indication that freemen willingly became subject to Strahov at the time of the grant contrasts with the two documents from the end of the eleventh century cited at the beginning of this chapter: the description of servitude by “fee” in the Hradiště foundation charter from 1078 and Němoj’s manumission of members of his *familia* around the turn of the century. The Strahov charter issued fifty years later reflects a clear shift, people moving into servitude rather than out of it.

The charter recording Strahov’s foundation is noteworthy too in that it deliberately names those subject individuals included in the grant. Only a few extant documents considered genuine and datable to the eleventh or twelfth centuries contain such lists but, tellingly, they appear quite often in forged documents from the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries.¹³⁹ Such forgeries are especially revealing, in particular since several are alleged foundation charters, purporting to date much earlier, and their purpose was clearly to list the bulk of the institution’s holdings. In the four versions of the forged foundation charter for the chapter at Vyšehrad, the listing of names of subject peasants shows the most variation.¹⁴⁰ In the A version, additions made in other hands and inks are quite obvious, and most of these provide the names of subject peasants. In three of the four versions, an addition of several lines is made at the bottom, following what was obviously the original end of the text (after “Amen” in the B versions):

These are the names of the *familia* of the church: From the village Podlesín the wife of Svohboh named Tulna with three sons and a daughter named Radohna; from the same village Tehna with a son and a daughter named Hostena; there also a *quaz* named Krabava with a daughter named Nebraha, another named Ziznava, and a third Čejka. From the village Libušín Milica, her daughter Rozneta with daughters Kojs, Visemila, and Mutina; Milehna the sister of the aforesaid Milica with her two daughters, Svatava and Bohumest; Sirava with son; Malovia the wife of Scit; Deucik with two daughters Radohna and Ubicest.¹⁴¹

Whereas the persons enumerated in the genuine charters were often men, with their professions noted, this appendix to the Vyšehrad foundation charter consists almost entirely of women’s names, mothers with their daughters.

These forgeries were drafted approximately one hundred years after the chapter's foundation. By that time none of the named individuals would have been alive, but the church could presumably lay claim to their descendants; for that women could be as important as men. (Local and family memory must have preserved the names of previous generations, or such references would have been entirely meaningless.) While these spurious documents cannot be dated more accurately than ante 1222, evidently at the time of the forgery it had become as important to lay claim to people as lands.

The Vyšehrad forgeries are not the only charters to have names added. The donation made to the collegiate chapter at Litoměřice by Duke Spitihněv circa 1057 survives both as an original eleventh-century charter and as copied into a charter of confirmation, issued by Přemysl Otakar I in 1218.¹⁴² The latter is virtually identical to the original until the end, where the names and occupations of thirty-five men have been appended; most are small landowners, whose property forms part of the donation.¹⁴³ In some instances, only professions are noted.¹⁴⁴ The original charter also includes three additions to the bottom: the first, according to Gustav Friedrich, written in a hand aping the original, is the grant of a man, his sons, and brother, and includes witnesses; the second, inserted over an erasure, lists the names of nine peasants "from this *civitas*"; and the last, written in a thirteenth-century hand, partly in Latin and partly in Czech, records several grants of land, the last including two peasants.¹⁴⁵ Again, it is striking to find that, by the time of the early thirteenth-century confirmation of the chapter's holdings, the names of individuals who could not have been alive had been added to the charter. Whether intended to lay claim to their descendants or, perhaps, to the men in specific professions in the villages in question, remains uncertain. Taken together with the Vyšehrad forgeries, this charter too provides ample reason to assume that the long lists of names in several forged charters represent not some version of the original donation, but interpolations made in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries to lay permanent claim to lesser free and unfree individuals.

At times, ambitious freemen employed more heavy-handed tactics to pressure their weaker neighbors. Gerlach of Milevsko comments that Duke Soběslav was zealous to prevent excesses, perhaps of this very sort:

It always was his care to free the poor and helpless from the powerful, to whom he was not a supporter, giving judgment to all those suffering injury and to all the people of the land without regard to person. He so gave his heart to those needing defense that he did not shrink from offending the nobles on account of the poor, and was commonly called prince of the peasants. . . . What more can I say: all his efforts and his whole mind were to protect the poor and preserve the laws of his land.¹⁴⁶

Such behavior doubtless did not endear him to the wealthier and more ambitious freemen, who withdrew their support from Soběslav in favor of his cousin Frederick a few years later. Gerlach has the same to report of Bishop Henry, who took up the cause of the poor during Frederick's reign; the chronicler describes not only magnates, but the duke and other Přemyslids actively involved in, and sanctioning, such oppression.

He [the bishop] so gave his heart to defending the poor that he did not shrink from incurring the offense of the leading men of the land for their defense, terrifying them away from such activities. . . . Duke Theobald, nephew both of the bishop and of duke Frederick, by whose grace he ruled a quarter [of the land], so loosed the leash for his bailiffs that they did whatever they pleased. . . . Similarly even Duke Frederick and Duchess Elizabeth dared to do similar things, nay worse, against the church of God through their officials.¹⁴⁷

In this second passage, Gerlach clearly equates the "poor" with the church; Bishop Henry would have to appeal to the emperor to secure immunity for the Bohemian church from the duke's interventions.¹⁴⁸ Still, expectations about the just treatment of peasants according to "the laws of his land" prevailed at the end of the twelfth century, even as they were apparently being violated. For Gerlach, Soběslav II was notable for attempting to uphold customary law and keep such abuses contained, while Frederick was equally infamous. Nonetheless, both descriptions, of the efforts of Soběslav II and of Bishop Henry, reflect a general atmosphere of tension between the wealthy and powerful, and the lesser people of the realm.

In the thirteenth century colonizing efforts would far outpace the growth of the native population, creating opportunities for German immigrants willing to move east.¹⁴⁹ If, in the second half of the twelfth century, people became as valuable a resource as land, it is little wonder that lords undertook to be certain of the assets under their control and perhaps to draw in others. Small landowners in long-settled areas too would have been vulnerable to the desire of magnates and monasteries for consolidated holdings. We should not overemphasize the increasing subjection of free peasantry, however. Marcant's agreement with the bell ringers of Vyšehrad in 1184 was witnessed not only by the chapter's canons, by the duke and officers of the court, but also by small landowners from neighboring villages.¹⁵⁰ Marcant himself must have been a minor, if ambitious, freeman rather than a more prominent magnate, or perhaps a merchant, as his name suggests.¹⁵¹ Many others like him may have sought to profit from their limited assets by making deals with others of greater or lesser means, or by exploiting resources yet untapped. It would be some time

before categories of status became fixed, and the process would begin at the lower, not the elite, levels of society: in other words, among those of restricted means and, if military service was indeed becoming limited, increasingly cut off from participation in the dynamic of Czech politics.

If we can assume that there was always an operative distinction between wealthier, more powerful freemen and ordinary free farmers and craftsmen, that gap began to widen at the end of the twelfth century. Those in possession of the requisite resources of land, people, and money to exploit uncultivated forest, to plant vineyards, and to trade whole villages for others better situated, surely profited greatly by such activities. As a result, they would have had more land, people, and money available for more colonization and consolidation. They could even establish on their lands a few fellow warriors, men who would be obligated chiefly, if not yet exclusively, to them. If they were more concerned for their souls, they could devote the bulk of their newly acquired lands to the establishment of monasteries. The holdings of these magnates could still not compare with those of the duke, but no longer could lesser freemen become their equals, however proficient in arms or trusted in ducal service. In earlier times, it was possible for a lesser man to be raised to an important court office or castellany by the duke and to be given extra lands by him to augment his small holdings, thereby effectively becoming the equal of wealthier men from more prominent families. In the early thirteenth century, it would be far more difficult for such a man to wield influence comparable to his wealthier, better established colleagues by means of a gift of land from the king. In other words, beginning at the end of the twelfth century, the Czech magnates, led by enterprising individuals, slowly began transforming themselves into a more traditional landed nobility.

There is no doubt that these are instances of a dramatic change, one that deeply affected both social mobility and shared interests, as described above. We cannot know whether these changes also resulted from, or precipitated, other socioeconomic developments rendered invisible by the extant source materials. But, consciously or unconsciously, the magnates were indeed taking pages out of the duke's own book. If his superiority was based on large amounts of land, they could increase their own holdings through smart management, consolidation, and colonization. If the duke drew his supporters from those subject to him, they could bring more people—peasants and warriors—under their own control. If the duke could count on the spiritual support of ecclesiastical institutions that he founded and endowed, they could establish new monasteries. But such changes did not yet fundamentally alter

the nature and exercise of political power in the Czech Lands. Those privileges and prerogatives that formed the basis of ducal power remained in his hands: huge tracts of land, cultivated and uncultivated; rights of tax, toll, and coinage; jurisdiction; military command; and castles. The political structure of the Czech Lands, the “balance and interdependence” to which we turn in the next chapter, had not yet been transfigured.

3. INTERDEPENDENCE

The previous chapters took institutional and social-structural approaches to political life in the eleventh- and twelfth-century Czech Lands, focusing on the duke and the freemen respectively. Neither, however, suffices alone to describe the exercise of, or resistance to, power. Having thus laid the groundwork, we turn here to consider relations *between* the duke and the freemen, that is, between the extensive lordship ascribed to the Přemyslid ruler and the composition of lay society as deduced from the sources. The duke had significant and far-reaching rights over his subjects, although common sense suggests that he required the aid and services of many individuals to govern his realm. Freemen of all levels, for their part, saw in the duke's service the path to social advancement and greater wealth. All this should be clear enough already. This chapter, however, offers further elaboration of, and somewhat qualifies, the conclusions reached in Chapters 1 and 2. For the freemen, for instance, the social mobility that characterized their lives, in which the duke played a crucial role, was profoundly constrained by violence at his hands. Analysis of lordship in the Czech Lands, meanwhile, requires consideration of succession to the ducal throne at Prague and of the dynasty that dominated it.

The fundamental bases of power for the duke of Bohemia hardly changed from the mid-eleventh to the end of the twelfth century, while the structure of society for freemen at the highest and lowest levels began to be transformed only slowly in the last years of this period. Yet the chronicles, and the coins and charters too in their way, portray a world far from static; each quarter century differed in many respects from the previous or the next. Understanding the consequences of Czech social structure for the duke's power, and Přemyslid lordship for the fortunes of the freemen, is the foundation for the give-and-take reported in the chronicles and analyzed in Part II. The key, this chapter argues, lies in the interdependence and tense balance between the duke and the freemen. And the ramifications for political affairs were far-reaching. The goal, here and in succeeding chapters, is not merely to make the case for such a model, but to understand and demonstrate how it *functioned*, how it evolved over the course of the eleventh and twelfth centuries and, within it, how the Czechs adapted to — and often instigated — new challenges and opportunities.

Critical Transitions: The Case of 1109

In 1107, Svatopluk successfully unseated his cousin, Duke Bořivoj, and was enthroned duke of Bohemia. A similar attempted overthrow launched the previous summer had narrowly failed, but Bořivoj's hold on power was already so tenuous that he was unable decisively to defeat Svatopluk, then vice-duke of Olomouc; simply, he did not trust the loyalty of his army to pursue his cousin into Moravia. Once ousted, Bořivoj fled into exile and from there continued to press his claim to rule for the next several years, always unsuccessfully. The instability that immediately followed Svatopluk's accession, marked by Bořivoj's ineffectual incursions and the new duke's own efforts to consolidate power in Bohemia—one way to interpret his massacre of the Vršovici in 1108—had finally begun to settle by summer 1109. The duke thus turned to more routine affairs and joined Henry V on campaign in Poland in September. On the move with his men, he was speared in the back by an assassin, ostensibly at the instigation of one of the surviving members of the Vršovici. In the subsequent several days, the killing of Svatopluk had two political results: first, his younger brother, Otto, was immediately chosen as his successor by the freemen assembled in camp; second, four days later, Vladislav, the younger brother of the ousted Bořivoj, was enthroned. Duke Vladislav I would govern the Czech Lands until his death in 1125.

A close look at Svatopluk's assassination and its immediate aftermath, as related by Cosmas, is intriguing—and quite illuminating. “As we heard from those telling of it afterwards,” Cosmas says, the assassin was a “warrior sent by John, son of Csta of the Vršovici *gens*.” When the army began to move at dawn, after the siege of Glogov, this man “spurred his horse, quickly mixed himself into the midst of the army, and with all his strength threw his spear between the duke's shoulderblades.”¹ For John the motive for the murder seems simply to have been revenge, the act of a single individual with no broader political aims, a member of no live faction. The murder was committed independently of any effort to install a specific pretender or further the political efforts of a particular group of freemen. Nor was there, apparently, a designated “second-in-command” to whom the Czech freemen could automatically turn. The immediate consequence of Svatopluk's death was disarray. Faced with chaos in one contingent of his army, Henry stepped in—not, as one might expect of an overlord, to name Svatopluk's successor, but merely to restore order and calm everyone's nerves. As Cosmas tells it: “With the morning, the king arrived to grieve for his comrade. He granted to all the Czechs present that they should elect as their duke whomever they wanted from the sons of their princes.” The chronicler continues: “Then, as he was mourning, Vacek asked with tears rising

to his eyes that they should choose Otto, the brother of the murdered prince, as their duke. The king instantly praised him, and throughout the camp the foolish people cried ‘Kyrie Eleison’ three times.”²

Otto did not become duke, however, because he was unable to follow his election with enthronement:

Without delay and with only a few knowing, Detrišek, the son of Buša, ran at full speed and at dawn on the fourth day led to Prague Otto, whom Vacek and everyone from Moravia bustled to raise to the summit of the princely seat. Since they tried to bring it about without the consent of the Bohemians and the bishop, their audacity was frustrated, and the oaths given earlier in the midst of council were recited. For when they enthroned Svatopluk as duke, all the Bohemians had confirmed with oaths that after his death Vladislav, if he lived, would be raised to the throne.³

The oaths previously sworn by the Czech freemen to back Vladislav’s accession did not ensure that he would succeed automatically; in this case, as in many subsequent ones, such oaths seem to have had no status either as legally binding or determinative of succession by custom.⁴ Instead, Bishop Hermann of Prague and Fabian, castellan of Vyšehrad, worked strenuously to persuade the assembled men to treat their oaths as “inviolable.”⁵ Only serious deliberation and the influence of men of rank and acknowledged wisdom secured Vladislav’s accession to the throne in September 1109 — and Otto’s defeat.

The story of Czech politics over the course of the eleventh and twelfth centuries is one of critical transitions, of accidental and forced turning points, of crises resolved or forestalled. In all of them, as in 1109, the throne and Prague occupied a central place. Questions of succession, and the rebellions that arose when another Přemyslid was deemed more suitable than the reigning duke, emerge as pivotal moments for the configuration of political affairs, alliances, positions. As the chapters in Part II explore more fully, the actions of the duke, the Přemyslids, and the freemen were continually governed by an awareness of the importance of such moments of crisis. The strategizing in which all Czechs engaged at times of obvious political transition was mirrored in moves they made routinely, even if such mundane, perhaps even unspoken, calculations are lost to posterity. In other words, each year from the death of Břetislav I to the second accession and coronation of Přemysl Otakar I — from the mid-eleventh to the end of the twelfth century — was “transitional.” The tension thus generated was neither sporadic nor exceptional but constant — and it constitutes the characteristic dynamic of Czech political life in this period.

From the preceding chapters, it is relatively easy to comprehend what first Svatopluk and then Vladislav gained, the assets and rights they commanded as duke, as well as what sort of men Vacek or Fabian were and what

they stood to achieve in supporting one party or the other. But much that is central to Cosmas's anecdote has not yet been considered: the norm of succession and relationships within the ruling dynasty, the meaning of rituals and emblems associated with the duke, the stakes for all those involved: dukes, ousted dukes, Moravian vice-dukes, and other Přemyslids; castellans, courtiers, and warriors of all ranks; the bishops and clergy; and the emperor. The place of the church and the emperor will be treated at length, in Chapters 4 and 7 respectively. We turn now, in this chapter, to grasp more comprehensively the lives of rulers, their relatives, and the laymen who surrounded them in all their deeds.

Prague, "Mistress of All Bohemia"

For a Přemyslid pretender—tarrying in exile, say—to become duke, he had to gain control of Prague and be enthroned; reigning dukes facing revolt, for their part, needed to retain Prague at all cost: "*amissa Praga, perdita Boemia*," a passing phrase of Gerlach's says.⁶ In instances of actual siege, "Prague" signifies the castle, a long narrow stretch of walled hilltop on the left bank of the Vltava.⁷ Though small settlements existed below the castle and outside its main entrance at the top (today's Malá Strana ["Little Side"] and Hradčany), the town of Prague lay primarily on the opposite bank of the river from the castle. There was the market, the Jewish quarter and synagogue, the residential quarter for Germans and other foreign merchants, and an ever-growing number of parish churches.⁸ In the castle lay not only the duke's palace, but the cathedral, chapter and episcopal residence, as well as the women's monastery dedicated to St. George. In the Václav legends the chief ducal castle in the early tenth century seems to have been Levý Hradec, on the Vltava several kilometers north of Prague; yet a mere three years after his murder in Stará Boleslav (ca. 929), Boleslav I is said to have translated Václav's relics to Prague, to the large rotunda church of St. Vitus, which the new saint had himself begun. Whether or not by Boleslav I's design, Prague emerged early as the political, religious, and economic heart of the duke's territory. A Jewish traveler writing in Arabic, Ibrahim ibn Ya'qub, portrayed mid-tenth-century Prague as a bustling town, the liveliest in the region: "The city of Prague is built of stone and chalk and is the richest in trade of all these lands. The Russians and the Slavs bring goods there from Cracow; Muslims, Jews and Turks from the land of the Turks also bring goods and market weights; and they carry away slaves, tin, and various kinds of fur. Their country is the best of all those of the Northern peoples, and the richest in provender."⁹ For all these reasons then, all roads led—as they still do—to Prague.

In Cosmas's day, the decades around 1100, Prague was an ecclesiastical hub and the site of the cult of Sts. Václav and Adalbert, a wealthy and bustling trading center, the location (probably) of the central mint, and, of course, the regular meeting place for the duke's court. Cosmas describes it—and Vyšehrad next door—as rich and flourishing. In a dispute between Vratislav II and Conrad of Brno, the latter's wife is made to exclaim to the duke: "You will never be better enriched nor more esteemed than in the town of Prague and the village of Vyšehrad. There are the Jews fullest of gold and silver, the wealthiest merchants from every nation, the richest money-changers, and the market, in which the abundant spoils far exceed the number of your warriors."¹⁰ Prague Castle was the site for enthronement, for episcopal elections, and for the celebration of feast days. As such it was the obvious choice for visiting dignitaries and for the ceremonial reception of dukes returning from abroad. On the three occasions when papal legates traveled to Bohemia (in 1073, 1143, and 1197), synods were called at Prague.¹¹ When Vladislav II came back from the Milan campaign of 1158, similarly, Vincent reports: "The king, who was received in the holy city of Prague by the clergy, princes, nobles, and people, returned happily with his men to his land."¹² Notices of a duke's arrival in Prague are usually laconic, but a few give some indication of celebration, for instance, when, Soběslav returned "to his sweet metropolis" after the great victory at Chlumec in February 1126.¹³

Without any doubt, Prague was understood to constitute the locus of authority. Succession contests and revolts invariably had Prague as their goal, though battles were as often fought en route as at the castle walls or in their immediate vicinity.¹⁴ As Gerlach says of Frederick: once he secured Barbarossa's backing to unseat Soběslav II in 1179, he "headed for Prague by the direct route."¹⁵ Dukes facing rebellion moved swiftly to secure Prague: in 1068, Vratislav rushed there though his deposition was in no way in question; en route to the imperial court in 1109, Vladislav I turned back at Plzeň at word of Bořivoj's impending move toward Prague; Vladislav II left it in his brother's secure hands before repairing to the emperor for help in 1142; during the 1180s, Frederick's wife Elizabeth on two occasions acted to prevent its capture.¹⁶ Meanwhile, pretenders who saw in a sickly duke their chance to succeed lurked in the forests around Prague.¹⁷ Not merely dukes and pretenders ran to Prague in times of impending political turmoil. In 1109, after Otto's election in camp, he, the rest of the freemen in the army, and all those who had not been on campaign, instinctively converged on Prague within days of Svatopluk's death. Later that same year, when Bořivoj threatened to invade soon after Vladislav I was enthroned, many men, Cosmas says, "rejoicing in the novelty of things, awaited the ambiguous turn of fate while burning and plundering villages here

and there; but others of higher mind and purer loyalty ran to the princely seat in the city of Prague.”¹⁸

Curiae and *colloquia*, both routine and exceptional, were frequently held at Prague whether convened upon the ruler’s summons or at traditional set times, such as St. Václav’s day. Probably sometimes these were little more than festive displays of ducal munificence and dominance.¹⁹ There is no doubt, however, that matters of vital interest to all freemen were announced, debated, and decided at such gatherings of freemen.²⁰ For instance, the Canon of Vyšehrad noted that all the clergy and the people were already gathered at Prague for the feast of St. Václav, when Soběslav brought before them the matter of episcopal succession.²¹ Likewise, the freemen were convened when Vladislav returned as king from Regensburg to announce his plans for Milan, and there made plain their opposition; so, too, a decade later concerning intervention in a Hungarian succession crisis.²² While the throne and Prague always lay at the center of succession ritual and conflict, neither was requisite for formal gatherings of the Czechs over which the duke presided. Both charters and chroniclers also show that assemblies were held elsewhere as when Vratislav called the Czechs to Dobenina on the Polish border in 1068, when Soběslav I summoned the magnates to Vyšehrad for the trial of plotters in 1130, or when Conrad Otto convened a *colloquium* at Sazská in 1189.²³ And, in fact, nothing prevented freemen from meeting in the duke’s absence altogether, even assembling as an army—itself not so different from a *colloquium*.

Nevertheless, in Cosmas’s day, if not long before, Prague had already become the heart of a community. No wonder then that legends linked Prague’s foundation with the first Czech duke. Thus, in Cosmas’s telling, the appointment of a ruler preceded the establishment of Prague as his capital, though not by much.²⁴ The name, location, and status of Prague—“totius Boemie domna”—arose from Libuše’s prophecy, just as Přemysl himself had been chosen. (The Václav legend by Kristián tells a similar story, although there Prague is established before Přemysl is chosen.²⁵) In the *Chronica Boemorum* version, the pagan seer even predicts its special status as the burial place of two Christian saints, Václav and Adalbert.

Among the first beginnings of the laws, one day the aforesaid lady [Libuše], excited by prophecy, in the presence of her husband Přemysl and other elders of the people, thus foretold: ‘I see a city, whose fame touches the stars, situated in a forest, thirty stades distant from the village where the Vltava ends in streams. From the north the stream Brusnice in a deep valley strongly fortifies the city; from the south a broad, very rocky mountain, called Petřín from ‘petris’ [stones], dominates the place. The mountain in that spot is curved like a dolphin, a sea pig, stretching to the aforesaid stream. When you come to that place, you will find man putting up the doorway of a house in the

middle of the forest. And since even a great lord must duck under a humble threshold, from that consequence the city you will build, you shall call “Praha” [from “*prah*,” “threshold”]. In this city, one day in the future two golden olive-trees will grow up; they will reach the seventh heaven with their tops and glitter throughout the whole world with signs and miracles. All the tribes of the Bohemian land, and other nations too, will worship and adore them, against their enemies and with gifts. One of these will be called Greater Glory, the other Consolation of the Army. More was to be said, if the pestilential and prophetic spirit had not fled from the image of God. Immediately going to the ancient forest and having found the given sign in the said place, they built the city of Prague, mistress of all Bohemia.²⁶

Almost from time immemorial, as Cosmas envisaged it, Prague was the undisputed center of all aspects of Czech life. In political matters, in moments of crisis especially, Prague was principally the location of the ducal throne. In his description of the revolt of 1142, Vincent remarks that Duke Vladislav II deployed troops: “in order to protect the castle and the princely throne, a certain stone one, which even now stands in the castle’s center; for its sake, not only now but from of old, many thousands of warriors have rushed to war.”²⁷ This remark, among so many others, is a striking reminder too that, while undoubtedly the Přemyslids’ dynastic seat (and the bishops’ as well), ultimately Prague was, for all Czechs, their capital.

Violence

While the lives of the Czech freemen always revolved to some degree around Prague, they also remained engaged with their duke for other, more coercive reasons. The chroniclers describe vividly how a whisper from an enemy at court and an irate duke could lead to dire consequences. It was a lesson the slaughtered Vršovici men, women, and children—to take the most dramatic case—learned painfully late.²⁸ Outside this instance the sources, typically, do not describe what the victims’ families and dependents endured, but undoubtedly their lives were dramatically affected when freemen suffered death, mutilation, exile, imprisonment, or the confiscation of property at the hands of their ruler. The knowledge that the duke, especially an angry one, was inclined to perpetrate, or react with, violence must have generated considerable anxiety among Czech laymen in dealings, routine or extraordinary, with their lord. Here again we recall Libuše’s admonition and her vision of courtiers with trembling knees, mouths too dry to utter more than “yes, lord.”²⁹ Little wonder then that, in 1091, the young men who had sided with his rebellious son opted for exile rather than trusting King Vratislav’s promise of peace: “We fear his friendships more than his enmities,” Cosmas has them declare.³⁰ In the later

twelfth century, under Soběslav II, when the summary execution of magnates was less easily practiced, men who deserted the Czech army in Italy still knew better than to present themselves at court.³¹ While we should not take too literally the picture of freemen trembling in the duke's presence, nor assume that they lived in absolute fear and dread of him, there is ample reason to believe that they could not thwart his will lightly. Both ducal violence and its threat profoundly constrained the actions of the Czech freemen.³²

In many cases, it was surely intended to do so. While dukes were sometimes motivated by fury or revenge and often by specific political agendas, they also aimed broadly to intimidate. For instance:

At Duke Vladislav's order, all the supporters of Bořivoj were some deprived of sight and some of property, others despoiled of their real goods and the rest — those who were able to escape under cover of darkness — fled to Soběslav, the son of the king [Vratislav], in Poland. Among them, John, son of Csta from the Vršovici *gens*, was deprived of his sight and his nose at Vacek's order. Privitan, who was considered *senior* in Prague Castle, was caught similarly in the same sedition. A huge, mangy dog, drunk on yesterday's broth, was tied to his shoulders. Seized by the beard, Privitan was dragged three times around the market, with the dog barking and shitting on his bearer, and the herald proclaiming: "This is the sort of honor a man who breaks an oath given to Duke Vladislav will bear." Then, with everyone in the market watching, his beard was cut on a board and he was sent away toward Poland, into exile.³³

Judicial punishment was always explicitly public during the Middle Ages as a deterrent to future offenders. Yet the public humiliation Privitan suffered, itself patently a kind of violence, seems to have been extrajudicial. While his offense is couched in terms of "sedition," the crime proclaimed by the herald was betrayal of the duke. For magnates of the highest rank, the line between treason and personal offense was thin, and the penalties swift, severe, and often permanently disabling. And the threat of further violence must have lurked in every such act, whether the smallest personal disgrace or irrevocable death.³⁴ Without any doubt, dukes, magnates, chroniclers, the whole of Czech society knew, consciously or instinctively, this dynamic.

Acts of violence — confiscation of property, the imprisonment, exile, or death of the victims — are attributed to every duke, not merely the "cruel" ones, and occurred in nearly every decade from the mid-eleventh century and throughout the twelfth. Břetislav I ordered the dismemberment of a castellan who deserted his post in the war of 1040; more than century later, in 1174, a castellan named Conrad Sturm, who had acted as guard during his fifteen years in prison, suffered a similar fate at the hands of Sobeslav II.³⁵ These eruptions of violence hardly seem unjustified or surprising, the first plainly constituting wartime treason and the second the sort of personal grudge with which the

chronicler would apparently have sympathized if the duke had not also broken an explicit promise to leave his former captor unharmed. By the later twelfth century, the attitude toward such behavior had sufficiently altered that Soběslav II felt compelled to perform public penance for his killing of Conrad Sturm. With this one exception, however, dukes apparently acted without compunction, even with impunity. Nor were isolated individuals the only victims: soon after his enthronement in 1055, Spitihněv expelled all Germans from his realm, and soon thereafter seized and imprisoned all the leading freemen of Moravia at Chrudim; Svatopluk, in 1108, massacred all the Vršovici, together with their women and children; Soběslav I reportedly imprisoned a number of men (*multi*) in 1128, as did Vladislav II in 1141.³⁶

The violence suffered by Privitan or the Vršovici lay beyond the coercion inherent in all lordship and the exercise of justice. In fact, when described by the chroniclers, Cosmas in particular, such acts are often cast in terms of abuse of lordship and denial of justice. Thus, it was a death sentence imposed *without due trial* that several magnates fled: "But Smil and Kojata, although they spoke true and just words among the princes, nevertheless, had they not escaped by flight in the night, the duke would have punished them without any hearing as enemies of the *res publica*."³⁷ Where "right" and "justice" lay is little in doubt, at least in the chronicler's view. Cosmas, with his florid style, invariably describes dukes at these moments as *valde iratus*, thus acting from wrath and without due consideration. The violence reported by chroniclers is always attributed to the duke himself, never the men who must have done the deeds at his command. Although Cosmas claims not to know the reasons for Beneda's fall from grace, for instance, there is no doubt that personal animus motivated Vratislav to exile and later kill him.³⁸ On one occasion only does Cosmas show magnates urging violence and the duke refusing, in this case to punish a fellow Přemyslid.³⁹

Cosmas says that the massacre of the Vršovici originated in Svatopluk's hall, with the duke sitting amidst the assembled freemen before an oven at dawn; accusing Mutina and his uncle of attempting to oust him from the throne, and raging against the Vršovici, the duke left the room with a meaningful look and within moments Mutina had lost his head.⁴⁰ In likening Svatopluk's entrance to "a lion emerging from his cave, standing in the theater . . . expecting a meal," and describing the duke as "burning more with anger than the oven," there is little doubt about what moral Cosmas intends his readers to take from this characteristically vivid scene. But for us there is another lesson here. The death of Mutina, the rounding up of other leading Vršovici "within the hour," the apprehension of Božej at his home, and the subsequent execution of men, women, and children associated with this *gens* throughout Bohe-

mia required more than one hand. In the instant after the accusation was made against him, Mutina could not perhaps have been saved, but had his supporters been more numerous and powerful, those days in 1108 might have turned out very differently. On other occasions, for example at Dobenina in 1068, the duke's plans were foiled by armed opposition. By contrast, in 1128 or 1141, as at Chrudim in 1055, the duke must simply have had more men willing to do his bidding than enemies to capture. For a duke to commit violence, beyond what he could achieve with his own sword, he needed broad support among other men to carry it out. At the same time, if to act against a duke was to risk execution for treason *sine audientia*, then surely the freemen's best protection likewise lay in numbers.

Exile, whether forcible or voluntary, effected the removal of a freeman from the company his fellow Czechs and was therefore a potent political weapon. Less radical than the utter finality of death, exile was a longer-term solution than imprisonment, since a man's languishing in prison too close to family and friends might inspire them to secure his release. Rather than a legal sentence imposed as punishment, exile is frequently depicted as voluntary and as the only effective means of escaping death at the duke's hands once such an outcome seemed certain. For example, in Cosmas's telling, days before Svato-pluk ordered the elimination of the Vršovici, Mutina was warned "three times by his friends that, unless he fled, without doubt he would lose either his life or his eyes."⁴¹ Some Czechs forged new lives abroad but for many exile was a bitter fate, one only a return to the duke's grace could resolve. Reprieves were occasionally granted out of pity, or through the mediation of third parties. After Otto II's death at Chlumec in 1126, his son lived in Russian exile until Henry Zdík arranged his return — together with "other princes" — and reinstatement at Olomouc in 1141.⁴² Beneda found it more difficult to find someone to intercede on his behalf with Duke Vratislav and succeeded only with dubious and ultimately fatal results.⁴³ A letter written to the same ruler by an unknown cleric likewise begs forgiveness for some offense of his youth which led to his banishment from Bohemia.⁴⁴ In the twelfth century, nonruling members of the Přemyslid dynasty seem particularly inclined to choose life abroad as an alternative to the myriad disappointments associated with remaining at home — at least until exile too became burdensome and their return could be negotiated. Many of these men faced certain imprisonment in Bohemia. Still, ordinary magnates who flee seem always to have escaped within an inch of their lives. As the Canon of Vyšehrad reports succinctly: "In Lent of that year [1141] many men were hung from the gallows throughout the whole territory of Bohemia, especially on Mt. Šibenice; many among them escaped and fled."⁴⁵ Ultimately, exile functioned in a threefold fashion: it constituted a highly effective form

of political violence by which the duke could paralyze his enemies; like other kinds of ducal violence, it generated by its threat a psychological violence perpetrated against all Czechs; and, simultaneously, for the freemen themselves, it represented the only means of escape from ducal violence, including especially execution.

Although outside the exercise of justice, exile was nevertheless grounded in lordship because it relied on the duke's control of both his land's boundaries and the society inside them to be effective — as apparently it was. A series of mountain ranges runs along all borders of the modern Czech Republic, which are little different from those of the medieval territory ruled by the Přemyslid dukes. The mountains are not high ones but low and rounded, encircling the territory;⁴⁶ Bohemia proper, in particular, appears from a satellite perspective like a very large crater. The only frontier not delimited to some degree by mountains is the Austro-Moravian border, where the river Dýje separates an open plain; this line was policed by a string of castles.⁴⁷ The combination of mountains and forests meant that crossing the border was only possible at certain points, which were easily monitored by Czech rulers.⁴⁸ The eleventh- and twelfth-century sources speak frequently of “entrances” or “exits” of the land, often synonymous with “exits” from the forest.⁴⁹ In 1040, Duke Břetislav I defeated a Saxon army at the “entrance” near Chlumec, as his great-grandson Soběslav I would in 1126.⁵⁰ Soběslav II stationed his army at a similar entrance to block the approach of his cousin Frederick.⁵¹ Such tight borders not only served as protection and customs points,⁵² but also facilitated domestic political control. Concerning the Bohemian-Moravian border — internal but as clearly marked, mountainous, and heavily forested as the external frontier — a mid-twelfth-century charter refers to a place “in the forest which lies between the provinces of Čáslav and Brno, in which region live men, who are commonly called *stráž* [guard] and whose duty it is to guard the road, in order not to allow anyone to travel on it, entering or exiting the land of Bohemia, without the specific command of the prince.”⁵³ This comment strikingly illustrates how coercion reinforced the land's natural boundaries.

For the duke and for those subject to the throne, Prague was of primary importance. Yet the outer limits of the Czech Lands were no more a matter of mere geography than Prague's position at the “center” of Bohemia. The territory's boundaries were defined in part naturally and in part by the long arm of ducal lordship, which touched everyone in the Czech Lands equally (albeit indirectly in Moravia) — often violently. Dukes of Bohemia possessed both the means and the willingness to commit violence, to act beyond the bounds of their customary rights of lordship as part of the exercise of power. In the Czech Lands, violence — sudden, unjustified, and terrifying⁵⁴ — did not

flare up in times of chaos or merely in the absence of good governance and “peace”; it was, in many ways, endemic. This is not to say that it was institutionalized, nor that—as in a society undergirded by notions of honor and rights of self-help—it governed day-to-day relations between individuals of every rank. It nevertheless shaped Czech political life. While dukes of Bohemia likewise found themselves liable to suffer violence, its threat, and the fear it induced acted most forcefully as a constraint upon the freemen and other Přemyslids.

The duke probably had more carrots to offer the freemen than sticks with which to beat them, but the threat of violence played a significant role in their relations. Again, one particular incident—among many such—provides a compelling illustration of the way it affected, and was mobilized by, all parties involved in political decisions. In 1158, Vladislav II appealed to the ambitions of younger warriors, offering them rich rewards in order to overcome the opposition of more prominent men to participating in Barbarossa’s Milan campaign.⁵⁵ However, in absolving all freemen from obligatory military service, the newly crowned king declared that those unwilling to join up could remain at home “secure in my peace.” Vincent’s report of Vladislav’s remark intimates that this (and the later expedition to Hungary) lay beyond customary obligations, and the ruler effectively recognized them as such. But the statement attributed to the king does not frame the release in those terms. It was, instead, a clear and simple renunciation of violence: it meant, in the instance it was uttered, that Vladislav would not pursue and punish those who did not muster, that he would not make an effort to enforce his will. Yet if violence threatened in those few crucial moments when Vladislav announced his intentions, it posed a danger to the king no less—more even—than to his warriors.⁵⁶ The astute ruler must have immediately realized, if not foreseen, that widespread opposition to his plans might quickly incite the magnates to rebellion. Thus, in one sentence, a threefold maneuver: defray the tension first by a swift acknowledgement that justice lay on the freemen’s side and simultaneously declare unwillingness to force adherence to his view, then introduce divisions among the objecting freemen by enticing the hesitant with promises of booty. The latter worked both to assure that the campaign to Milan would proceed as planned and to preempt any move toward revolt by drawing lines between the freemen, playing the young against the established toward the king’s own ends. It was a masterful stroke, but one that must not be misconstrued: “peace” was offered not as an act of royal magnanimity, but to safeguard Vladislav’s position on the throne.

Constraints on the Ruler

To ask whether the duke of Bohemia's power over his land and his subjects was "absolute" is to joust with a strawman, for no medieval ruler's could be or was ever conceived as such. Yet, given the nature of the sources, we are at a loss to determine the legal or institutional constraints upon the duke's exercise of his overwhelming lordship. Never is it made explicit what limitations on military obligations freemen could demand, what taxes could be considered unwarranted, what judicial decisions could be contested. Yet the apparent volatility of Czech political life suggests that, whether in these spheres or others, the duke could count on opposition when he stepped out of bounds. Although some abstract understanding of justice or right governance presumably set a standard against which dukes could be judged, the key to resistance against him seems to lie in the give-and-take, the politicking itself. Strikingly, when Přemyslids fought, it was never over land, or money, rights of minting, jurisdiction, or military leadership, but all those things combined: becoming duke.

Becoming Duke

At stake in debates and struggles like those of 1109 was the *ducatus*, an abstract noun interchangeable with *principatus* and analogous to *episcopatus*.⁵⁷ *Ducatus* itself is never explicitly defined or glossed in any written source, any more than *regnum*, *res publica*, or *gubernacula*, but its meaning is plain enough. It could be used in a territorial sense—the meaning that most readily follows from the English "duchy." More often it signified ducal rule, lordship, and status.⁵⁸ *Ducatus* was but one of many ways to convey this. Cosmas's list of the mythic successors to Přemysl, in which the chronicler flourishes his Latin vocabulary to avoid repetition, demonstrates this quite clearly:

Nezamysl succeeded him in rule [*successit in regnum*]. When death took him, Mnata secured the princely rods [*principales obtinuit fasces*]. With him departing this life, Vojn took up the helm [*suscepit rerum gubernacula*]. After his fate, Vnislav ruled the duchy [*rexit ducatum*]. When the Fates cut short his life, Krezomysl was placed on the summit of the see [*locatur sedis in arce*]. Having removed him from our midst, Neklan obtained the throne of the duchy [*ducatus potitur solio*]. When he left this life, Hostivít succeeded to the throne [*throno successi*].⁵⁹

Admittedly somewhat fanciful, Cosmas's language accords with phrases that echo throughout the charters and writings of other, less verbose chroniclers.⁶⁰ Vincent says of the revolt of 1142 that the rebels "said they had chosen badly

for themselves a lord who could not guide the helm of so great a duchy,” and so they “elected as duke” another Přemyslid.⁶¹

Ducatus, without any doubt, derived from the ruler’s title, *dux*. It seems to have been adopted early as a translation for *kníže*, meaning “prince,” recorded in Old Church Slavonic *vítai* of Saint Václav (Wenceslas).⁶² The nature and origins of the title were so thoroughly taken for granted by eleventh- and twelfth-century Czechs that no chronicler or scribe bothered to comment upon or account for it. Cosmas’s story of the mythic origins of ducal lordship in no way addresses the title, rank, or office the new lord would occupy. The man on the throne in Prague was also routinely called *princeps*, although this word could be used in a more general sense.⁶³ While *princeps* was used freely and indistinguishably from *dux* in chronicles and charters,⁶⁴ the latter patently constituted a Přemyslid ruler’s “official” title. From the first time a title appeared to modify a duke’s name on a coin, it is *dux*.⁶⁵ In most documents and on all extant seals, the ruler is styled *Dei gratia dux boemorum*, sometimes simply *dux Boemie. Rex*, a title the Czechs knew from neighbors, was fastidiously—and quite consciously—avoided. *Monarcha* however appears in rare instances; in fact, Cosmas once remarks: “nisi monarchos hunc regat ducatum . . .”⁶⁶ Without being equivalent to duke, it emphasizes, like the story of Přemysl itself, governance of land and people by a single individual, in this case, addressed as “duke.”

At first and perhaps always at heart, *dux* was the title of a warlord, indicating someone who led (*duxit*) the army into battle. This may explain both why this particular Latin word was assigned by outsiders to the chieftains, elders, or leaders of the Slavs they encountered,⁶⁷ and also why it sat well with the Czechs themselves. Accordingly, the duke was routinely depicted, and chose to portray himself on coins and seals, bearing a warrior’s lance and shield.⁶⁸ Such ducal imagery is perhaps best represented by the frescoes in the chapel of St. Catherine at Znojmo, built circa 1134 within the vice-duke’s castle.⁶⁹ In the middle two of four painted rows, following a depiction of the messengers’ approach to Přemysl at his plough, appears a series of standing figures, clearly divided into two groups: in the first, the men who represent dukes of Bohemia from the mythic era to Břetislav II wear cloaks, while the rest, apparently Moravian vice-dukes, are pictured only in tunics and leggings.⁷⁰ With distinct facial features and expressions, each of the Přemyslids holds a shield and a lance with a banner, sometimes one in each hand, sometimes both in either the right or the left. The shields and banners are decorated, but no two are the same. Spear, banner, and shield, together with the throne, would remain integral to ducal iconography through the end of the twelfth century. After the permanent elevation to the rank of king, when royal crowns and scepters

replaced them, these emblems persisted — into the twentieth century — as the iconographic attributes of Saint Václav, the martyred duke turned warrior-saint.⁷¹

Cosmas, in the story of Přemysl the Ploughman, describes a change to “princely garb” as part of his assumption of power — noting, however, that his old peasant shoes were kept “still today” as a reminder of the duke’s lowly origins. Indeed, fancy trappings seem not to have been a part of ducal ideology or ceremony.⁷² The Přemyslids portrayed in the chapel at Znojmo wear simple clothing. None but King Vratislav, who wears a large crown and holds a scepter, sports any headgear or other ornament.⁷³ Czech dukes are occasionally depicted on coins and in rare manuscripts wearing a head ornament, whether wreath, helmet, or headband, but no single item appears consistently.⁷⁴ On the vast majority of coins the dukes, including Saint Václav, go bareheaded. Nor is there much evidence of ceremony or rituals intended to remind the Czechs of their duke’s exalted status, though as usual we are at the mercy of laconic sources. Cosmas’s account of the ill-fated *colloquium* called by Vratislav to force the candidacy of Lanzo as bishop of Prague seems to indicate that no special ceremony, language, or placement set the duke far apart from his men:

They came to the gate of the guardpost where one goes into Poland and in the place called Dobenina the duke called together the people and the magnates in a mass. With his brothers standing at his right and left, the clergy and *comites* sitting in a wide circle, and all the warriors standing behind them, the duke called Lanzo and, with him standing in the middle, lauded him and commended him to the people.⁷⁵

This combination of formality and informality runs through similar depictions, though none is so clear as this. No insignia marked the duke out from other Přemyslids or the assembled Czech warriors.

Still, all the men of the Přemyslid dynasty seem to have enjoyed a charisma that distinguished them from ordinary Czechs. While never explicitly remarked upon, such charisma manifests itself in two telling ways: first, in all the many struggles over the throne, only Přemyslids ever reigned or were put forward as pretenders;⁷⁶ and second, while none but Přemyslids were called *dux*, any of them — not merely the one on the throne in Prague — could be described with that title (they appear most often without title or denoted by the generic *dominus*).⁷⁷ Přemyslids are never called *comes*, and in charters they are always listed together, and first, among the lay witnesses.⁷⁸ Their difference was reinforced by alternate notions of property, of inheritance, and of intrafamilial relationships, described below. The sense that Přemyslids were unlike other freemen, even those from old and prominent lineages, was maintained, from

TABLE 4. WIVES OF DUKES AND VICE-DUKES

<i>Dukes</i>	
Bořivoj	(St.) Ludmila
Vratislav I	Drahomír
Boleslav I	Biagota
Boleslav II	Emma
Oldřich	1) ?
	2) Božena
Břetislav I	Judith of Sweinfurt
Vratislav II	1) ?
	2) Adleyta of Hungary
	3) Svatava of Poland
Břetislav II	Lukarda of Bavaria
Bořivoj II	Gerberga of Austria
Vladislav I	Richeza of Austria
Soběslav I	Adleyta of Hungary
Vladislav II	1) Gertrude, sister of Conrad III
	2) Judith of Thuringia
Frederick	Elizabeth of Hungary
Conrad Otto	Helicha
Přemysl Otakar I	1) Adela of Meissen [divorced]
	2) Constance of Hungary
<i>Vice-Dukes</i>	
Conrad of Brno	Wirpirk
Otto of Olomouc	Eufemia
Vratislav of Brno	Helena of Russia
Conrad of Znojmo	1) Catherine of Hungary
	2) ? Maria

the time of Břetislav I, by the dynastic custom of marrying women only from foreign nobility or royalty⁷⁹ (Table 4). Otherwise, on the ruler's own part, little effort seems to have been expended to construct or reinforce dynastic self-consciousness itself; it was apparently taken for granted as customary rather than staunchly asserted or defended by the dukes or their dynasty. Neither dukes nor Přemyslids, for instance, cultivated a specific church or monastery as a dynastic burial site (Table 5). The myths of Libuše and the first duke, Přemysl, from whom the dynasty derives its modern designation, in Cosmas's telling, concern lordship not lineage. As we shall see in Chapter 5, there are clear political reasons for this and ample evidence of a potent ducal ideology associated instead with the cult of Saint Václav. (Not incidentally, the depic-

TABLE 5. BURIAL PLACES OF PŘEMYSLIDS

<i>Duke</i>	<i>Death</i>	<i>Burial</i>
Bořivoj I	?	?
Spitihněv I	?	?
Vratislav I	?	St. George's
Václav I (St.)	28 Sep. 929	St. Vitus Cathedral
Boleslav I	15 July 967	St. George's ?
Boleslav II	7 Feb. 999	?
Boleslav III	1037	?
Jaromír	4 Nov. 1038	?
Oldřich	9 Nov. 1037	?
Břetislav I	10 Jan. 1055	St. Vitus Cathedral
Spitihněv II	28 Jan. 1061	St. Vitus Cathedral
Vratislav II (king)	14 Jan. 1092	? (Vyšehrad?)
Conrad	6 Sep. 1092	?
Břetislav II	22 Dec. 1100	St. Vitus Cathedral
Bořivoj II	2 Feb. 1124	St. Vitus Cathedral
Vladislav I	12 April 1125	Kladruby
Soběslav I	14 Feb. 1140	? (Vyšehrad?)
Vladislav II (king)	8 Jan. 1175	Strahov
Soběslav II	[beg.] 1180	Vyšehrad
Frederick	25 March 1189	St. Vitus Cathedral
Conrad Otto	9 Sept. 1191	Monte Cassino/Prague
Václav II	?	?
Henry (bishop)	15 June 1197	Doksany
Přemysl Otakar I	1232	St. Vitus Cathedral

tion of dukes and of the legend of Přemysl appears in a chapel at Znojmo, the center of power for one of the Moravian vice-dukes.) The exclusive relationship between the Přemyslids and rulership in the Czech Lands is unmarked, but unmistakable.

Enthronement marked the accession of a duke to power.⁸⁰ In all the narrative sources, even the most terse, the verb *intronizare* or some other reference to the *solium* is used to describe a duke's coming to rule.⁸¹ Though largely taken for granted by the chroniclers, the link between the throne and the assumption of lordship is occasionally spelled out explicitly by them: "he obtained the throne and the *ducatus* of Bohemia," as Cosmas remarks simply, or "solemnly enthroned, he took charge (*prefecit dominio*) of all of Bohemia," in Gerlach's words.⁸² Vincent, as noted above, reports that the throne was "a certain stone one" located in Prague castle.⁸³ Of Soběslav II, whose succession dispute with Vladislav and his son Frederick was decided at the imperial court, Gerlach says: "Designated for the paternal duchy, Soběslav sought Prague; there, received

splendidly by both the clergy and the people, he was solemnly enthroned according to the custom of the country (*iuxta morem patriae*), and thereafter reigned happily.”⁸⁴

Two passages from Cosmas are the only extant descriptions of the enthronement ceremony. The fullest depiction comes in his account of Břetislav I's accession in 1037:

After the funeral rites were completed, [Jaromír] took his nephew Břetislav and led him to the princely seat; and, just as they always do in the election of a duke, they scattered 10,000 coins or more among the people in the chambers of the upper hall, so that they might not crush the duke on his throne but rather chase the scattered coins. Next, when the duke had been placed on the throne and all was silent, Jaromír took the right hand of his nephew and said to the people: “Behold your duke!” And they cried together three times: “Krlěšu!” (that is, Kyrie eleison). And again Jaromír spoke to the people: “Approach from the *gens* Muncia! Approach from the *gens* Tepca!” and he called by name those who were more powerful in arms, surer in loyalty, stronger in the army, and most prominent in wealth.⁸⁵

Cosmas's description indicates that seating the new duke ceremonially on the throne — literal enthronement — was framed by presentation and acclamation, and followed by reception of the most important laymen of the realm. The significance of acclamation was illustrated in the description of the ill-fated choice of Otto as duke after Svatopluk's assassination, when “Kyrie eleison” was cried in camp three times.⁸⁶ Although in 1037, Břetislav I was introduced by his uncle, Cosmas describes the new duke's approach to the throne in 1092 as led by the bishop of Prague: “Together with the clergy and a magnificent procession, Bishop Cosmas took Duke Břetislav the Younger through the gate of the castle before the church of St. Mary and led him to the throne, where he was enthroned by all the *comites* and satraps according to the rite of this land.”⁸⁷ Despite the evidence of the bishop's role as presenter in this description, ecclesiastical participation in enthronement seems to have been minimal. Dukes of Bohemia were not anointed.

It was one thing to be a Přemyslid and quite another to be the duly enthroned *dux Boemorum*. The duke exercised considerable might based on lordship wielded in his territories, and thus, as ruler, he commanded respect and not a little fear from his subjects. Such reverence was also, in part, earned; once lost, no aura attached to a duke sufficient to protect him from deposition. No ideology served to prop up weak dukes, nor could any special sign endow a measure of the duke's authority upon his designated successor. Moreover, although dynastic charisma distinguished members of the ruling dynasty from all other Czechs, it could in no way defend dukes against attempts at deposition or bids for succession made, as they so often were, by their fellow Přemyslids.

Within the Přemyslid dynasty, Czech rulers were not, it seems, particularly fussy about their title, although—or perhaps *because*—there was never any doubt that only one man was indeed the duke of Bohemia. Only by enthronement at Prague could a Přemyslid become duke. The throne at Prague, which only one person could occupy, stood alone as a monumental representation of the duke's powers.

The Throne

The duke's lordship over land, access to liquid wealth, control of coinage, and exclusive jurisdiction shaped medieval Czech society and also set him apart, well above all laymen. Some aspects of lordship, especially military service and control of castles, necessarily entailed cooperation from the freemen. But the duke's dependence upon their support ran deeper than his administrative needs. The story of Otto's ill-fated "election" as duke, as well as the course of every revolt, emphasize the centrality of the throne, fixed permanently at Prague. For a duke, to lose the throne was to lose everything—no trivial constraint upon his power. The reason is simple: all the duke's broad rights—to the treasury and mint, and as highest general and judge—pertained to the throne.

That the duke's vast assets and privileges pertained to his office—to put it in legalistic and admittedly somewhat anachronistic terms—is consistently supported by the sources.⁸⁸ Since the bulk of the evidence is negative, or comes from offhand comments, we might best begin with an anomaly. Two charters issued to the Hospitallers by Vladislav II in the mid-twelfth century describe land as "ad coronam regni mei pertinentem," "ad coronam meam pertinentem," and "coronae mee adiacebant."⁸⁹ Such language appears nowhere else. Reference to a "crown" indicates that the documents were issued after Vladislav's elevation to the rank of king by Barbarossa in 1158.⁹⁰ Both charters apply to the same ruler and institution; they may reflect the particular influence of the international order or some innovation in political ideology of the king's. Yet the use of such inherently impersonal words like "pertain" and "adjacent" is not, in fact, unusual. "Adjacent" was employed routinely with regard to village appurtenances, especially forest. "Pertaining," more tellingly, appears elsewhere to describe land that was not owned by an individual but attached to an office. For instance, two charters recording ducal grants speak of land pertaining to a castle.⁹¹ In Henry Zdík's charter recording the lands of his see, holdings of various size throughout the diocese are listed according to eight subdivisions: those "pertaining" to the church of Olomouc, to the *prepositura* of Saint Václav, and to the churches of Přerov, Kroměříž, Spitihněv, Břeclav, Brno, and Znojmo.⁹² The context of the phrases in the Hospitallers'

charters, where these properties are contrasted with those acquired by other means, indicates that these lands, not purchased, or the proceeds of justice, or relinquished to the duke for some other reason, were essentially inherited. "Pertaining to the crown of my realm," nonetheless, expresses a conception of the duke's property that was not patrimonial, but concomitant with lordship.⁹³

Certainly, as all the ducal charters show, a ruling duke could exploit or alienate these lands like any layperson dealing with his own property. Yet, nothing suggests the existence of private holdings, distinguished from those pertaining to his throne or *ducatus*, in the hands of any duke. Cosmas employs this to dramatic effect in the deathbed scene of Břetislav II. Having bequeathed the money from Polish tribute and in his treasury to various monasteries, we are told: "And when he had disposed of all the things which were to be disposed for the sake of his soul, 'Give,' he said, 'to my little son my trumpet and spear; the other things, which God placed in his power, it is not mine to give.'" ⁹⁴ The resources in the duke's hands were, Cosmas suggests, more in divine power than in human, even ducal, control; Břetislav could no more determine their disposition than he could regulate succession to the throne. When Vladislav II abdicated the throne in favor of his son Frederick, he set aside property to support his unusual "retirement": "He raised his son Frederick, solemnly enthroned, to the lordship of all of Bohemia, keeping for himself only Budim and several other [villages] for use during his lifetime."⁹⁵ When Frederick was ousted soon after and Soběslav II enthroned, Vladislav removed to his wife's estate in the Empire, and died there four months later.⁹⁶ Frederick, like so many deposed dukes and nonruling Přemyslids, spent four years biding his time at the imperial court, in Hungary, and "wherever he was able."⁹⁷

Under ordinary circumstances no provisions were made for members of the ruling dynasty other than the ruling duke and the vice-dukes of Moravia. Among the Přemyslids, in contrast to the apparent custom among Czechs, partible inheritance was not the norm. The only case of partition was again made voluntarily by an abdicating duke: in 1117, when Vladislav I ceded the throne (albeit temporarily) and reinstated his brother Bořivoj, according to Cosmas, he received half of Bohemia in return.⁹⁸ There is no sign of dispute among the Přemyslids concerning inheritance of land or control of other specific resources, though there is ample evidence of the penury of those not in power. During the reign of Soběslav I, Vladislav, the oldest son of Vladislav I, returned from exile, agreed to lead an army on an imperial campaign, but as soon as he was paid 900 marks he immediately fled abroad again.⁹⁹ His cousin, Soběslav II, newly released from prison, had to borrow money from the Benedictines at Kladruba.¹⁰⁰ Obviously anyone can be short of cash, especially if forced to live in prison or exile, but there is simply no indication that these men

were able to draw upon incomes from land or other sources in the Czech Lands. No charters record grants made by Přemyslids other than dukes of Bohemia or vice-dukes of Moravia. In one, again the grant of 1169 to the Hospital, Vladislav II made a donation on behalf of his younger brother Henry.¹⁰¹ Oldřich, the younger brother of Soběslav II who had long lived in exile, donated a village to Hradiště in the brief interval between his installation as vice-duke of Olomouc and his departure on a campaign in Italy, presumably taking advantage of his first opportunity to make such a bequest.¹⁰²

The duke's lands, which he could treat freely as property while reigning, were therefore not disposed according to the norms of the society he governed, that is, divided among various heirs (nor, as we shall see, did they pass wholly to his eldest son). The anomaly this represents is emphasized further by the difficulties associated with the Moravian appanages. Ducal lordship there was delegated to vice-dukes installed and removed at the duke's will. But the expectation always persisted that the sons and grandsons of Conrad and Otto I, the first vice-dukes of Brno and Olomouc, had some right to inherit. For instance, Cosmas says that in replacing his own brother Soběslav with Lutold, son of Oldřich, Vladislav I "returned his inheritance [*hereditatem suam*]" at Brno.¹⁰³ The Canon of Vyšehrad uses similar language regarding a later case: "Soběslav came to Moravia and, withdrawing Oldřich's province from Otto, reinstated his son Vratislav in the paternal seat."¹⁰⁴ In instances where vice-dukes were survived by two mature sons, both "inherited": Conrad's lands were partitioned between his sons, Oldřich and Lutold, into regions around Brno and Znojmo, a division that persisted through the twelfth century; a century later, in the 1190s, the two sons of Otto III of Olomouc appear to have ruled jointly. The position of "vice-duke" was an innovation that never quite fit within Czech customary norms governing ducal authority, heritable property, or ordinary castellanies. Meanwhile, the evidence of partition and shared inheritance in Moravia emphasizes all the more the unwillingness to treat Bohemia likewise.

For the dynasty and for Czech society as a whole, the repercussions of this disposition of ducal lands and privileges were far-reaching. Reserving detailed analysis for a later chapter, several points may usefully be noted here. Assuming that some sort of partible inheritance was practiced among both great magnates and lesser freemen, the partition of lands probably kept limited the amount held by any one of them. That ducal lands were never considered individual property and were never divided was therefore instrumental in maintaining the huge distinction between the duke and freemen, however wealthy. The consequences for lesser Přemyslids were, by contrast, quite grim. Without the right to inherit, they possessed no landed assets—unless they

could earn the money to buy land or were freely given it by the duke himself. Throughout the eleventh and twelfth centuries, these men remained dependent on the good will and munificence of their father, brother, or cousin on the throne. The Moravian Přemyslids, occupying quasi-hereditary appointments with vastly more powers than castellans and bearing the same title as their overlord, nevertheless did not share in the autonomy the duke of Bohemia enjoyed. The consequence was enormous tension within the ruling dynasty. Yet because control of land, together with other prerogatives, remained linked to the throne, the ruler's own resources were dependent upon his political fortunes—and these not surprisingly were very often challenged by his dissatisfied Přemyslid relatives. The intradynastic tension that resulted from the association of ducal lordship with the throne was only magnified by the problem of succession to it.

Succession

From the mid-eleventh century to the turn of the thirteenth, the men of the ruling dynasty were in almost constant conflict with one another. On some occasions, tension clearly resulted from personal animosity or the petty grievances of nonruling Přemyslids; most commonly, however, disputes arose over succession to the throne. Since the duke's wealth and privileges were not partitioned among his sons in the manner of personal property, how and to whom they passed became a matter of considerable importance. No discussion of lordship would be complete without consideration of succession. But as with so much else about medieval Czech politics, the norm of succession to the throne in Prague may be known only through the now-familiar combination of a tale from Cosmas, offhand comments by chroniclers and scribes, and the pattern of unfolding events. The latter are followed in considerable detail in Chapter 6, a three-fold analysis of intradynastic relations, uprisings among the freemen, and the disposition of the Moravian appanages.

The only statement about the "rule" of succession, found in Cosmas's chronicle, comes as part of Břetislav I's deathbed scene and is framed in the context of a speech attributed to the dying duke. In 1055, nearing death, Duke Břetislav I asked the magnates to swear that the eldest of his descendents, that is, males of the dynastic lineage, should always succeed to the throne:

Because my fates are calling me and black death flies before my eyes, I want to designate to you and commend to your faith him, who should govern the *res publica* after me. You know that our princely lineage was reduced to me alone, partly by sterility and partly by some dying at an immature age. Now, as you yourselves see, five sons

are given to me by God. It does not seem to me useful to divide the realm of Bohemia [*regnum Boemie*] among them because every kingdom divided against itself will be brought to desolation [Luke 11:27]. That grace among brothers was rare — from the origin of the world and the beginning of the Roman empire until today — clear examples bear witness to us: Cain and Abel, Romulus and Remus, and my ancestors Boleslav and Saint Václav. If you look at what two brothers have done, what will five do? So much more capable and more powerful do I consider them, that I predict much worse with a prophetic mind. Alas, the minds of fathers are always terrified about the uncertain fates of their sons. Whence it should be foreordained that after my death no form of discord arises among them on account of obtaining governance of the realm [*propter obtinenda regni gubernacula*]. Concerning which I ask you by the Lord and I call your faith to witness by an oath, that among my sons and descendants the oldest should obtain the highest right and the throne in rule [*quatinus inter meos natos sive nepotes semper maior natu summum ius et solium obtineat in principatu*] and all his brothers or others who are born from the ruling lineage should be under his domination [*omnesque fratres sui sive, qui sunt orti herili de tribu, sint sub eius dominatu*]. Believe me, unless monarchs rule this duchy [*nisi monarchos hunc regat ducatum*], the yoke will fall upon you princes and great harm upon the people.¹⁰⁵

Although in 1055 no other Přemyslids lived besides the dying duke and his sons, the language here about the oldest of Břetislav's descendants and those "born from the ruling lineage" confirms that all Přemyslids — brothers, nephews, cousins of various degrees — were included, though only through the male line. (This gives rise to the usage of *frater* in chronicles and charters to refer to Přemyslids who were, indisputably, cousins.¹⁰⁶) The stated rationale for succession by seniority was to prevent division of the realm and internecine warfare between Břetislav's five sons; the duke appealed to the magnates' sense that they and "the people" would be the ones to pay the price for discord and fragmentation of power.

Before 1055 primogeniture seems to have been the practice among the Přemyslids.¹⁰⁷ No blood relationships are indicated in Cosmas's list of mythic ninth-century rulers but the *vitae* of Saint Václav show the throne passing to the eldest son (Fig. 1). According to *vitae* of Václav and of Ludmila, Bořivoj, the first Christian duke, was succeeded by his eldest son, Spitihněv, who was succeeded in turn by his younger brother, Vratislav; the unstated assumption is that Spitihněv had no children. Václav, the elder son of Vratislav, assumed the throne as a minor and soon after coming of age his younger brother, Boleslav I, murdered him in order to seize power.¹⁰⁸ Concerning Bořivoj's sons or grandsons there is no sign that governance or territory was partitioned between brothers. The evidence for these years is admittedly incomplete and, without better information about the existence of sons of Spitihněv or Boleslav's age at Václav's accession, hardly unequivocal. It is not clear what deeper

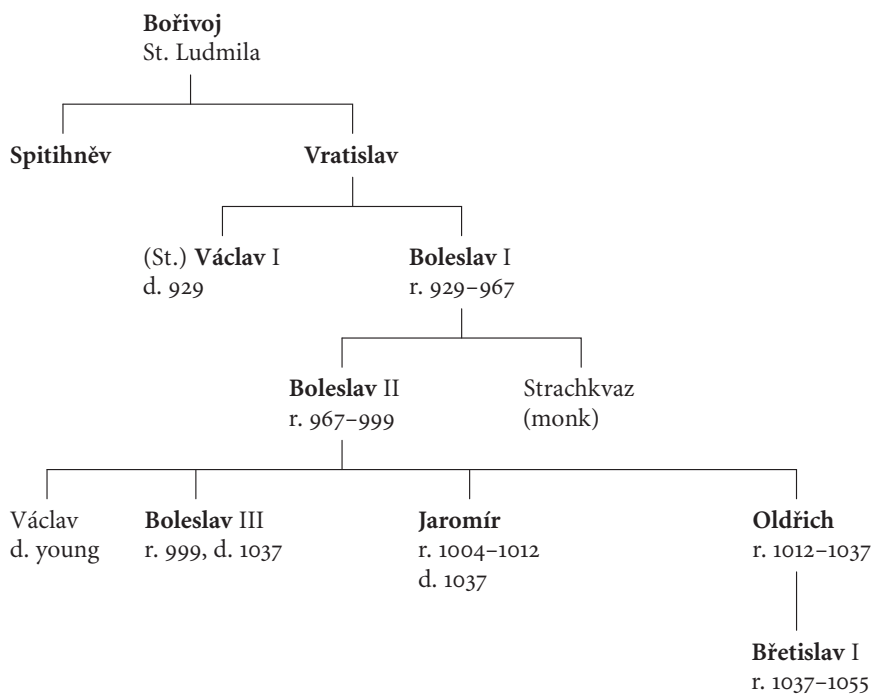


Figure 1. Přemyslids before Břetislav I (men only). Names in bold indicate dukes.

rationale, besides Břetislav's stated concern for his sons' future and for peace, lay behind the change to seniority succession. Nonetheless, in Cosmas's telling, and presumably from his contemporaries' perspective, Břetislav's death in 1055 did indeed mark a shift in the norm of ducal succession. Perhaps Břetislav thought that being the eldest of the lineage would give the duke greater authority over his relatives. The presumption that this would work against cousins, though not uncles, would prove in the twelfth century to be the weakness of his strategy.

In essence, Břetislav's plan to predetermine succession to the throne worked only for his five sons. In the critical generation of his grandsons, when the number of male Přemyslids rose to eleven, dukes and freemen may already be observed attempting to implement a policy that was breaking down (Fig. 2). Increasingly, disputes concerning seniority devolved into contests over succession between rival dynastic claimants. Later, when sixteen sons of eight Přemyslid fathers complicated relations within the dynasty irrevocably, ruling dukes attempted simply to eliminate contenders before they could stake a claim to the throne. Not surprisingly, affinal branches of the dynasty were con-

sistently disregarded. By the fourth generation after Břetislav I, relative age did not accord so neatly with generations. It is nevertheless clear that some branches of the family seem to have been permanently pushed out of power or into subordinate positions, while others were limited naturally (whether by choice or by chance). In time, rhetorical or authoritative invocations of seniority would be dropped altogether since making good any claim to the throne effectively required its seizure by force.

Cosmas, the only source for references to succession by seniority as the accepted norm, composed his chronicle — and Břetislav's speech — at the very moment when the seniority rule was beginning to prove inadequate. Since it accords with the attitude toward ducal power expressed throughout his text, the voice lamenting fraternal violence and the suffering of the people is undoubtedly the author's. Certainly, in the 1120s, Cosmas was deliberately appealing to his contemporaries at a juncture he perceived as critical. Yet there is no reason to believe that the rule itself is the chronicler's fabrication. He did not, after all, decry the absence of regulated succession, the failure of primogeniture or of partition, or the effects of chaotic violence. And the events he reports, those of his own lifetime, bear him out. So too do the efforts of reigning dukes throughout the twelfth century to control succession to the throne and to reinstitute primogeniture, or at least to predetermine succession in favor of their own eldest sons. Strikingly, the means of designating successors increasingly preferred by dukes lay in appeal to a superior, external authority, the German emperor, and ultimately in the transformation of the duke of Bohemia into a king.¹⁰⁹ Before the early thirteenth century, however, these maneuvers were uniformly unsuccessful.

A thorough analysis of the nature and pattern of revolt, of the various failed and successful attempts to seize the throne or the magnates' role in them, is the subject of Chapter 6, but one telltale example combines all the crucial elements. When Břetislav II, the eldest grandson of Břetislav I, was assassinated by a freeman for unknown reasons in 1100, he was succeeded by his brother Bořivoj, whom he had designated his successor during his lifetime in part by asking the emperor to confirm him and to invest him with a banner.¹¹⁰ Bořivoj's first action was to reinstate the exiled Božej and Mutina in the castellanies of Žatec and Litoměřice; Cosmas tells us he did this because he had to, not because he wanted to. The new duke also freed his cousins Oldřich and Lutold from prison and returned to them their portions of Moravia, Brno and Znojmo respectively. In spite of this conciliatory effort, Oldřich immediately sought out the emperor at Regensburg, requesting his support, claiming that "his younger brother" Bořivoj had usurped the throne illegitimately. According to Cosmas, the emperor willingly invested Oldřich with the banner, but

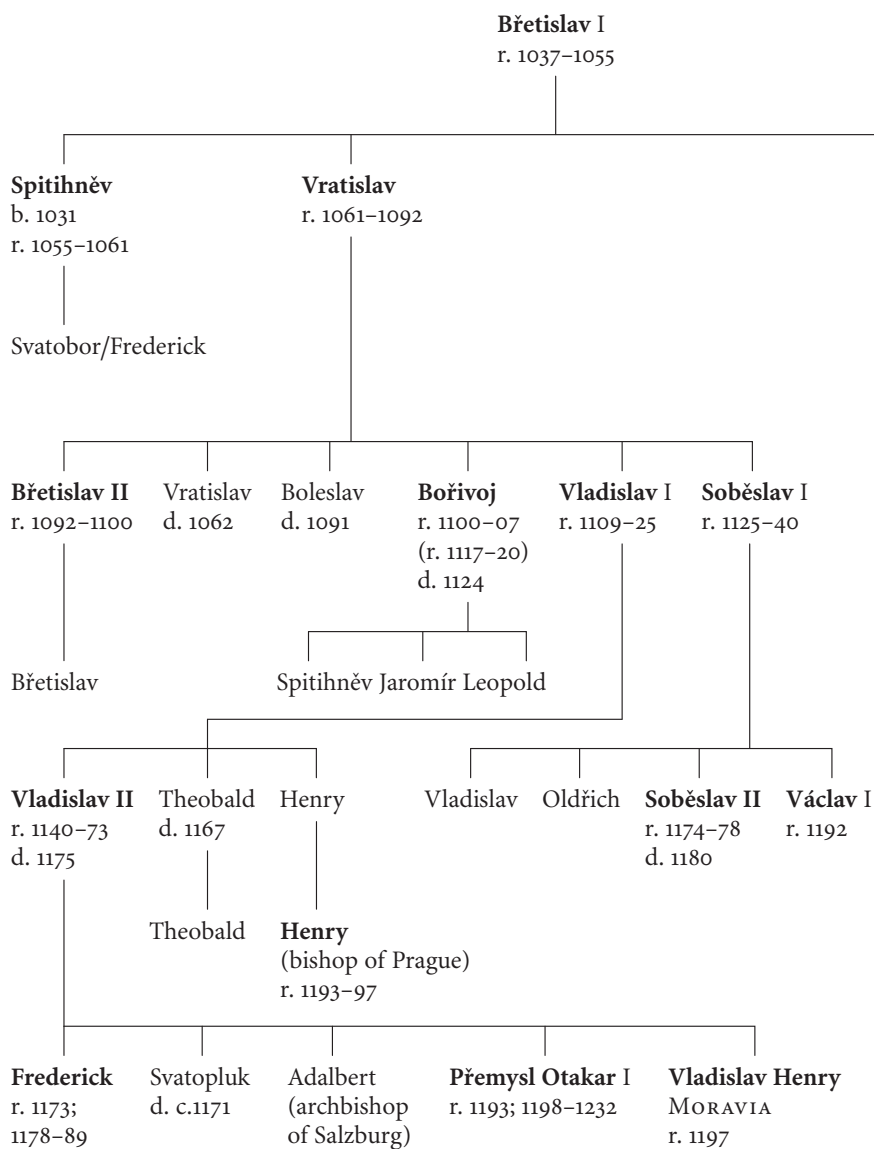
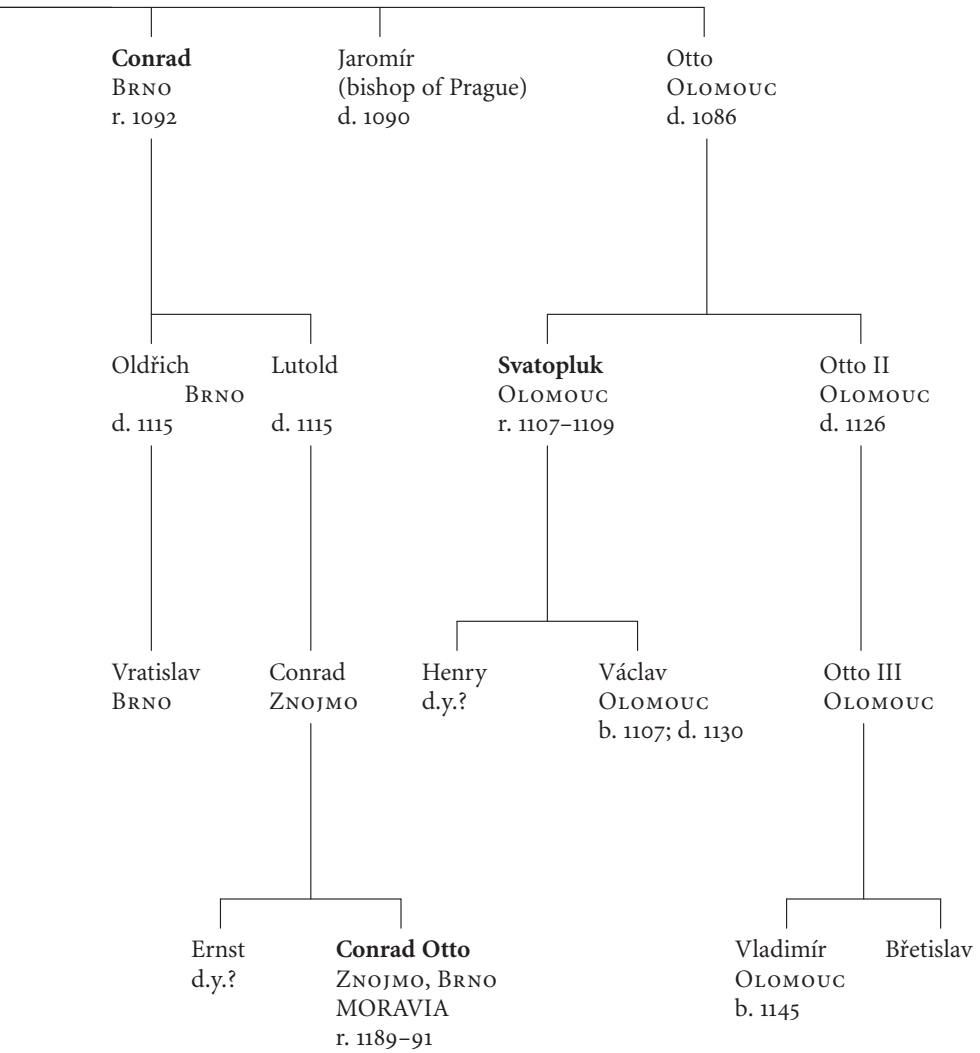


Figure 2. Eleventh- and twelfth-century Přemyslids (men only). Names in bold indicate dukes.



responded that the right of election lay with the Czechs. When Oldřich sent a messenger to present his case—and Cosmas indicates that he was in fact elder—he got nowhere:

Then Oldřich, sending as legate a very deserving man named Neuša, the son of Dobremil, accused his brother Bořivoj, goaded the *comites*, and threatened them. He asserted himself to be older in age and owed according to the custom of the country, and requested the honor of the princely seat, unjustly taken from him by his younger brother. Although he had a just case, nevertheless, you catch the tail in vain when you let go of the horns. Thus Oldřich tried too late to expel his brother, already confirmed on the throne, from the realm.¹¹¹

Not surprisingly, when Oldřich attempted to stake his claim by force, he was unsuccessful, since the Czech freemen stood unanimously behind Bořivoj—for the moment at least.¹¹²

Not only was every succession after 1100 contested in some fashion, but occupation of the throne could come into question even if the duke was not yet dead or dying. Several dukes, including Bořivoj, were supplanted within their lifetimes. Přemyslid pretenders were always waiting in the wings. Since no provisions were made for Přemyslids other than the duke, the level of discontent must have been quite high and as those in Moravia held broad “vice-ducual” powers, they could mount a strong effort when they chose to revolt. Thus, for example, when Bořivoj, lulled into a false sense of security, “carelessly” took the opportunity to move against allies whom he distrusted (the same Božej and Mutina he had reappointed to prominent castellanies a few years earlier), they then fled to his younger brother, Vladislav, who secretly contacted his cousin Svatopluk in Moravia; soon thereafter, Svatopluk’s bid for the throne, previously defeated by Bořivoj, was successful.¹¹³ Every duke faced considerable danger from within the dynasty. The force of this threat is reflected in efforts to remove individuals of such disruptive potential from the political scene through imprisonment or exile. But the real significance of the dispossession and dissatisfaction of younger members of the ruling dynasty extends beyond intradynastic bickering. The number of Přemyslids available, disgruntled and eligible for the throne, meant that the freemen always had a choice as to who would lead them. A more powerful constraint upon the duke’s rule could hardly have been devised.

The Balance of Power

The threat of violence that hung in the air in the eleventh- and twelfth-century Czech Lands affected dukes, nonruling Přemyslids, and freemen alike. For the

duke and his male relatives, insecurity was a direct result of the exclusive association of lordship with the throne and the unconventional rule of succession to it. Relations between the Czechs and their ruler were also profoundly shaped by the vast gulf that lay between the duke and even the most eminent magnate. The distinction was a qualitative one, not simply dependent upon quantifiable assets. Although not anointed as kings or accustomed, so far as we can determine, to being treated with elaborate ceremony, the duke of Bohemia was in no way *primus inter pares*. Yet more underlay their distinction than the Přemyslid lineage's long charismatic legacy. The very breadth of ducal lordship, the long arm reaching to the very "entrances" and "exits" of the land, meant the stakes for freemen were high. Even as the duke offered the most lucrative opportunities for advancement, greater wealth and improved social position, to fall from his grace, for whatever reason, meant death, imprisonment, or exile. The Přemyslid ruler easily possessed the legal jurisdiction, as well as cruder means, to compel their allegiance so long as they remained in the Czech Lands. Whatever the benefits accrued from remaining in the duke's favor, the omnipresent, if unspoken, threat of violence kept freemen in line. When, as the accused men claimed, Bishop Meinhard incited Miroslav and Sřezimír to make an attempt on Soběslav I's life in 1130, he did more than dangle prize castellanies before their eyes, goading Miroslav, in particular, with the arbitrary and unjust imprisonment of his brother and his own helplessness in the face of it: "Will you allow your own brother, a long time in chains for nothing, to incur such evil?"¹¹⁴ Miroslav's ill-fated answer (essentially, "no!") demonstrates too how violence and its threat kept the freemen *engaged* with their duke. If he had an eye on them at all times and places, they too kept one on him.

The duke of Bohemia, however broad and supreme his power, ruled under permanent constraint. Because his lordship was vested in the throne, indivisible and outside the norms governing patrimonial inheritance, because nonruling Přemyslids were thereby marginalized, because succession was routinely contested (both on account of and in spite of the seniority rule) enormous leverage fell into the hands of the freemen. Put simply, they could at any time replace their duke with one of his ambitious relatives. The success of such an endeavor was contingent upon their marshalling sufficient military force to overthrow him, but then so too was the ruler's own ability to defend his place on the throne. Even to counter the magnates' leverage, the duke needed to garner the support, if not of a majority, at least of a substantial cohort of freemen. The only other source for soldiers was the emperor, but his men were available only at considerable expense, and their effectiveness was by no means guaranteed. Every duke of Bohemia, without exception, forfeited everything if he

lost the favor of those he governed. Thus it was the threat of deposition that ensured ducal consultation with the magnates on important matters of policy. Aware of their leverage, the Czech freemen were not afraid to exercise it. In this way, revolt, an extraordinary occurrence by definition, shaped day-to-day politics.

When power was personal, the issue of who would rule loomed all-important. Nearly everywhere in Europe during the Middle Ages, men — and sometimes women — fought hard over questions of succession to power. The examples are legion, and many of them share commonalities with events that took place in the Czech Lands. The trouble Vratislav faced from his son, Břetislav, in 1091 (described in Chapter 6) was little different from what medieval kings routinely endured from their impatient, power-hungry adult sons. So too with the threats that came from brothers or cousins and their noble supporters. To take one example, Karl Leyser, in his classic *Rule and Conflict*, describes a similar phenomenon to the one laid out here, noting that Saxon magnates of the Ottonian era only rebelled when they could find a disgruntled Liudolfing to rally behind. Yet he also showed how deeply these political struggles were rooted in kin-group sensibilities, feud, and internal family rivalries and expectations.¹¹⁵ Czech society in the eleventh and twelfth centuries was ordered according to different values. While the specific patterns of revolt might be comparable, their meaning, progress, and implications differ profoundly.

Two factors, in particular, shaped the Czechs' experience: the complete centralization of lordship in the duke's hands and the indivisibility of that lordship. Vested in the throne rather than in units of territory, the matter of who should exercise lordship could never be resolved by finagling how much; only one man could be duke and hold the power that entailed. Although Břetislav, in the speech Cosmas attributes to him, speaks of the disadvantages entailed by division of the realm, he himself did not institute indivisibility. Indeed, nothing indicates that the division of Bohemia was *ever* practiced by the Přemyslids. Moreover, because the duke's monopoly on lordship was so far-reaching, including especially possession of all fortifications within his realm and the means to control the borders, no single magnate or Přemyslid, nor even some consortium among them, was in a position to wage a protracted war. Battles for the throne were just that, *battles*, individual incidents of carnage. Moravia constituted an exception. A territory acquired by conquest, parts of Moravia could be apportioned to lesser Přemyslids without "dividing" the realm. Moreover, because as appanages they became power bases for rebellious vice-dukes, Moravia was sometimes burned, looted, and generally ravaged as an act of reprisal by the duke. Still, while battles for the throne were

necessarily preceded and followed by short periods of tension and violence, anarchy never ruled any portion of Bohemia.

These struggles for power, it must be emphasized, were genuinely violent. Men died in them, whether they died fighting or as a consequence of defeat. If not death, warriors suffered exile, mutilation, confiscation of property, heavy punishments with deleterious effects on their families. And the chroniclers tell very few tales of reconciliation. Ritualized violence it was not. Yet the violence that pervaded Czech society seems always somehow contained: battles were fought and decided; warriors fled, met reprisal, or reaped rewards; and then, after a relatively short time, life went on as before. This apparent paradox makes perfect sense, however, in light of the balance of power. The fact that violence both emanated from the duke and acted as a constraint upon him acted as a check upon the violence committed either by or against him. More importantly, when warriors banded together in support of a particular pretender, nothing less than the disposition of the throne and of the unified lordship over all of the Czech Lands hung in the balance. Whatever the outcome, its effects would be felt by the entire community of the duke's subjects. When a duke died and succession was thrown open, or when a ruler faced deposition, the forces unleashed were centripetal, rather than centrifugal. Freemen came *together* to determine the fate of their shared community. The purity, or impurity, of their motivations aside, this was a direct consequence of the structure of power in the Czech Lands.

Cosmas humiliates the Czech freemen in Libuše's speech and in the *Apologia* prefacing the third book of his *Chronica Boemorum*, describing them as powerless, trembling before their ruler, hardly daring to mumble assent to his wishes.¹¹⁶ The lesson underlying Cosmas's political critique of the freemen's groveling was simple: to be in the duke's grace, or to fall out of it, had serious implications for the lives of all freemen and their families, especially the more prominent. Dukes enjoyed incomparable resources, rights, and status well into the thirteenth century. By contrast, the freemen's lives and political actions were profoundly constrained by their institutional disempowerment. Yet Cosmas's words were also an exhortation, intended to goad the Czechs into a more assertive stance toward their ruler, to mobilize as individuals and as a community. The depth of the freemen's dependence upon the duke, after all, meant that a lot was riding on him — not merely his choices and favorites, but also his character, his abilities, his attitudes toward rulership, his essential qualities as a leader.

That the Czechs themselves were conscious of this is confirmed in the dominant, perhaps defining, characteristic of Czech politics: weak dukes were not tolerated. As their ruler, the duke could demand loyal service from his

freemen, and they, in turn, exercised their right to determine who should govern; at the same time, a weak or unjust ruler was not perceived as an excuse to fragment power, but reason to supplant him with a stronger duke, for the good of the realm and those in it. This situation created both a measure of stability and a profound tension. Such tension must be distinguished from outright conflict; it did not “flare up” at specific times or under particular circumstances, but lay embedded in political institutions and social structures. The magnitude and form of this driving tension certainly varied, but it never entirely disappeared or ceased to shape medieval Czech politics. It was simply the constant, conscious frame in which both dukes and freemen acted: they all, dukes and freemen, operated in full awareness of the inherent constraints of their position.

4. THE CHURCH

One more foundational aspect of medieval Czech society demands consideration: the institutional Christian church and its leaders. The sources upon which this study is based originated mostly in ecclesiastical contexts (excepting only the coinage) and it is therefore crucial to understand the church's role in the structures and mechanisms of political power. Only then can we analyze revolt and similar strategies enacted by freemen, nonruling Přemyslids, and reigning dukes designed to alter the prevailing balance of power. It is imperative first to determine where, or whether, the church fits into the scheme of balance and interdependence laid out in Chapter 3. Two possibilities present themselves: either the bipolar balance of power between the duke and the magnates that characterized the basic structure of medieval Czech politics must be modified to accommodate the church, or at least its bishops, as an independent third political actor; or, alternately, the church was consistently aligned with, or subject to, either the freemen or the duke. This chapter argues for a perhaps surprising, third alternative: While integral to its social fabric, the church was ultimately—and paradoxically—marginal to the structure and dynamics of power in the Czech Lands.

Institutionally, the Czech church occupied a rather paradoxical position. On the one hand, as scholars frequently remark, it was not a “national church” in the sense that no independent hierarchy comprising an archbishop and subordinate bishops existed in the Czech Lands until the middle of the fourteenth century, as was the case in both Poland and Hungary already from circa 1000. The bishops of Prague and Olomouc were instead suffragans of Mainz, with Saxon bishops for confrères, and thus part of the larger imperial church. They were consecrated in Germany and invested by the emperor. On the other hand, the dioceses of Prague and of Olomouc together constituted a coherent Czech church—and not merely because they accorded precisely with the boundaries of Bohemia and Moravia. Whatever the official role of the archbishop of Mainz and the emperor, bishops were always chosen by the Czechs, either by the duke himself or at an assembly of laymen and clergy. In spite of institutional, hierarchical realities, *de facto* the Czech church functioned with complete autonomy. Resounding through all the written sources, moreover, is

the pervasive assumption that it should reflect and represent the community of Christians in the Czech Lands.

It is a commonplace in the Czech historiography to argue that the bishop of Prague was merely the “chaplain” of the duke of Bohemia.¹ The result of mis- or overinterpretation of a locus classicus from Gerlach’s chronicle (discussed below), this presumption is extrapolated, explicitly or by inference, to stand as evidence for the duke’s complete control of episcopal appointment, of church property, indeed of the institution as a whole.² Such an approach effectively counts the church among the objects of ducal lordship, comparable to land, jurisdiction, or castles. However, the traditional assumption that Czech bishops, and the church as a whole, were little more than pawns of the duke is not borne out by the sources. The goal here is to move toward a more nuanced view, whether evidenced by the duke’s influence in ecclesiastical affairs or the social networks the clergy shared with the freemen. In fact, the church enjoyed considerable independence from ducal control, a position solidified by the landed resources it commanded and reinforced by its institutional hierarchy and the canon law of the church at large.³ These same conditions also set bishops and abbots apart from the Czech freemen and protected them from the duke, their greatest patron, to a degree no layman enjoyed.

First Impressions

To describe the church and its influence, let us begin with an impressionistic picture of the activity of the clergy at their intersection with secular political life. In and around Prague the bishop himself must take center stage. The bishop of Prague was, by most standards, the preeminent churchman in the region, usually dwarfing his fellow bishop in Moravia. Even imagining a smaller Romanesque structure and lower twelfth-century castle walls, the bishop’s church must still have towered over Prague just as the late Gothic St. Vitus’s cathedral does today. The church of Sts. Peter and Paul and its collegiate chapter would have created a similar effect at Vyšehrad, only a little further south. Both castles must have been teeming with clergy of all stations, even on ordinary days, given the size of their chapters and the presence of the duke’s chaplains. Already in 1068 there were twenty-five canons at Prague cathedral. An equal number are named in a witness list from the 1180s, where they are joined by at least a dozen canons from Vyšehrad.⁴ From the mid-twelfth century two other religious communities, whose members would not have been strictly cloistered, added to that number: the Premonstratensian canons at Strahov on Petrín Hill and the Hospitallers at its bottom by the bridge. The Benedictine

women at St. George's and the monks not far away at Břevnov, Bohemia's two oldest houses, may not have been seen so often in the streets but their presence too must have been felt. On the opposite bank of the Vltava, there would have been a number of parish churches scattered throughout the town, as well as a synagogue in the Jewish quarter.⁵ If we include as well those clerics traveling to or through town, originating within or outside the Czech Lands, the picture of Prague as a bustling ecclesiastical center is fairly complete.

These same clergy in Prague were connected in a variety of ways with life in other towns, the countryside, and abroad. In the late twelfth century, the network of archdiaconates and secular provostships were routinely filled by canons of Prague cathedral and sometimes those of Vyšehrad.⁶ The administration of episcopal and other ecclesiastical holdings, as well as the collection of tithes, would have involved these same clergy with localities of diverse size throughout Bohemia. Close relationships were maintained between monasteries of the same order: between the Benedictines at Břevnov, Sázava, and Postoloprty,⁷ or between the Praemonstratensians at Strahov, Želiv, Milevsko and the women's houses of Doksaný, Louňovice, and Kounice.⁸ The same Praemonstratensians, their Cistercian colleagues elsewhere in Bohemia, and the Prague Hospitallers would have been connected with confrères beyond Czech borders. The bishops too would have had "international" connections, as would any cleric who studied abroad or was born there. When bishops were appointed from outside their own cathedral chapters, that is, from positions as abbots or from Prague to the see of Olomouc, new links in the network of clergy were again forged.

Episcopal *curiae* and internal diocesan divisions, however, did not necessarily accord with secular castellanies, so these overlapping circles of clergy around Prague and throughout the Czech Lands would hardly have intersected with similarly intertwining political networks.⁹ Outside the provosts of Vyšehrad who served as ducal chancellors, clergy played no official role at the duke's court. Ducal chaplains seem primarily to have ministered to the duke's own spiritual needs.¹⁰ To judge from late twelfth-century charters, the canons of Prague cathedral—whether the provost and dean, canons with other provostships, or the whole chapter—were frequently called upon as witnesses.¹¹ Vyšehrad canons, outside the omnipresent provost, are listed only rarely; the same holds for palace chaplains.¹² It is extremely rare to find abbots—even those from Prague—listed in charters that do not pertain specifically to their monastery; in all the charters issued in the Czech Lands between 1150 and 1198, they appear in only ten.¹³ In these cases, several individual abbots appear alone, some in small groups, or many appear as a body.¹⁴ (No abbess is ever listed.)

In the two cases of large gatherings, there is nothing particularly remarkable about the documents, and thus it seems doubtful that the abbots met specifically for the purpose of witnessing the transactions; more likely, they gathered for some other reason. We have no means of determining whether these assemblies might have concerned ecclesiastical or secular affairs, whether they were summoned by the duke, bishop, or some other authority, or whether they were regular or extraordinary occurrences.¹⁵ It seems, however, safe to presume that abbots were not habitually or customarily at court or among the duke's advisors. The correlation between the frequency of appearance by cathedral canons, secular clergy, and abbots is not surprising given the difference in the nature of their religious vocation. But for the abbot of Strahov or head of the Prague Hospital, neither more than a fifteen-minute walk from the castle, to appear no more often than the abbot of Kladruby or Sedlec is indeed remarkable.

The absence of most clergy but the bishop and Prague canons from the witness lists is echoed by their general absence from the narrative sources, in spite of exclusively clerical authorship. We hear of travels to Jerusalem, occasional news of election or deaths, and sometimes about the plight of a particular monastery. With the exception of specific instances—chiefly associated with three particular bishops of Prague (two of them Přemyslids) and one of Olomouc—clergymen are rarely seen to participate actively in the revolts, debates, or other notable events of their day. One or two others made efforts at mediation or conciliation in times of crisis; some laid deliberately low until the trouble passed. These impressions do not, in themselves, argue for the exclusion of the church from Czech politics; rather they present us with a knotty puzzle, one this chapter attempts to untie.

The Status of the Czech Church

To speak of “the church” is to work with an abstraction. The phrase signifies, on the one hand, all those whose vocation was explicitly tied to the formal practice of Christianity—from bishops to nuns to parish priests—and, on the other, a network of endowed institutions that transcended, and materially supported, the lives of its personnel. In both these manifestations, the church merits close consideration in relation to the structure and practice of Czech politics. This section therefore examines the development of ecclesiastical institutions, the breadth of their landholding, and the social composition of the clergy. In the manner of the first two chapters, we thus start with consideration of institutional rights and resources, and with an effort to depict individuals and social networks.

Institutions

The Czechs encountered Christianity in the ninth century, from both the Great Moravian Empire to the east and their German neighbors to the west.¹⁶ Outside individual churches named in the *vitae* of Saint Václav, however, there is little evidence of institution building during these early centuries.¹⁷ The first Bohemian monastery was the women's house of St. George, located in Prague castle, whose first abbess was Mlada (sister of Duke Boleslav II and thereafter called Maria). The bishopric of Prague was established at the same time, ca. 967 in Cosmas's telling, although the conventionally accepted date is 973.¹⁸ Before the foundation of an episcopal see at Prague, Bohemia formed part of the diocese of Regensburg.¹⁹ From its outset, the see at Prague was subordinated to the archbishop of Mainz — as the second bishopric at Olomouc, established almost a century later, would also be. Why neither Regensburg nor Magdeburg nor Salzburg but Mainz, an archdiocese not contiguous with Bohemia, was chosen remains a matter of considerable debate among modern scholars but complete silence among contemporary chroniclers.²⁰ The first bishops were men of German origin (about whom little else is known), with the exception of a Czech of high birth called Vojtěch, who took the name Adalbert upon consecration. His tenure as bishop was a difficult one, in part because this deeply spiritual pastor was frustrated at having to minister to a still very pagan flock. He thus spent much time in Rome, where he took the habit, and with the emperor, becoming a close companion of Otto III. With the duke, Boleslav II, complaining vociferously both to the emperor and to the pope about the bishop's absence, Adalbert received papal permission to evangelize among the pagan Prussians. Predictably, he was martyred at their hands in 997 and buried by the duke of Poland at Gniezno, where his relics laid the foundation for the metropolitan see instituted there by Otto III and Bolesław Chrobry in 1000.

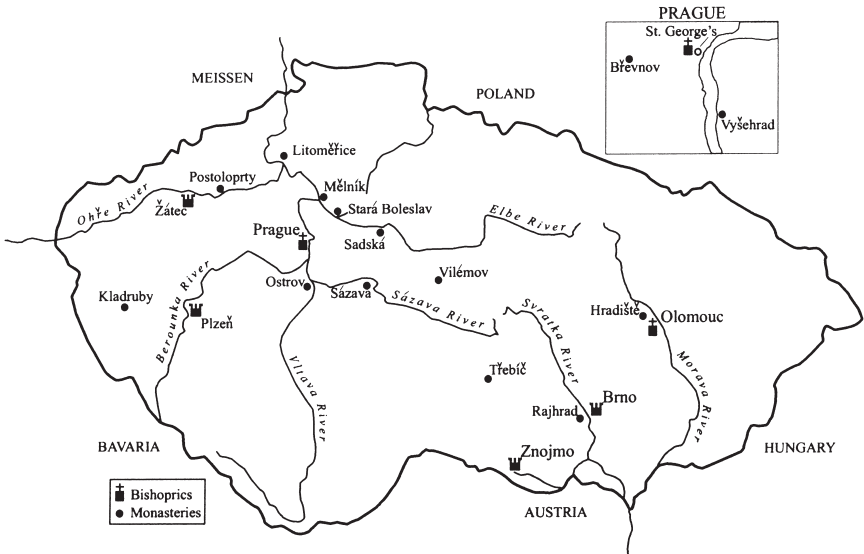
By 1000, two Benedictine houses had been founded in Bohemia for men, Břevnov and Ostrov. By the mid-eleventh century, two more Benedictine institutions were located at Sázava and at Rajhrad near Brno, and collegiate chapters were founded at Stará Boleslav, Litoměřice, and Mělník. In 1040, Duke Břetislav I forcibly translated the relics of Saint Adalbert from Gniezno to Prague. At that time, he promulgated the so-called Břetislav Decrees; Cosmas places these in the duke's mouth, addressing the crowd assembled in Gniezno before the tomb is opened, but his language seems to indicate that he is copying a separate written source.²¹ The decrees prescribe penalties for violations of Christian norms, and, in the process, refer to both archpriests and archdeacons.²² In 1060, with three saints, Vitus, Václav, and Adalbert, now housed in one small rotunda, Duke Spítihněv undertook to construct a new, larger,

TABLE 6. BISHOPS OF PRAGUE AND OLOMOUC

<i>Prague</i>		<i>Olomouc</i>	
Thietmar	973–82		
Adalbert	982–97		
Thiedag	998–1017		
Ekkehard	1017–23		
Izzo	1023–30		
Severus	1030–67	John I	?–1086
Jaromír/Gebhard	1068–90	Wezel	[1086–92]
Cosmas	1091–98	Andrew I	1092–96
Hermann	1099–1122	Henry I	?
		Peter I	?
		John II	1104–26
		Henry II Zdík	1126–50
Meinhard	1122–34		
John I	1134–39		
(Silvester)	(1139–40)		
Otto	1140–48		
Daniel I	1148–67	John III	1150–57
		John IV	1157–?
(Gotpold)	1169		
Frederick	1169–79	Dethleb	?–1182
Valentin	1180–82	Pilgrim	1182–?
Henry	1182–97	Kain	?–1193
		Engelbert	1193–?
Daniel II	1197–1214	John V	?

Romanesque cathedral in Prague.²³ At this time — in Cosmas's youth — a cathedral school operated there, although for higher learning Czech clergy apparently went abroad.²⁴

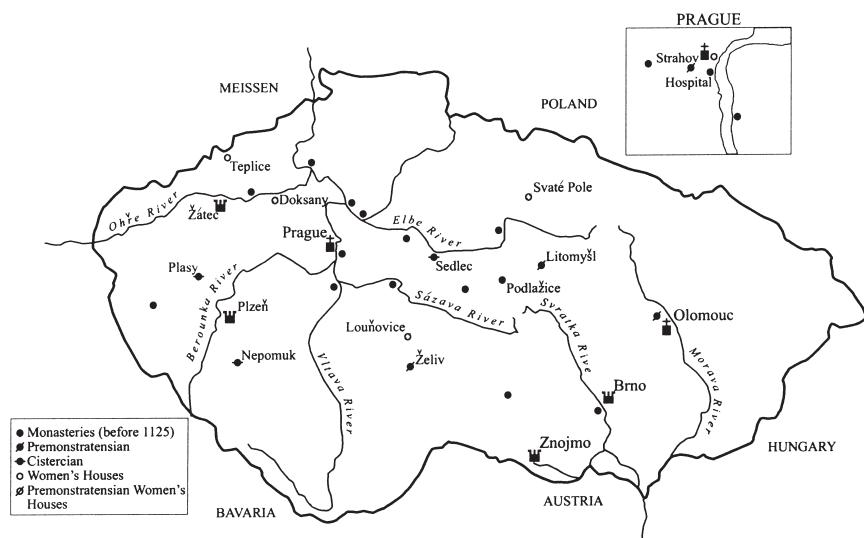
In the 1060s, Duke Vratislav carved a second diocese, comprising all of Moravia, out of the first.²⁵ The bishop of Prague, the duke's brother Jaromír, resisted strenuously the reduction of his territory, eventually winning the reintegration of Bohemia and Moravia from Emperor Henry IV in 1086. Nonetheless, already at the time of Jaromír's death in 1090 the battle was lost, and thereafter two bishops would guide the Czech faithful. Around this same time, and also surely as a counterweight to his troublesome brother, Vratislav founded and endowed the collegiate chapter at Vyšehrad. Benedictine houses were established at Hradiště outside Olomouc in the 1070s and, in the 1080s, at Opatovice. Five more arose in the first quarter of the twelfth century: Poustoloprty, Podlažice, Vilémov, Kladruby, and, in Moravia, Třebíč.



Map 6. Monasteries established before 1125.

Intense growth and reform in the Czech church came in the mid-twelfth century, under the impetus and direction of Henry Zdík, the Premonstratensian bishop of Olomouc from 1126–1151, and Vladislav II, duke from 1140, and king of Bohemia from 1158 to 1173. The half century of their overlapping reigns, and especially the decade between 1140 and 1150, witnessed a dramatic increase in the number of monasteries together with the advent of international monastic orders, namely, Premonstratensians, Cistercians, and Hospitallers. The same two men were instrumental in nearly all of the new foundations. This period also saw the first documented foundation by a Czech magnate, namely, the Cistercian monastery at Sedlec, established by Miroslav with Zdík's aid,²⁶ as well as the first new monasteries for women after St. George's.²⁷ These developments—the growth of the international orders, the foundation of monasteries by lay freemen, and provision for both women and men—would carry through to the turn of the thirteenth century.²⁸

This brief overview shows slow growth in the early years, as the Christian faith and its institutions took hold in the Czech Lands, then a kind of take-off from the 1140s on. Equally important, the period after 1140 saw the intensification of contacts with clergy outside the Czech Lands: bishops of Prague spent more time at the imperial court, where they appear as witnesses to charters;



Map 7. Monasteries established before 1175.

members of the international religious orders participated in meetings and visited mother houses outside Bohemia;²⁹ and high-ranking canons of Prague and Vyšehrad accompanied the bishop on diplomatic missions and sometimes carried them out independently. As before, clergy traveled to Jerusalem on pilgrimage and to Paris for education. It is striking, in this vein, that Daniel, whose father had been a canon of Prague before him, was commended to the duke by Pope Eugenius III before his election as bishop in 1148, while still only cathedral provost.³⁰ The impact of these contacts would be felt as the turn of the century approached, chiefly in a growing awareness of canon law and, in particular, the canons' rights in episcopal election.³¹

Resources

Just as for the duke and the magnates, access to real and liquid assets laid the foundation for the status of ecclesiastical institutions and their members in medieval Czech society. Though far more data exist for the church than for the freemen, investigation of ecclesiastical landholding and other resources is still hampered by the pattern of documentation: for the oldest monastic houses, no charters were written to record donations, even from the duke. Only at Ostrov was some kind of written record of grants kept.³² In fact, when the use of writ-

ten records increased in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, a time as well of fierce struggles for land, most of the houses established before the mid-twelfth century forged foundation charters to confirm all their holdings.³³ Since it is impossible to determine with accuracy the dates the forgeries were composed, much less whether they reflect these houses' actual endowments in the preceding period, consideration of those charters is here omitted.³⁴

The most useful piece of documentation for our purposes appears, conveniently, at the midpoint of the 150 years under consideration here. Sometime soon after 1131, the see and chapter of Olomouc moved to a new, larger cathedral;³⁵ on the occasion of this move, Bishop Henry Zdík drafted a record of all the lands held by his church throughout the diocese.³⁶ The document, one of the oldest surviving originals of Czech provenance, was issued in Zdík's own name and sealed by him, with no witnesses or other confirmation by duke or vice-duke.³⁷ In spite of the promise to list every asset of his church, there is no note in the Olomouc charter of incomes other than land, with the exception of the bridge toll and tavern-keepers at Kroměříž, although Cosmas reports that the establishment of the new bishopric in Moravia was supported originally by "one hundred marks annually from the duke's treasury."³⁸ The entirety of the church's property is split into eight subdivisions: those pertaining to the church of Olomouc, to the *prepositura* of Saint Václav,³⁹ and to the churches of Přerov, Spitihněv, Břeclav, Brno, and Znojmo. Kroměříž and Jezbořice (in Bohemia) are designated as *curiae*. For each village listed, an interlinear note in the same hand indicates whether the "whole" village was owned, or only one or more *aratra*.

Most striking is the geographical distribution of the Moravian church's lands and the related indications of fledgling diocesan organization. All the villages are located in Moravia, with the exception of those noted as pertaining to the *curia* of Jezbořice and three others inserted out of sequence.⁴⁰ Sixty villages were held in part or in full by the church of Olomouc, twenty-nine attached to the *prepositura* of St. Václav, twenty-eight to Přerov, and thirty-two to Spitihněv, but only nineteen, thirteen and twelve respectively for Břeclav, Brno, and Znojmo. The villages pertaining to Kroměříž, itself an important *curia* granted to the bishop with its lands as a unit, were all held in full, while two-thirds of Přerov's consisted of only one *aratrum*. Only five villages appear in the area of Znojmo, none are situated in the immediate neighborhood of either Brno or Břeclav, only four lie on the Svatka river—in other words, almost none in the heartland of southern Moravia.⁴¹ The many instances of holdings of only one or two *aratra* may suggest inheritance portions brought to the church by entering canons but are just as likely the product of pious

donations. The six villages named Biskupice or Biskupstvo, all of which were wholly owned by the bishop, suggest new settlements organized by him. "Enlarging upon the things which have so far been acquired," as the charters says, presumably entailed both church building and the colonization of new lands. Zdík himself seems to have been active in expanding his church's presence in southern Moravia and especially through church building, leading to conflict with the southern vice-dukes. Disagreement over the bishop's right to build a church in Blansko, a village owned by him (wholly perhaps) within the district of Brno, caused the escalation of tension between Henry Zdík and Vratislav of Brno into outright conflict in 1136.⁴² In central Moravia the distribution of villages in which the bishop held portions is quite thorough, and, by analogy with the apparent situation in the south, this might indicate a corresponding density of parish churches, not only around Olomouc, but Přerov and Spítihněv as well.

The bishop of Prague had a one-hundred-year headstart on his colleague in Olomouc in land acquisition and management, and his must have been a much wealthier diocese. He presided over a larger, and probably more prosperous, chapter. From Cosmas, himself dean of the cathedral, we know that his predecessor Mark, in 1068, arranged for the each canon to receive from tithe income "thirty measures of wheat and the same amount of oats annually, as well as four *denáry* per week for meat."⁴³ As for many early monasteries, however, no charters survive for the see of Prague, outside a few later records of exchange or sale, to indicate the breadth of the bishop's or chapter's lands. The witness lists to other documents of the late twelfth-century, however, show an overlap between diocesan organization and estate management, as well as evidence of reorganization in the 1170s. A witness list from March 1177 includes archdeacons Slavon of Prague, Přibislav of Litoměřice, Hermann of Bechyně, and Zdeslav of Plzeň.⁴⁴ Curiously, a nearly contemporary document lists Přibislav as archdeacon of Roudnice, across the river from Litoměřice, and places Archdeacon Zdeslav at Rokycany rather than Plzeň (Hermann and Slavon hold the same posts as before).⁴⁵ The change seems to represent a shift away from towns/castles, even such thriving ones as Litoměřice and Plzeň, to centers of episcopal landholding. Rokycany had been an episcopal "court" from at least the year 1110, when it is mentioned by Cosmas.⁴⁶ The move to Roudnice may have been intended to distinguish the archdeacon from the provost of the Litoměřice collegiate chapter, who appears frequently in the witness lists in the company of the Prague and Vyšehrad canons. Over the next decade or so the bishop would consolidate the land around his *curia* at Roudnice: in 1184, through the mediation of Archdeacon Hermann of Bechyně, the bishop traded lands with George of Milevsko (located, like Bechyně, in south-

ern Bohemia);⁴⁷ ten years later, a deal would be struck with the Hospitallers for a village the bishop deemed “very necessary” to the court at Roudnice.⁴⁸ Altogether this constitutes precious little data about diocesan administration, jurisdiction, or property; at the very least, however, it reveals the bishop and chapter still, in the twelfth century, in the process of developing or adapting structures that to some degree dated to the later tenth century.

The other Bohemian ecclesiastical institution whose resources are relatively well documented, and which we thus know to have enjoyed a lavish endowment, was the collegiate chapter at Vyšehrad. In 1144, the chapter was sufficiently confident of its wealth to promise twelve marks annually as a *census* to the pope.⁴⁹ No foundation charter was apparently drafted until forgeries were composed a century later, but a grant from Soběslav I in 1130 gives some indication of the church’s resources. The Vyšehrad canons were entitled to all passage money on the Otava river, the tenth mark of the “annual tribute” collected in sixteen leading towns in Bohemia and three “provinces,” and at Kamenec “the tenth coin in sales.”⁵⁰ The duke also granted a number of villages, animals, the woods below Děvín, salt from Tršnice, and a stipend for fish in Lent and summer. These donations were clearly in addition to the properties already held by the chapter, which, if the forged foundation charter is remotely accurate, were extensive.⁵¹ That the church at Vyšehrad drew its income from all over Bohemia must have added to its already considerable prestige, but the charter also illustrates that it would be unwise to paint too rosy a picture of such endowments. The 1130 charter is explicitly a reform, by which the duke stipulated which portions of these grants should go to the provost and which to the brothers.⁵² Almost half a century after his father helped reform the internal distribution of resources and improve the chapter’s endowment, Soběslav II adjudicated a suit over five villages and added more lands and incomes to the chapter’s holdings.⁵³ He noted also that the amount actually paid out to the chapter from the *tributum pacis* (presumably the same as the earlier “annual tribute”) had decreased from 1700 *denáry* to merely 100, “rarely more and often less.”⁵⁴ As in the earlier charter, in spite of a hint about his predecessors, the duke assigns blame for the situation to misappropriation by the provost, which was henceforth to be rectified. The chapter was partly dependent upon the integrity of the duke, whose officials probably collected these incomes first and subsequently cut a portion for the canons, as well as upon the chapter’s own provost for fair distribution.

Other institutions likewise collected considerable cash income from sources granted by the duke. The charter of the chapter at Litoměřice, granted by Duke Spítihněv circa 1057, illustrates well the variety of incomes that constituted their endowment:

He granted villages, 14 assigned to foreigners, 6 to servile laborers and ploughmen, together with all the necessities such as forests and ploughs. He also gave two vineyards with as many vintners as they require for working them. [And] 30 working girls. Also 100 horses with a big field, and the same number of oxen; plus 30 cows and 70 sows. He granted to the aforesaid church [income from] two roads: one, through the forest at Chlumec, to be received on the eighth week, and the other, along the water at Ustí, which pertained to the duke. In the very city in which the said church is located, any inhabitant of this *patria* who hauls salt or anything else by water should pay two parts to the provost and a third to the brothers. From small ships, whosever they might be, free or unfree, they ought to pay 15 *denáry*. From large ones, two measures, except those who owe salt to the duke, and even those he ordered to pay half. For the large and small ships of foreigners he ordered thus: from the biggest ship, two large measures; from the medium-sized, one; and from small ones they should pay as many *denáry* as the measure. He ordered peasants from the same city [to pay] 12 *denáry*, and those from Bílina the same. He established 6 men who owe honey every year from their gardens. From these things, therefore, which we predict, namely from foreigners' sales and tributes from roads and beekeepers, that is, from everything which is given to this church, one third is ordered to the brothers without dispute. Moreover, concerning the flock of horses, a colt is to be designated for a tunic for each of them, each and every year. The legal tithe from men pertaining to this church is to be paid to no one other than the provost and brothers.⁵⁵

Already in the mid-eleventh century, Litoměřice was a thriving economic center on the most important waterway in Bohemia, as this charter itself testifies. The collegiate chapter, and especially its provost, profited in direct proportion to the well-being of the town, and must, by any account, have been very wealthy.

Few ecclesiastical institutions could draw upon an endowment as rich as that of Vyšehrad or were so intimately enmeshed with a flourishing town like Litoměřice. Several houses founded much later, such as Plasy, acquired considerable property in the land-grabbing atmosphere of the last quarter of the twelfth century. Others, like Sedlec, originated as the product of similar efforts of magnates, while the older Benedictine house at Kladruby would gain exceptional immunities at that same time; these would enjoy their profits—and become the wealthiest ecclesiastical institutions in the Czech Lands—only in the thirteenth century. At the other extreme, the Premonstratensian canons at Želiv initially suffered privation until Henry Zdík came to their aid.⁵⁶ Most chapters and monasteries must nonetheless have owned enough land to support themselves as a community—holdings which, with good management, would only increase. Some may have been or become major figures on the local or regional scene, while others were small property-owners little different from laymen, eking out a living on what they had. A duke unwilling to honor his commitments from the fisc or a provost who failed to distribute the

proceeds among his brothers could create disastrous conditions in a religious house. Yet charters testifying to donations, exchanges, or sales of land made to or by monasteries in no way indicate that there was any limitation on the monastery's control of its property. Nothing in the wording of the documents suggests that permission was required, and no castellan or local bailiff is ever mentioned.⁵⁷

In the absence of detailed information, it remains impossible to know whether an ordinary cathedral canon at Prague was more or less well-supported than his counterpart in Olomouc, much less how such wealth compared with laymen of any station. Parish priests, where they were established, probably lived lives little different from their fellow villagers. However, as communities, monasteries and collegiate chapters enjoyed relatively stable resources. Their lands were never subject to partition among heirs, nor to the confiscation that seems usually to have accompanied a prominent freeman's fall from grace. The same held true for bishops of Prague and Olomouc: though they must have looked like paupers next to many of their imperial colleagues, they surely cut a different — and handsome — figure at home.

Clergy

Investigating the social origins and networks within the clergy in the Czech Lands is beset by many of the same problems encountered for the freemen. Religious of all ranks appear in the sources largely divorced from kin, neighborhood, or social strata. In contrast to the freemen, we are more likely to know the office and affiliation of a clergyman but blood ties are rarely noted. The preponderance of generic Christian names, such as Peter or John, further compounds difficulties of identification. Close attention to witness lists yields a vivid picture of the canons at Prague cathedral, as well as at Vyšehrad, in the late twelfth century, and sometimes the chroniclers make passing reference to members of their own, or affiliated, communities. These materials provide clues only about the relations among members of the clergy. Churchmen can therefore be situated institutionally, and individual careers occasionally followed, but relationships beyond chapter house or monastery cannot be traced within or across generations.

The most striking observation about clergy in the Czech Lands is that many churchmen, both secular and monastic, were immigrants of German origin. From the earliest days of Christianity in the Czech Lands monasteries included monks drawn from German monasteries. Benedictine Ostrov, established in the year 1000, drew its first abbot from Niederaltaich.⁵⁸ With the arrival of the Premonstratensians and Cistercians in the mid-twelfth century,

the practice of importing religious was either continued or revived. The first Cistercian house, Sedlec, was founded by a magnate ca. 1147 with a “convent of brothers” sent from Waldsassen.⁵⁹ At its establishment, Strahov was filled with Praemonstratensian canons from Steinfeld. Once a suitable structure was constructed and everything arranged by the advance team, as Gerlach says, Gottschalk “returned, bringing with him a convent of clerics together with an abbot, whom they had elected, named Gezo.”⁶⁰ Gezo had been a rich canon in Cologne before moving to Prague;⁶¹ Gottschalk, soon to become abbot of Želiv, was the son of “ministerials of St. Peter in the diocese of Cologne”;⁶² as a boy, Gerlach moved with him from Saxony to Bohemia, and later became the first abbot of Milevsko. Not long after the foundation of Strahov, the Praemonstratensian women’s houses at Doksaný and Louněvice were populated with nuns also from the diocese of Cologne.⁶³ Whether these institutions were soon filled out with local Czechs after being seeded with German religious—doubtless the intent—or if foreigners continued to be brought in well after their early years cannot be determined. Certainly, in the second half of the twelfth century, the practice of filling newly established houses with men and women from abroad, or from these earlier houses, persisted among the Praemonstratensians, for instance, at Milevsko and Kounice.⁶⁴

The presence of foreigners was not limited to houses of the new “international” orders, nor to monasteries. Many secular clerics whose actions made them otherwise noteworthy to chroniclers are described incidentally as Germans. Mark, provost of Prague cathedral, whom Cosmas credits with reforming the canons’ incomes in the late eleventh century, “took his origin from the German people.”⁶⁵ His contemporary, Hagnus, chaplain of the first bishop of Olomouc, was also a German.⁶⁶ Herold, who pleaded on behalf of Bishop Meinhard of Prague before the archbishop of Mainz in 1131, held prebends simultaneously in Bamberg and Plzeň, as well as being a cathedral canon at Prague.⁶⁷ Lanzo, Vratislav’s chaplain, originated from Saxony, and Hermann, another ducal chaplain who became bishop in 1099, was born in Utrecht.⁶⁸ Gervasius, provost of Vyšehrad and chancellor from ca. 1148 to ca. 1178, and his nephew Martin, subchancellor and later member of the Prague Hospital (which he and his uncle established together with King Vladislav II ca. 1165), also apparently had German origins.⁶⁹ These are all men of relative prominence in ecclesiastical circles in Bohemia and Moravia. They were joined by many others with names like Burchard or Engilbert, who appear in witness lists but about whom nothing more is known.⁷⁰ Clergy identified as of German origin, or whose names so intimate, were not the only foreigners—though the majority—among the Czech clergy. Cosmas mentions that the cathedral canon Constantius, *unum ex Latinis*, was dispatched to Gascony to investigate the

pseudobishop Rotbert; the reference indicates not only the presence of a native Romance-speaker but a group of them.⁷¹ In late twelfth-century witness lists, there appears a chaplain in Prague called Anselm, a name neither Czech, German, nor yet associated with a saint.⁷² On the whole, the composition of the chapters of Prague or Vyšehrad at any given time must have been a thorough mix of Czechs, Germans, and canons of other nationalities.

Already in the eleventh century Bohemia had ceased to be the object of missionary activity. With the exception of the very first tenth-century bishops of Prague, none were appointed directly from Germany. Instead, like the ill-fated Lanzo or Hermann, foreign-born bishops served first as chaplains of the duke of Bohemia or, like Gotpold, abbots of local monasteries. These German bishops were preceded and succeeded by Czech ones. The sources give no indication of tension or competition between “native” and foreign-born clergy at any level.⁷³ In Cosmas’s chronicle, one speech attributed to a prominent Czech magnate indeed expresses opposition to Lanzo’s nomination as bishop on ethnic grounds, but another enumerates the advantages of prelates of foreign origin (no bothersome relatives seeking favors).⁷⁴ Cosmas, a Czech canon sent for education to Liège and later dean of the cathedral, warmly praises Mark, the German provost of the Prague chapter and his near contemporary. Nor should it be assumed that the immigrants’ interests, affiliations, or sentiments toward their adoptive communities were different from those of their colleagues. Gerlach, the Premonstratensian abbot brought to Bohemia from Saxony as a boy, wrote a chronicle devoted exclusively to events in Bohemia and Moravia and in it speaks of the Czechs as *nostra gens*.⁷⁵

Although Premonstratensians and Cistercians moved chiefly at the direction of their superiors,⁷⁶ others must have immigrated on their own, for personal reasons, and in search of opportunities. Some of these clergy far away from home and family were probably homesick,⁷⁷ but many flourished. Gervasius and Martin, who counted among their relatives a mason named Werner (identified as a German not resident in Bohemia), became two of the most influential churchmen of the mid-twelfth century.⁷⁸ Others might not have come from origins so humble but still found doors open in Bohemia; thus Gotpold and Frederick, “relatives” of Vladislav II’s wife, Judith, achieved through her mediation the episcopacy of Prague, the former by way of the abbacy of Sedlec.⁷⁹ The possibilities included more than mere social advancement. Reiner, formerly a canon at Metz, independently established and became the abbot of a Benedictine monastery in Bohemia.⁸⁰ If for Reiner the move east from Saxony meant also a conversion to the monastic life, others came for reasons less honorable. When the papal legate Guido visited the Czech Lands in 1143, he encountered a man named Henry, then *magister* at the chapter of Vyšehrad;

according to the legate's report, he expelled Henry from the Czech Lands altogether "because he was a priest who had taken a wife there and, moreover, he was said to have been a monk in his own land but came to Bohemia without the habit."⁸¹

Marriage among the clergy, excepting probably monks and bishops, seems to have prevailed through the twelfth century.⁸² Cosmas himself had a wife and a son, and apparently felt no shame in mentioning them in his chronicle.⁸³ Bishop Daniel of Prague was himself the son of a cathedral canon, Magnus.⁸⁴ (Of eighteen bishops of Prague, and fourteen of Olomouc, Daniel is the only non-Premyslid born in the Czech Lands for whom a sanguinal relationship is known.⁸⁵) The witness lists mention two other sons of clergymen, both pursuing secular careers: Chreno, son of Jurata, provost of Litoměřice,⁸⁶ and Jan *filius episcopi*.⁸⁷ Occasional papal legates treating other business in the Czech Lands were, however, outraged to find rampant concubinage. When Cardinal Guido arrived to mediate between Vladislav II and the vice-dukes, he left having deposed most of the leading secular clergymen:

With the bishops assisting us and the vigorous aid of the most Christian Duke Vladislav, we first handed down a sentence of deposition against Jurata, provost in the church of Prague, on the testimony of many Christians and took away his prebend, because, remaining without any clerical order, he was still a layman and, having a wife, he would not dismiss her nor could he because she would not consent.⁸⁸

The same fate befell Peter, dean and archdeacon at Prague, Sebastian, and "many others in the same church," as well as Hugo and Henry, provost and *magister* respectively of the Vyšehrad chapter. In Moravia, Thomas, dean of the church of Olomouc, and *magister* Milhost were deposed. Guido continues:

In all of Bohemia and Moravia we deposed those in the clergy found bigamous or married to widows or repudiated women, and ordered them to remain apart from all ministry of the altar; we deprived of all ecclesiastical benefices and offices those in the subdiaconate, diaconate, or priesthood found living publicly with concubines; the rest of the ministers of the altar found incontinent, namely subdeacons, deacons, and priests, we alienated from any ministry of the altar. . . . On this matter we ordered the bishops to make determinations in the parish churches of their dioceses.⁸⁹

In other words, the highest ranks of secular clergy and many of the rest throughout Bohemia were publicly married. In 1197, another papal legate was almost killed when parish priests to be ordained rebelled upon being asked to take a vow of chastity.⁹⁰ Clerical concubinage persisted at least to the end of the century and must have permeated the lower levels of the clergy long after it was eliminated from the cathedral chapters.

A rare picture of life at the parish level is provided by a unique charter recording the foundation of a small deanery by a canon named Zbyhněv. He established and endowed a church with two canons, named Raz and Bezděd, whom he had apparently selected himself. He gave them property and laid out how rents were to be paid them. Zbyhněv's charter reveals plainly that local clergy, in the mid-twelfth century, expected to be married and usually to pass their offices to their sons since it stipulates that they should designate successors in the event their sons are unlearned.⁹¹ (Zbyhněv's own relatives were apparently laymen.) His charter illustrates that parish clergy were usually local men, who thus had relatives for parishioners. In documented cases of the foundation of local churches, no information is given concerning who was appointed as the local priest, by whom, or how the new church was endowed. A miracle story reported by the Canon of Vyšehrad, whereby an old woman too ill to attend her parish church was transported miraculously to mass in a faraway one, notes that her brother was the local priest.⁹² The assumption that the priest should be well connected with the people to whom he ministered is reflected as well in the privilege granted the German community in Prague, who were allowed to choose their own *plebanus*.⁹³

What did a career in the clergy mean? The answer varied greatly, to be sure, for monks, cathedral canons, other secular clergy, and ordinary parish priests, as well as within each of these categories. For Cosmas, it meant the opportunity to pursue an education at home and abroad, ordination as deacon and, at midlife, as priest, participation in a few diplomatic missions in the company of his bishop, promotion within the cathedral chapter to the rank of dean, defense of his chapter's property in a debate with the vice-duke of Olomouc, and, in the end, the chance to record his views of Czech history and politics for posterity in the *Chronica Boemorum*—all of this, at the turn of the twelfth century, without renouncing the pleasures of wife and child. Half a century later, we can trace the career of another canon of Prague, albeit with less sense of the man's personality. Pilgrim is named among Vincent's comrades in the company of Bishop Daniel on the Milan campaign of 1158.⁹⁴ Witness lists show him as "canon" in 1170, "first cellarer" in 1177, "provost" circa 1180—though not of Prague, for that was Martin.⁹⁵ He must, however, have succeeded Martin as the chapter's provost, since Gerlach reports his valiant defense of the canons' right to elect the bishop of Prague, in the face of the duke's—rather, the duchess's—interference in 1180.⁹⁶ Two years after the canons gave up their cause, Pilgrim was appointed bishop of Olomouc.⁹⁷ Pilgrim's career path was not altogether atypical; indeed, it may have represented what ambitious canons hoped for.

The striking difficulty in all this comes in linking any of the canons of

Prague with prominent laymen. Czech magnates, as a rule, do not seem to have placed their sons or daughters into religious houses, even when they made donations or established foundations. With regard to women, the evidence is unequivocal because almost no convents existed for them to enter. After the foundation of St. George's circa 976, no women's house was established until the mid-twelfth century. Later, when there were more houses for women to join, they and their families apparently remained disinclined to do so. In one known case, in which a magnate named Peter took the habit of the Hospitallers, donated land apparently to establish a house for women, and encouraged or forced his female relations to enter the religious life, the result was so disastrous that the matter was brought to the attention of the pope.⁹⁸ The letters reveal a dispute not only over land, but indicate that the women who formed the new congregation wanted either to have unc customary control of the new house or, as with Peter's widow, to leave the convent and remarry with their father's support. Even in the case of a magnate's own foundation, there is little indication that his relatives were installed as monks, or even abbot, much less that he joined himself. The other exceptions, including the debacle just noted, arise only in the very late twelfth century, for instance, when Eberhard (described as *cognatum fundatoris*) was installed as prior of the house Wilhelm established for women at Kounice, and Hroznata became a monk at the monastery he established in 1197 at Teplá.⁹⁹ Before that time, the only comment about a Czech freeman entering a monastery appears in one of the Canon of Vyšehrad's stories of natural disaster. When Soběslav I and his army encountered a huge wind, capable of tearing down buildings and uprooting trees, one castellan told the duke: "If the omnipotence of God will deem a *comes* worthy to have his life rescued from this danger, I promise you will sooner know me wearing the habit of the monastic profession."¹⁰⁰ Since the anecdote serves chiefly to underscore the power of the wind and terror of the soldiers—and we are never told if the man made good his promise—the tale may be read as an ironic indication of the likelihood of a magnate's becoming a monk.

Independence

From the inception of Christianity in Bohemia, the institutional structures of the church were interwoven with lay ones. Prague, as we have seen, played a crucial double role as the duke's capital and as the site of the first monastery and the bishop's seat. Still in the mid-eleventh century, baptismal churches, headed by archpriests, were located within castles¹⁰¹ and, to judge by the "Břetislav Decrees," relied in part upon lay administrative structures. Yet they were

never wholly dependent upon them.¹⁰² Bishops and their chapters, like their monastic and collegiate brethren, soon came to rely upon landed resources and thus to enjoy the same autonomy as other property owners. Church planting throughout Bohemia and Moravia eventually cultivated a denser network of parishes, thereby decreasing the significance of the old castle chapters. It is striking in this regard that the secular collegiate chapters, established in the eleventh century, lay at older central Bohemian castles such as Mělník, Stará Boleslav, and Litoměřice, but none emerged at Plzeň, Žatec, Mladá Boleslav, and the like. Episcopal leadership, such as that wielded by Henry Zdík in the 1140s, by Henry of Prague in the 1180s, and by their many predecessors and successors, proved most decisive. Both bishops, notably, enjoyed oversight — over all of Bohemia and Moravia, respectively — unparalleled by anyone but the duke of Bohemia himself. Court officers and provosts, castellans and abbots, to be sure, must have bumped into one another routinely, especially where the monastery or chapter had the right to the portion of a tax collected by a local officer of the duke. On the whole, however, ecclesiastical institutions developed at their own pace.

Meanwhile, there seems to have been little affinity of interests between the high clergy and prominent magnates. Only once, when Meinhard of Prague incited a few disgruntled freemen to assassinate Duke Soběslav I, is a bishop shown actively engaged in the political machinations so characteristic of medieval Czech politics.¹⁰³ Thirty years later, in 1158, Bishop Daniel was subjected to loud recrimination from the freemen, who blamed him as the “fabricator” of Vladislav II’s coronation and his promise of their military service at Milan.¹⁰⁴ At a moment when customary norms seemed to have been suddenly upended, the bishop’s involvement too appeared unusual and suspect. On the occasion of episcopal elections and in the assemblies held to determine and acclaim candidates to be sent for investiture and consecration, the presence of laymen seems to have been customary, as we shall see. Yet in only one instance do the sources show laypeople avidly lobbying for their relative’s appointment to the see of Prague. When the clergy attended political gatherings they must routinely have been outnumbered by laymen: Some three thousand people attended the trial of plotters in 1130, for instance, but the canons of Prague and Vyšehrad present probably numbered only about forty.¹⁰⁵ The higher secular clergy, even those who lived in bustling towns, apparently remained chiefly occupied with churchly affairs, seemingly unconcerned with and unaffected by the affairs of elite freemen.

So much of what crucially bound freemen together did not apply to the church. Neither abbots nor their communities fielded soldiers, while the freemen on their lands remained obliged to perform military service.¹⁰⁶ Nor did

bishops act as warriors, except Jaromír from personal inclination and Henry in his dual capacity as bishop and duke. Since much of the freemen's leverage arose from the duke's dependence on them militarily and their ability to resist him with arms, churchmen were left outside the main political dynamic by virtue of nonparticipation in military activities. Meanwhile, their resources—in some cases substantial ones—were owned by the institution, and thus not liable to partition or, so far as we know, ever subject to confiscation. As we shall see, chapters and monasteries, even bishops initially, relied heavily on the duke's patronage, but only in incomes from tolls and taxes did the duke's officers mediate access to their money. The impermanence that plagued castellans and kept ambitious men circling the duke for appointment to office was largely foreign to clerical life in the Czech Lands. Aspiring men in orders followed the paths to promotion within their own institutions, whether chapter or monastery. From the mid-twelfth century, certainly, if not before, they could turn to others besides the duke for donations of land. The bishops of Prague and Olomouc, ostensibly as equals, sat atop this hierarchy. Only the provost of Vyšehrad, serving as ducal chancellor, crossed the boundary between religious office and secular political influence at court. With their prebends, landed property, and tithe income, Bohemian and Moravian bishops, canons, and monasteries lived in a different world from the laymen to whom they ministered, men whose fortunes depended upon service to the duke and its rewards.

The Church and the Duke

The duke of Bohemia was the accustomed protector of the Christian church and clergy in his territory—acting as facilitator of Christianization and patron of the institutions that furthered its cause and secured its position—from the very beginning. As adherence to the new faith grew, such munificence must have greatly enhanced the duke's personal prestige. It also, of course, gave him significant influence, symbolic and practical, over matters spiritual. There is little doubt that for much of this period his views weighed heavily in the election of bishops of Prague and Olomouc, the leaders of the Czech church. It is important not to overstate his influence in ecclesiastical affairs, however. Dukes could determine episcopal appointment on some occasions and face considerable opposition on others. In most cases, ecclesiastical affairs in parishes, monasteries, and cathedral churches proceeded on their own course, in their own way, with minimal involvement from the most powerful layman in the region.

The Duke as Patron

For Cosmas, historic time, in contrast to mythical time, begins with the conversion of the first Christian duke, Bořivoj I, in 894.¹⁰⁷ In claiming that Bořivoj was the first Christian duke of Bohemia, Cosmas seems not to have heard of the fourteen *duces* baptized, according to the Annals of Fulda, at Regensburg in 845.¹⁰⁸ His assertion that Bořivoj was baptized by Methodius in 894 is plainly mistaken.¹⁰⁹ Strikingly, however, neither Cosmas nor the *vitae* of Václav, Bořivoj's grandson, describe the conversion of Bohemia to Christianity as the product of a single extraordinary missionary or the energetic business of a newly converted king.¹¹⁰ Instead, in the tenth century, a whole series of Přemyslid dukes played a pivotal role in the process of Christianization. They converted to Christianity to some extent ahead of the population, built a number of churches, founded the first monasteries, and established a bishopric in their capital—literally inside the castle—at Prague. As everywhere, the transformation from a pagan to a Christian society was a slow process, with many small steps being taken along the way.

Later, in the eleventh century, two dukes acted to enforce adherence to a faith no longer novel but not yet adopted completely. Although Cosmas noted that, in accordance with the pagan practices “of that time” (1002), Duke Oldřich took a second wife without dismissing the first, two later dukes, Oldřich's son and great-grandson, acted to root out polygamy.¹¹¹ In 1040, in his conquest of southern Poland, Břetislav I endeavored forcibly to translate the relics of Saint Adalbert from Gniezno to Prague but, according to Cosmas, the saint miraculously resisted the disturbance of his tomb. Then he appeared to Bishop Severus in a vision, demanding that the Czechs keep their baptismal promises.¹¹² In response, the duke and the bishop promulgated “Decrees” enforcing monogamy and other Christian sexual mores, restricting taverns and drinking (“the root of all evils”), prohibiting work and markets on Sundays, and regulating punishment for homicide, including of priests.¹¹³ Fines for infractions are split between the church and the duke.¹¹⁴ In Cosmas's account, the duke is made to declare each provision, whereafter the bishop adds “Anathema sit”; upon their conclusion the duke called for confirmation by the assembled Czechs with an oath.¹¹⁵ Typically, it is impossible to determine whether such decrees were in fact declared, much less enforced. The context, the occasion of Adalbert's translation from Gniezno, entirely shapes the roles of both the duke and the bishop in the account, which must itself be read as much within a genre of miracle stories as in the context of Cosmas's work. The “Břetislav Decrees” nevertheless reflect the assumption, in 1039 or as hindsight, that all

active members of Czech society could be held to a single Christian standard of behavior but that coercion, on the part of both bishop and duke, was required to help them meet it. Fifty years later, in 1092, Břetislav II acted to root out the last vestiges of “superstition” among people who were now probably all declared and baptized Christians but nevertheless could not relinquish some of the old customs.¹¹⁶ The reference to “half-pagans” indicates that by the 1090s — within the chronicler’s own lifetime — these were baptized Christians recalcitrant about surrendering the last of the old ways. Again, it was the duke who saw fit, and took it as his rightful place, to turn his own authority to the task of assuring their complete adherence to Christianity.

Well into the twelfth century the duke also continued to act as the chief, if not the only, benefactor of the institutional church in the Czech Lands. In 1054, Duke Spitihněv initiated, and undoubtedly financed, the renovation of Prague Cathedral.¹¹⁷ Václav’s original rotunda must have been altogether too small to house three major saints, high episcopal liturgies, and other such events, and was thus destroyed to make way for a much larger church in Romanesque style. A decade later, Duke Vratislav established a bishopric for Moravia, centered at Olomouc.¹¹⁸ In doing so, he arranged personally for the endowment of the see and defended the new prelate against the bishop of Prague, who rightly resented the reduction of his diocese.¹¹⁹ In Cosmas’s account, Vratislav appears to have acted without consulting either the pope, emperor, or archbishop of Mainz, though the latter must have approved at some stage in order for the first bishop to have been invested and consecrated.¹²⁰ In the twelfth century, defense from the bishop of Prague would no longer be necessary, but the dukes of Bohemia continued to protect the Moravian bishop from the depredations of the vice-dukes of Olomouc, Brno, and Znojmo.

Until the mid-twelfth century, the dukes were also the chief patrons of monasteries and the only founders. We have very little information about the thirty-seven houses for men and women established by the end of the twelfth century.¹²¹ All of the oldest houses and collegiate chapters, however, were ducal foundations and fully sixteen institutions are known with certainty to have been established by dukes.¹²² The first monastery instituted (ca. 1142) by a magnate, named Miroslav, was the Cistercian house at Sedlec.¹²³ Thereafter several other houses were established by laymen other than Přemyslids. Gerlach of Milesvko attributed this new interest among the freemen to the example provided by Vladislav II, a great patron who, together with Bishop Henry Zdík of Olomouc, oversaw the dramatic growth in monastic foundations in the 1140s.¹²⁴ The Přemyslids, meanwhile, treated none of these monasteries as specifically dynastic, that is, to no single house were they more likely to send their

children for education or profession, nor did any house or church serve as a traditional burial place for all Přemyslids.¹²⁵ Individual dukes, of course, did occasionally express clear preferences for older houses or ones newly established by them.¹²⁶ But on the whole, no single Czech monastery enjoyed greater prominence or stood higher in ducal favor. There was also no tradition of secular lords serving as advocates for monastic institutions, as in the Empire. Instead, the duke was the effective patron and protector of them all.¹²⁷

The duke's role as benefactor and protector of the church in his lands is, not surprisingly, noted in obituaries or other character descriptions, using formulae typical for medieval Christian rulers and their chroniclers. There is, however, evidence beyond such tropes. The Canon of Vyšehrad notes that it was the custom (*sicut mos est*) for the canons, monks, and nuns around Prague to say the office of the dead on the first, second, third, and seventh days after the death of a duke, as well as on the anniversary.¹²⁸ It was apparently not unusual, and perhaps customary also, for the duke and his wife to be present at the consecration of local churches built by clergy or laymen, even in the mid-twelfth century.¹²⁹ Moreover, the charter by which Zbyhněv, a canon "of St. Mary," testified to his construction of a church with two canons on his inherited lands, concludes:

O prince of the greatest dignity and most glorious duke of the Bohemians, Soběslav: I commend my little place to God's mercy, to your goodness, and to your successors. And I ask that you not give it over to anyone to be devoured, but that you yourself be their provost, you their defender and *dispositor*, you their provider and *dispensator*, and that everything be ruled by you alone. . . . I gave these things to you, my lord duke, so that you might take to yourself and love the canons of Unětice, who should not be called mine but yours.¹³⁰

The rest of the charter hints that Zbyhněv's family was hostile to the new church and that these lands had for some reason been laid waste by the bishop. Fearing that neither could be trusted with his "little foundation," Zbyhněv called upon Soběslav to fulfill a protective function which was no doubt well within his understanding of the duke's traditional role. It may have been for such activities—as well as in return for a generous *census*—that Pope Nicholas II granted Duke Spitihněv the right to wear a mitre. Pope Alexander II extended the privilege to Vratislav II as, in the midst of the battle with Bishop Jaromír, did Gregory VII, who noted that it was quite unusual for laymen.¹³¹ The mitre may have served to acknowledge the duke's actions on behalf of the faith, but it also functioned as a clear emblem of the power of his patronage.

Intervention in Ecclesiastical Affairs

To what extent was “patronage” a euphemism for plain meddling? Knowledge of ducal interference in day-to-day church affairs is hampered as usual by the unwillingness of the sources to report mundane events. The charters show that, when necessity compelled, the monks called upon their duke—especially in matters of property. For instance, when the monks at Plasy complained to Duke Frederick that it was inconvenient, if not dangerous, to transport the proceeds from the Děčín salt tax they owned, he agreed to give them a village in exchange.¹³² Collecting a tax up north was of no inconvenience to the duke, who operated on a much larger scale, while another nearby village made a significant difference on the monastery’s local one. Support was sometimes mutual: Soběslav I reportedly traveled to all the Czech monasteries to ask their prayers on his behalf before the battle of Chlumec in 1126.¹³³ His son, Soběslav II, would secure a loan from the monks at Kladruba to sustain his bid for the throne in 1175. A charter testifying to a donation made soon after describes the new duke’s gratitude: “when divine mercy freed me from the confines of prison, I did not have resources fitting the princely dignity but, nevertheless, did not want to press the people for money . . . but I received certain things toward my needs from the church of St. Mary in Kladruba—not, however, against the will of the abbot and brothers.”¹³⁴

Perhaps the most spectacular (and oft-cited) case of ducal interference in monastic life concerns the troubles at Sázava in the second half of the eleventh century. According to the authors of the *vitae* of Prokop and to the anonymous chronicler writing at Sázava, the Benedictine monastery there was established by Duke Břetislav and Prokop, a priest living as a hermit who became its first abbot—and in the thirteenth century was canonized a saint.¹³⁵ Prokop is described as trained in Cyrillic letters and the house, apparently, performed a Catholic Slavonic liturgy from its inception.¹³⁶ In 1055, however, Duke Spitihněv expelled the entire community from Sázava, establishing German monks in their place.¹³⁷ The Slavonic monks fled to Hungary until Vratislav, almost immediately after assuming the throne, reinstated them.¹³⁸ After Vratislav’s death in 1092, the Slavonic monks were again expelled, at the instigation of a faction of the community within the monastery, who complained to Břetislav II.¹³⁹ Ultimately, in 1097, under the new abbot, Diethard, all the Slavonic books were destroyed.¹⁴⁰ Thus the monastery, which must have enjoyed extraordinary prominence in eleventh-century Bohemia and served as a cultural center,¹⁴¹ felt the hand of the duke very heavily.

The dukes’ actions, especially Spitihněv’s initial expulsion, have been described as the exercise of founder’s rights and the result of a dispute over selec-

tion of the abbot.¹⁴² The evidence, however, points in an entirely different direction. Sázava was exceptional in the Czech Lands, explicitly so, as a house practicing the Slavonic liturgy. Spitihněv did not merely depose an abbot, nor even an entire community; he replaced them with Germans whose adherence to the Latin rite could be assured.¹⁴³ The *Vita minor* of Prokop notes this rationale specifically:

In the duke's court, [conspirators] began to build traps of sophistry against Abbot Vitus and his brothers and, striking the prince's ears with favorably composed lies, they accused them publicly of various faults, namely, saying that they incorrectly and altogether perversely opened up the path of heretics and hypocrites by means of Slavonic writings. Having expelled them for this reason, they averred consistently that it was entirely honorable to establish in their place an abbot and brothers of Latin authority.¹⁴⁴

Vratislav's reasons for reinstating the Slavonic monks can be deduced from a letter written him by Pope Gregory VII: "Since your nobility asked that we approve the celebration of the divine office in your land according to the Slavonic language, you should know that it is in no way possible for us to support your request."¹⁴⁵ Gregory explains that, whatever the virtues of making scripture "clear as liquid to everyone," there also exists the danger of its becoming vile and losing its mystery. Vratislav should be patient, he says, as the primitive church was, in allowing the faith to grow and become strong. Vratislav was thus thwarted in his apparent desire to put the Slavonic tradition practiced at Sázava to work in furthering Christianization in his land, but he took no action against the monks themselves. When Břetislav II took the step Vratislav refused, shutting down the Slavonic liturgy at Sázava, he turned against the books as much as the monks. In their interactions with Sázava, these dukes acted in their traditional role of patron and promoter, working for the good of the faith, differently interpreted. These same three rulers—Spitihněv, Vratislav, and Břetislav II—undertook the construction of the new Prague cathedral, the establishment of the bishopric of Olomouc, and the proclamations against the last of the pagan rituals. As all these events occurred in the eleventh century, the same period in which the Christianization process was gradually coming to conclusion, what was clearly at stake at Sázava was the question of how the last living vestiges of the Methodian era—whose importance to Bohemia cannot be accurately gauged—were to be synthesized with, or ultimately eradicated from, the Christian beliefs and institutionalized church in the process of assuming its final Latin form in the Czech Lands. In the end, the dukes would be primarily concerned that the Czech church accord with the norms prevailing elsewhere in western Christendom, as established by the papacy.

Besides the Sázava case, in the few documented occasions of internal crises in monastic communities, it was the bishop to whom appeal was made and who intervened. For instance, a Benedictine monk from Metz named Reiner established a monastery at Želiv, on property that belonged to the bishop of Prague. A few years later, ca. 1148, a faction of monks complained about him to Bishop Daniel, who turned the community over to the Premonstratensians.¹⁴⁶ Reiner himself eventually went to Sázava, becoming abbot in 1162, but the issue caused problems for the Premonstratensians at Želiv for some time.¹⁴⁷ The duke was not consulted in this matter,¹⁴⁸ nor regarding the transformation of Hradiště into a Premonstratensian house,¹⁴⁹ nor in instances when papal legates deposed abbots inappropriately elected. In 1144, Bishop Henry Zdík of Olomouc arranged the restoration of Silvester as abbot of Sázava after the papal legate had him removed.¹⁵⁰ In the protracted dispute between the Prague Hospital and a magnate family who tried to renege on its donations, the matter was referred to the pope, who called upon the bishop of Prague and the abbots of Plasy, Strahov, and Vyšehrad to resolve the matter.¹⁵¹ Many, probably most, decisions about monastic life and leadership—all the various internal difficulties that could arise in a community of religious—were made without input from the duke. Nor were their problems instigated by him: the troubles at Želiv, at Sázava in 1092, between the canons of Prague and Bishop Meinhard, all are reported as the work of factions within the clerical community. When problems became so intractable that outside assistance was needed, the monks logically turned to their bishop, other abbots, the pope, or to the transnational governance structures established by the newer orders, as well as to the Přemyslid duke.

In the end, we must assume that Czech monasteries and collegiate chapters routinely enjoyed a measure of independence. Monasteries, obviously, prescribed a religious life entirely beyond the duke's reach; in daily activities, the duke had no place and—so far as we know—did not interfere. On the rare occasions when the abbot's responsibilities for the material well-being of his house brought him into conflict with the duke, he—or she—did not hesitate to defend the rights of the house. Cosmas describes a rather amusing case: Spitihněv, still during his father's reign, engaged in an altercation with the abbess of St. George's, who opposed the destruction of her oven to make way for a new castle wall and spoke her opinion quite acerbically.¹⁵² Spitihněv later made her pay for the insult, including her in the expulsion of all Germans from the Czech Lands. Yet it is noteworthy that even the women's house within Prague Castle was not held so securely beneath the duke's thumb that to challenge him was unthinkable.

Episcopal Appointments

Even if it seems reasonable to argue that the duke rarely interfered in the day-to-day life of the church in Bohemia and Moravia, he was still in a position to shape it profoundly by virtue of his role in the appointment of its leaders, the bishops of Prague and Olomouc. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries Czech bishops, though part of the larger imperial church, were always elected at home, where the duke's influence weighed heavily.¹⁵³ Both the German emperor and the archbishop of Mainz were routinely content to invest and consecrate whomever the Czechs sent.¹⁵⁴ In some instances, as the chroniclers tell it, bishops were chosen by the duke single-handedly, while on other occasions, *colloquia* were held and, later, elections among the cathedral canons. The more detailed of the extant accounts describe both the disposition of the episcopacy at the duke's whim and fierce disputes with the ruler over candidates, waged by the clergy and freemen alike. In the view of Czech laymen and clergy, as well as on the duke's own part, the sense prevailed that some larger goal was always at stake in the appointment of a bishop to head the Bohemian or Moravian church.

In terms of the duke's role, no specific pattern of increasing or decreasing influence in episcopal elections manifests itself over time. Cosmas's anecdote about Severus depicts the most cavalier attitude on the part of the duke toward appointment to the see of Prague: in 1031, Oldřich apparently rewarded him with the see in return for pleasant companionship on hunting expeditions.¹⁵⁵ Decades later, the bishop who ushered in the thirteenth century was explicitly chosen, according to Gerlach, for his compliance with the duke's wishes.¹⁵⁶ In the latter case, however, the duke's choice was hotly contested by the canons and protested by the wider clergy (see below). Many descriptions of episcopal "elections" from Severus and Daniel II, even if very sparse, use language that indicates the duke's considerable and determinative influence. For instance, when Bishop Cosmas died in 1098, the chronicler Cosmas relates that Břetislav II sought advice as to an appropriate candidate, as if the decision were his alone.¹⁵⁷ Similarly, the Canon of Vyšehrad reports of Bishop-elect Silvester, who was never consecrated: "His election occurred on the third day before the kalends of October [1139] but since he was not consecrated before the duke — by whose will he was elected — had died, the election lasted only briefly."¹⁵⁸ Gerlach complains that the "designation of the prince" had dwarfed the wishes of the clergy in the election of Pilgrim as bishop of Olomouc in 1182.¹⁵⁹ Not all ducal choices were thoroughly unqualified, nor were suitable candidates proposed by the duke necessarily unacceptable to the rest of the clergy or the

population. The same Severus who proved so apt a hunter was also, according to Cosmas, “first in the duties of clerics,” while he says of Vratislav’s chaplain Lanzo, whom the magnates thoroughly rejected in favor of Jaromír, that “there was nothing in his character or life contradictory to the pontifical honor.”¹⁶⁰

Indications that episcopal elections were occasions for public gatherings (of both clergy and lay people) appear as consistently as reports of the duke’s involvement. Gerlach explains—in the same paragraph as his protest about Pilgrim of Olomouc—that all were happily present in the election of Henry as bishop of Prague that same year: “His election was celebrated, in which all those things which are known to be necessary for such a solemnity, namely, election by the clergy, the assent of the prince, and the universal promise of the people, came together into one, with the wonderful support of God.”¹⁶¹ Thus, the duke’s practice, virtually his right, of involvement in the selection of bishops was acknowledged, but his was not to be the only voice heard. After Břetislav II had selected a worthy candidate upon the advice of Wigbert, Cosmas says:

Without delay all the leading men of the land and provosts of the church were convened at the duke’s *placitum* in the town of [Stará] Boleslav; with the acclamation of all the clergy and the support of the people, Hermann, deacon by promotion, raised to the *prepositura* of Boleslav, was called unwillingly to the higher honor of the episcopate.¹⁶²

When Bishop Meinhard of Prague died in 1134, the Canon of Vyšehrad reports that, with many people secretly petitioning and trying to bribe both Soběslav I and the emperor on behalf of their relatives, the duke convened clergy and laymen alike to a council on St. Václav’s day “in order to seek out a suitable pastor for his faithful.”¹⁶³ There various candidates were openly debated: “some claimed this man and others that one worthy of the episcopate, and no one found any of them fitting, until John was called, elected before the world by God.”¹⁶⁴ Gerlach indicates that even when Duke Vladislav [Henry] imposed Daniel II as his candidate, he called a *colloquium* for the specific purpose of treating the appointment.¹⁶⁵ Some sort of gathering, in which the candidate was at least presented and acclaimed if not actually elected seems to have been customary already from the late eleventh century. Cosmas, with intentional irony, places this very notion in the mouth of Duke Vratislav: “‘It is not,’ he said, ‘for one man to treat this matter, which requires the common reasoning of everyone; all the elders of this people, the leaders and *comites*, all those who are better among the clergy should be present here, for episcopal election stands in their judgment.’”¹⁶⁶ Whatever the mechanics of the process in various specific instances, episcopal election was clearly viewed as a communal affair.¹⁶⁷

In the appointment of Czech bishops over the course of two centuries, the most significant change appears in the manner of resistance on those occasions when clergy or magnates disapproved of a candidate supported by the duke. In selecting Severus's successor, Vratislav's aim was to use the public gathering in his effort to substitute his own choice of candidate for his brother, Jaromír; the plan backfired because the magnates voiced a definitive preference for Jaromír and effectively forced the debate onto the battlefield.¹⁶⁸ The events of 1068 thus constitute the chief and most dramatic incident of opposition to the duke's role in episcopal election.¹⁶⁹ In summary: Duke Vratislav, who had initially supported and even forced Jaromír into the clerical career for which their father, Břetislav I, had designated him, altered his opinion by the time of Severus's death and proposed instead to appoint his Saxon chaplain, Lanzo, to the episcopate. In Cosmas's account, one of Vratislav's most prominent and trusted magnates, Kojata, speaks eloquently and vehemently to the assembly against Lanzo, on the grounds that he is a foreigner, that the magnates have sworn oaths to support Jaromír's appointment, and that Vratislav is overstepping his authority in forcing his candidate and even trying to invest him with the ring and staff. Kojata calls his fellow magnates to arms, together with Jaromír and his brothers Conrad and Otto, the Moravian vice-dukes. Faced with the opposition of most of his army, Vratislav was compelled to withdraw his candidate. The magnates in this case proved willing and able to make good on Vratislav's glib remark that episcopal election stood in their hands as well as his. The circumstances were certainly exceptional, because Vratislav and Jaromír were both Přemyslids and brothers, but there is much in Cosmas's detailed account of the matter that is characteristic of the nature of episcopal appointment in the Czech Lands generally.¹⁷⁰ Reflected here is the delicate balance between the duke's rights and their limitations, the recognition that episcopal election concerned all the faithful, the role of the assembly of clergy and magnates in sanctioning the bishop-elect, and even acknowledgment of the bishop's place within the larger imperial church structure.

The real change came with the increased resistance on the part of the clergy, especially the cathedral canons in Prague, to the duke's candidates and to ducal involvement in episcopal election. The new attitude is reflected particularly in the chronicle written by Gerlach, abbot of Milevsko, the only narrative source for the critical last quarter of the twelfth century when matters took a decisive turn. In some instances, the chronicler specifically, and reproachfully, notes the interference of the duke on behalf of candidates considered unworthy. Of three bishops of Prague, Gotpold, Frederick, and Valentin, Gerlach says that they were the choices (and in the first two cases also the relatives) of the ruler's wife and unqualified for the position by virtue of inadequate

knowledge of Czech, or even Latin.¹⁷¹ He reports that the whole clergy opposed Duchess Elizabeth's designation of her chaplain, Valentin, which she forced upon them nonetheless: "Having compelled the clergy of the whole land, especially the abbots and canons, Elizabeth (who ruled the *res publica* of Bohemia more than her husband did) designated to them as bishop her chaplain Vališ, or Valentin, who was, as we knew, ignorant of the Latin language, low-born, unknown, and altogether unworthy for such an office."¹⁷² The canons delayed as long as possible before finally deciding, on the advice of Pilgrim, then provost of the cathedral chapter, to relent "lest they expose themselves to certain dangers for an uncertain outcome."¹⁷³ In other words, in spite of support from ecclesiastical authorities, the wishes of the ruler in Prague were not lightly thwarted.

The increased level of institutionalization and corporate identity among the cathedral canons in the late twelfth century strengthened their resolve to contest the role of the duke, not to mention his wife, while awareness of canon law abetted their ability to do so. The canons, in the case of Valentin, were fully conscious of the consequences of resisting Elizabeth, but persisted in their opposition almost to the end; in this they were supported by the more widespread recognition of canons' role in episcopal elections throughout Catholic Europe at this time. In fact, Gerlach noted that, upon sending her candidate to the imperial court, Elizabeth found that no bishop there would agree to consecrate Valentin over the opposition of the Prague chapter, regardless of how large a bribe was offered.¹⁷⁴ Yet the chronicler's language points to more than a knowledge of canon law and the rights of the chapter for, in speaking of queen's wishes outweighing "the judgment of the church" (*iudicio ecclesiae*), Gerlach implies by *ecclesia* not merely the canons of the cathedral chapter, but the customary assembly of churchmen entitled to speak on behalf of all the faithful in the Czech Lands. The sense of corporate identity increasingly developing among the cathedral canons thus intertwined with the recognition, probably age-old by Gerlach's time, that the Czechs constituted a community of faithful Christians to whom their bishops were responsible.

The duke's influence was decisive in episcopal appointments *de facto* but not *de iure*, a fact reflected in various efforts to gain greater control of the process through rights of investiture. Securing investiture was not so much an effort to reclaim influence over the Czech church from a foreign emperor—particularly given that none challenged a candidate sent for investiture from Bohemia. The goal was to eliminate the customary public acclamation of candidates, where other voices might oppose the duke's, and to manipulate the recognized ceremony of investiture in order to "make" bishops swiftly and irrevocably. This, after all, is what Vratislav tried in 1068—an act immediately

recognized as brazen and decried by the laymen present.¹⁷⁵ This too was explicitly part of Gerlach's protest concerning the election of Daniel II, "in abrogation of imperial privileges, since the investiture of bishops of Prague and Olomouc pertains to the emperor."¹⁷⁶ The imperial charter issued by Frederick II in 1212, which permanently established the dukes of Bohemia as kings and defined the relationship between the Czech ruler and the emperor, finally granted Přemysl Otakar and his successors the right to invest the bishops of Prague and Olomouc.¹⁷⁷

A great deal had changed between the mid-eleventh to the late twelfth century, and many differences resulted from the Czech clergy's membership within the broader transnational structure of the medieval Catholic Church. There were several constants in episcopal appointment, however: the role of the emperor and archbishop of Mainz in the investiture and consecration of episcopal candidates sent from Bohemia; the decisive influence of the duke in the choice of bishops-elect, and the gathering of clergy and magnates to discuss, elect, and/or acclaim new bishops. What eventually altered was the understanding of how the procedure ought to take place. By the later twelfth century, influenced by reformist ideas and canon law, the clergy held stronger views about the impropriety of ducal intervention, no doubt exacerbated by a handful of ill-chosen appointees. Thus the duke, earlier expected to interest himself in episcopal elections for the good of the church in his lands, was increasingly seen as an obstacle to that goal.

Insulation

The Czechs, lay and clerical, were consciously part of a Catholic world comprising many other communities, all of them—at least in principle—adhering to the same faith, under the guidance of similar institutions, and subordinate to the Roman pontiff. A great many issues lay outside the duke's, or other local, jurisdictions. In order for Vratislav to promote the Slavonic liturgy in the Czech Lands, he required papal permission and, that failing, the plan had to be abandoned, if not immediately by Vratislav, certainly by his successors. For Vratislav the same problem also manifested itself quite differently: newly elevated to the rank of king, he discovered that the customary rite of festal coronation called for a bishop to bestow the crown upon him. With the Czech Lands recently reduced to a single diocese, the only bishop at hand was Jaromír. Since the king could not change the rite in order to avoid his brother's performance of this function, he instead appointed a new bishop of Olomouc—an act Jaromír died protesting. (Later, both Vladislav II and Přemysl Otakar I had a provision for coronation by either of the two Czech bishops explicitly

included in the imperial charters testifying to their elevation.)¹⁷⁸ Some obstacles resulting from the Czechs' membership in a transnational church could be avoided or foreseen, but others were intractable and thus served as an effective limitation to interference — much less control — by the Přemyslid ruler in ecclesiastical affairs.

Besides the practical and political obstacles to the duke's ability to select and manipulate bishops according to his wishes, there existed additional, and considerable, legal impediments. Whatever the duke's role in their election, bishops were impossible to remove once consecrated.¹⁷⁹ Severus was bishop of Prague for thirty-six years, Jaromír a turbulent twenty-two, Meinhard, "the wretched foreigner with whom there was so much discord," twelve.¹⁸⁰ Nor could bishops be easily disciplined, unlike lay magnates, who could be threatened, exiled, and sometimes killed with impunity. For his betrayal of Břetislav I, Cosmas says, Severus was punished by imprisonment.¹⁸¹ Thirty years later, however, Vratislav carefully appealed his quarrel with Jaromír to the pope; Jaromír, in his turn, called upon his archbishop. Bishop Henry brought his own grievances against Frederick to the emperor and imperial bishops. Přemysl's later attempt to keep his cousin in exile proved a grave mistake, leading to Henry's own seizure of the ducal throne, in 1193.¹⁸² The case of Meinhard, who was blamed for initiating the attempt to assassinate Duke Soběslav I in 1131, is the most striking because his crime was so serious, prevailing sentiment so thoroughly against him, and the effort to depose him quite protracted. In 1131, immediately upon the bishop's return from Jerusalem, he was arrested, and two canons were sent to argue for and against his complicity in the plot before the archbishop of Mainz and the bishop of Bamberg.¹⁸³ Later in the year, presumably at Prague, he absolved himself "of all blame" in the presence of "the bishop of Bamberg, the bishop of Olomouc, seven Bohemian abbots, Duke Soběslav, the people and the clergy."¹⁸⁴ In 1133, at the instigation of some cathedral canons who wished him deposed from his see, Meinhard was charged again with unspecified crimes before the visiting papal legate, who ordered him to appear before the pope, though he seems not to have done so.¹⁸⁵ Instead, he absolved himself at a hearing before his metropolitan and fellow suffragan bishops, and finally died the following year.¹⁸⁶ Even with the sentiment among clergy, magnates, and the duke unanimously against him, in other words, Meinhard could not be removed except by the appropriate ecclesiastical authorities and legal procedures. It was not only the bishop, however, who fared relatively well: the duke's chaplain, Božík, also guilty in the affair, likewise avoided capital punishment and was instead remanded to ecclesiastical courts.¹⁸⁷

For bishops in particular episcopal status and imperial connections

served not only as protection from the duke's wrath, but eventually accorded them political leverage. Bishop Jaromír, however secular his behavior, forced his concerns onto a different stage—as Henry would a century later—than would have been possible for any lay magnate or member of the Přemyslid dynasty. He self-consciously and cleverly sought refuge in his status as bishop, exploited it as fully as possible at home and abroad, and, even when punished, was always treated as head of the church of Prague. After years of effort, in 1086, Jaromír finally achieved his aim by ingratiating himself with the emperor. Because the bishops of Prague and Olomouc were subordinate to the archbishop of Mainz, they could appeal not only to his authority but to the emperor, by whom every Czech bishop was invested. The strategic potential that arose from the Bohemian and Moravian dioceses' inclusion within the archbishopric of Mainz was not lost upon the Czech magnates. When Vratislav apparently attempted not only to select his chaplain Lanzo in Jaromír's place, but to invest him, Kojata reminded him and the assembly pointedly: "The Roman Emperor Henry is still living and long may he live; you take his place upon yourself when, usurping his power, you give the episcopal ring and staff to a hungry dog."¹⁸⁸

The activist bishops of the twelfth century would follow Jaromír's lead in exploiting their relationship to the emperor for leverage against the duke in the Czech Lands. Henry Zdík of Olomouc did so merely to force the duke's hand in matters of property.¹⁸⁹ Henry of Prague effectively indicted the duke for breaching an array of ecclesiastical privileges. This, then, was the setting for Frederick's famously inappropriate—and often misinterpreted—claim: "Since it is known to everyone that the bishop of Prague should be my chaplain, just as all his predecessors were chaplains of my fathers and grandfathers, decide, I beseech you, if it is permissible for him to act against his lord, or if I am held to answer my chaplain as an equal." Bishop Henry, though, surely felt able to predict the reaction of his fellow imperial bishops when the duke made this outrageous claim: "This speech was immediately contradicted by everyone, especially the archbishops and bishops, who decided that, in the manner of German bishops, the bishop of Prague should be completely free from all subjection to the duke and be subject or attentive only to the emperor, of whose empire he was a prince, whose courts he attended, and from whom he received the sceptre and investiture."¹⁹⁰ His confreres at the emperor's court apparently conceded the bishop of Prague a hitherto unacknowledged status, as "imperial prince," but otherwise simply reaffirmed what had long been the case.¹⁹¹ The bishop of Prague, like all medieval bishops, bore weighty responsibilities and enjoyed access to resources and unique legal status specifically in order to discharge them. Thus, by the later twelfth century, when Duke Frederick made

the ill-fated decision to expand his customary role of patron to what Gerlach deemed outright despoliation, he was brought up short. The long tradition of support for the Christian faith and its institutional and spiritual leaders created a level of tolerance, even expectation, for ducal participation in ecclesiastical matters. Yet there also existed in Czech society an awareness of the limitations, political or canonical, practical or religious, on the duke's influence over the church. Not only had Frederick overstepped recognized boundaries, but the tide was turning even concerning the duke's customary place in episcopal elections. Only a few years earlier, the canons of Prague had protested the duchess' choice of Henry's predecessor, and they would fight for years the appointment of his successor; in both instances they brought their case before the emperor.

The duke's patronage played a central role in the process of Christian conversion and thus privileged his influence in religious matters, especially episcopal election, well into the twelfth century. Yet the legal separation of the clergy together with a distinct, purely ecclesiastical hierarchy accorded a measure of independence to the bishops, abbots, and probably clergy down the ranks. Bishops had too much stature and were too clearly attached to their metropolitan at Mainz to be deposed or disciplined at whim, while the everyday activity in monasteries, secular chapters, and parish churches rarely drew the ruler's attention. Churchmen also had access and independent control of material resources, in some cases of considerable quantity. The combination of relative wealth and protection from dismissal or punishment at the duke's hands gave prominent ecclesiastics more independence than the lay magnates enjoyed. The church was thus neither a pawn of the duke nor united with the magnates by virtue of similar circumstances and interests. Whatever the practical pressures inclining churchmen to dependence upon the duke, there remained very tangible, and inalterable, legal realities that allowed them independence and insulated them from the vicissitudes and violence characteristic of medieval Czech politics.

PART II
DYNAMICS AND
STRATEGIES

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5. POLITICS AND THE DIVINE THE MEANING AND MOBILIZATION OF SAINT VÁCLAV

In 1126, Otto of Olomouc convinced Lothar, king of the Germans, to enter Bohemia with an army in defense of his claim to the throne, occupied upon the death of Vladislav I by Soběslav I. The outcome was a humiliating defeat for the invaders near the border castle of Chlumec in deep February snows and the demise of the pretender himself. It was a dramatic and decisive victory for the duke and his Czech forces, one that was long remembered in both the Empire and the Czech Lands. One observer went so far as to attribute Soběslav's success to a singular expression of supernatural might, the miraculous intervention of Saint Václav. As the Canon of Vyšehrad says of the two armies' encounter:

Standing around the lance of Saint Václav and guarding it were nearly one hundred leading men of the Czechs, provosts and chaplains. Among them one chaplain, an upright man of noble birth named Vitus, held the lance of the aforesaid saint, as is the custom, dressed in a helmet and breastplate like Achilles. Weeping from joy, he cried out to his men: "O comrades and brothers, stand firm! For above the point of this holy lance I see Saint Václav, sitting on a white horse and dressed in dazzling white garments, fighting for us. You see it too." Stupefied, they looked here and there but saw nothing, because God did not grant sight of that miracle to anyone but the worthy. With them mourning and weeping and groaning with their whole hearts toward God, reaching their eyes and hands toward heaven, and crying out *Kyrie eleison* all the while, omnipotent God through his mercy and by means of his holy messenger, Václav, our protector, vanquished our enemies. Amen.¹

After a victory more glorious than anyone could remember, "there was inexpressible joy both for clergy and for laymen throughout the whole

household of Saint Václav [*per totam familiam sancti Wenceslai*],” says the chronicler.²

This chapter, the first of those devoted to the dynamics of power, considers the complicated intersection of religion and politics in a medieval society. The previous chapter examined the duke’s role in promoting conversion to the new faith, his support of its institutions, and his relationship to their leaders. The analysis here, which seeks to elicit more nuanced connections between the religious and political realms, considers Christian devotional life, ritual, and popular belief, as reflected in the cult of saints in the Czech Lands. By the end of our period, the start of the thirteenth century, four native saints were revered among the Czechs, joining the ranks of apostles and martyrs, confessors and virgins: Václav, Ludmila, Adalbert, and Prokop. First among them was Václav, a young Přemyslid duke murdered ca. 929 by his brother, Boleslav, who thereby attained the throne. The life and death of an unfortunate young duke, an apparent victim of political violence, were recast by a series of tenth-century *vitae* as the triumphant story of a Christian martyr; they established for posterity Václav’s reputation as an adherent of Christ who died for his faith and was rewarded for his sacrifice with a place in heaven. Few medieval societies exhibited a more single-minded, exclusive attachment to a patron saint than the Czechs did for Saint Václav. As Christianity gradually spread among the population, Václav came to embody God’s otherworldly power, and great hope was placed in his mediation with the divine. The Canon of Vyšehrad’s description of the battle of Chlumec illustrates this vividly: Václav was “our protector,” and so too, by the easy inversion of his role as their intercessor with God in heaven, were the Czechs his *familia*.

The story of Václav’s miraculous appearance in February 1126 emphasizes not only faith in Václav’s potency on the Czechs’ behalf, but the deep interconnection between the political and religious components of his image and reverence. As striking as the anonymous chronicler’s designation of the Czechs as “the household of Saint Václav” — and the incongruous description of the pious young martyr in a military guise — is his equation of Soběslav’s political interests with theirs and with the saint’s. Scholars have long recognized a political, even ideological, element to Václav’s cult in the Czech Lands.³ There is no missing, or mistaking, the thoroughness and consistency of the “official” propaganda effort aimed at associating Saint Václav with the duke of Bohemia: the martyr appears on the reverse of nearly every penny minted by the duke in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, as well as all extant ducal seals. Yet the duke’s manipulation of Václav’s image can be fully appreciated only by careful consideration of popular devotion to his cult, its penetration into the fabric of daily life and communal rituals in the Czech Lands. A fun-

damentally religious logic crucially undergirded Václav's sanctity and thus his access to the divine, the very qualities, this chapter argues, the dukes hoped to exploit. By turning Václav's thriving cult to their own ends the dukes endeavored to fashion a Christian conception of rulership to enhance, even supersede, their customary dynastic charisma. Such a strategy rested explicitly on Václav's status as a Christian martyr, on the acknowledgment that he had joined God's elect in heaven, and on the belief that he wielded supernatural power as a consequence. Through appeal to, and then appropriation of, the figure of Saint Václav, dukes of Bohemia strove to sacralize their authority, to reinscribe their dynastic charisma as a Christian ideology pertaining exclusively to the ruler enthroned, and to carve out an intermediary role for themselves between the Czechs and their heavenly patron. Nevertheless, much like the supernatural interventions that medieval people so often sought of saints but witnessed only rarely, Václav himself—duke, martyr, saint—stood beyond the dukes' full control.

Embodying God's Grace

How the divine was manifest in the world of pagan Czechs, which incantations and ceremonies could call it down or fend it off, what places were sacred, which days portentous, goes largely unrecorded.⁴ There is no way of knowing how, during the protracted process of conversion to Christianity, the old and new beliefs conflicted, overlapped, or came to accommodate one another. It nevertheless seems certain that, very soon after his death circa 929, Václav acquired a reputation as having earned the new god's favor by an exemplary Christian life and heroic death. He may have been revered at first only among a tiny portion of Bohemia's inhabitants, but increasing numbers of them would adopt the new faith as the decades passed. By the eleventh and twelfth centuries, his cult was woven into daily experience, through gatherings at his tomb in Prague, regular liturgical commemoration of his death and translation, and the saint's miraculous apparition at rare times of communal crisis. In this way, the man whose life the *vitae* told and whose portrait appeared on every penny came vividly, almost effortlessly, to life among the Czechs.

Making a Christian Martyr

Almost nothing is known of the historical Václav, the young Přemyslid who became duke while still a minor, after his father died. No sources of Czech provenance, outside hagiography, survive from that time, and contemporary German chronicles have little to report. While the four saint's lives written

in the decades after Václav's death provide a few clues about life in central Bohemia during the early tenth century, they adhere closely to their chief aim: recounting the life and passion of a martyr.⁵ Václav's martyrdom, above all, secured his place in heaven and put him in the highest category of Christian saints. It was a martyr whose relics lay in the church of St. Vitus and a martyr whose death was remembered liturgically at set times throughout the year. The need to frame the details of Václav's life as those of a Christian martyr, of a fervent believer who died for the faith, provide each *vita* with its narrative challenge, and in turn fundamentally shaped the understanding of Václav bequeathed to subsequent generations. Moreover, the miracle stories they tell, together with others that spread orally, established the expectation that Václav could breach the boundary between the heavenly and earthly realms to intervene in human affairs when needed. For Czechs of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, their legacy as hagiography (not as history) was formative.

Four texts, three Latin and one Old Church Slavonic (OCS), all written by the end of the tenth century, demand attention for their later impact: the "First Slavonic Life," *Crescente fide*, Gumpold's *Passio*, and the core of *The Life and Passion of Saint Václav and His Grandmother Saint Ludmila* by Kristián. These—plus one other, a literal Slavonic translation of the work by Gumpold (known as the "Second OCS Legend")⁶—were the legends available to Cosmas and his contemporaries in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.⁷ While it is difficult to trace the reception or popularity of these legends in the decades after their composition, *Crescente fide* must have been among the best-known accounts of Václav's life, given its influence, as we shall see, on both Gumpold and Kristián. By contrast, Kristián's work may have been relatively obscure, since no extant copies of the text date before the fourteenth century. Notwithstanding inconclusive manuscript evidence, an extant twelfth-century homiliary from Prague testifies to wide familiarity with Václav's virtues, and of the *vitae* that describe them. The bishop appeals directly to his listeners' knowledge: "But his deeds I think you know better than I could tell you; for, as is read in his Passion, no one doubts that, rising every night from his noble bed, with bare feet and with only one chamberlain, he went around to God's churches and gave alms generously to widows, orphans, those in prison and afflicted by every difficulty, so much so that he was considered, not a prince, but the father of all the wretched."⁸ Writing in the 1120s, Cosmas too could safely presume that his clerical readers, and perhaps a wider lay audience also, were thoroughly acquainted with Václav's life, merits, and martyrdom. Declining to provide even the briefest account, when he reaches the appropriate point in his chronicle's narrative, he says simply: "I think it described sufficiently in the Passion of the holy man."⁹

Two accounts of Václav's life and martyrdom, one Latin and one OCS, stand as the oldest texts in a complicated *vita* tradition, both written around the mid-tenth century. The Slavonic life usually called the "First OCS Legend" is short and tells the story of the saint's murder dramatically but succinctly.¹⁰ Aspects of the story, most notably the inclusion of a number of personal names not recorded in other *vitae*, argue for its composition in the decades immediately following Václav's death.¹¹ After noting briefly his lineage, baptism, learning of "both Slavic and Latin letters," and accession to the throne, the author describes Václav's life of faith summarily:

And, verily, with the grace of God, Prince [Václav] not only mastered letters but he was perfected by faith. According to the words of the Gospel, he rendered good unto all the poor, clothed the naked, fed the hungry, and received wayfarers. He defended widows, had mercy on the people—the wanting and the wealthy—served those who worked for God, and adorned many churches with gold. For he believed in God with all his heart, and he did, as much as he could, all manner of good things in his life.¹²

With this brief and rather formulaic catalogue of Václav's virtues, the author embarks on a vivid description of the events leading up to his murder, beginning with the machinations of Czechs who, "because the Devil entered their hearts," sowed seeds of discord between Václav and both his mother, Drahomír, and his younger brother, Boleslav. The perfidy of Boleslav and the plotters is compared throughout the Legend to the perfidy of Judas and the Jews with respect to Christ; Václav displays a pious steadfastness in the face of these schemes. The final confrontation—at matins on September 28 in Boleslav's castle—between Václav and Boleslav, each accompanied by their retainers, is dramatically told, with Václav's final words: "Lord, into Thy hands I commend my spirit."¹³ In this version of the tale, the murderers immediately proceed to persecute Václav's followers: "The others they pursued to Prague; some were slain, while others scattered throughout the land. And they slaughtered infants, gave many women to other men, banished God's servants, and committed all manner of wickedness."¹⁴ Drahomír, too, they seek to kill; she oversees the burial of her son before fleeing to Croatia. The First OCS life closes with Boleslav's repentance and the translation of Václav's relics to Prague on March 4. Saint Václav was, as the liturgy reminded worshippers, a martyr, and it was explicitly the purpose of this account of his life to define him as such, even by explicit comparison to Christ himself: "For, verily, his suffering may be likened to the suffering of Christ and the Holy Martyrs, since counsel was taken against him as the Jews did against Christ. They dismembered him as they did Peter; and they slaughtered the innocents because of him, as they did because of Christ."¹⁵

All Christian martyrs achieved sainthood by virtue of two qualifications: their faith and their death. While the First Slavonic Legend was chiefly concerned with the latter, the Latin legends embellish upon the former. The first of the Latin *vitae*, known by its *incipit*, *Crescente fide*, can likewise be dated roughly to the mid-tenth century.¹⁶ As signalled by its opening words, the theme here is the progress of Christianization in Bohemia, a cause Václav served in life and which his martyrdom surely furthered. Devoting only a single paragraph to his murder, *Crescente fide* dwells at length upon Václav's devotion to and promotion of Christianity. The extraordinary picture of Václav stealing out secretly in the middle of the night to harvest wheat from the fields and grapes from the vine in order to provide wafers and wine for the Eucharist originates with this text.¹⁷ He wore, we are told, a hair shirt under his princely garb, and carried a small book under his clothes, which he would read diligently whenever he had the chance.¹⁸ *Crescente fide* includes many stories like these intended to emphasize Václav's personal piety, as well as others that stress his public support for the faith he inherited from his father and grandfather. For instance, it says: "In his time many priests from Bavaria and from Swabia, hearing rumor of him, flocked to him with relics of the saints and with books. Abundantly and joyfully, he gave all of them gold, silver, furs, slaves, and clothes, as much as they needed."¹⁹ He also built the church of St. Vitus in Prague, an undertaking so important that he postponed his desire to take the monastic habit in Rome in order to see it finished.²⁰ The translation of his remains to St. Vitus, in this version, resulted not from any repentance on Boleslav's part (he is in no way mentioned), but from divine revelations in the dreams of unnamed persons, who are miraculously aided his transport.²¹ "Until the present day," the anonymous author says, miracles are performed at his tomb. The first several of those he relates entail the miraculous release of various individuals from unjust imprisonment. Two healing miracles, in which an old woman regains her sight and a cripple "from the province of the Franks" walks, complete this section.²² The *vita* ends with a prayer: "Thus we beseech you, O most blessed Lord Václav, that just as through your most holy prayers the Lord has freed many men from prison and from chains, so now for our unnumerable iniquities be our fitting intercessor before that same merciful Father . . ." ²³

Crescente fide begs the question of how princely and saintly virtues could be construed as compatible.²⁴ Václav's mother is made to ask expressly: "what will we do about the fact that, twisted by clerics, *he who ought to be a prince is a monk*?"²⁵ Not only is Václav a duke who secretly acts as a peasant, harvesting wheat and making wine for the Eucharist, and as a cleric, reading and even preaching the Gospel, but he exhibits his faith by acting contrary to the pre-

vailing expectations of a ruler, most notably by his unwillingness to carry out judicial punishment. The liberation of prisoners, by extension, becomes his hallmark miracle. Yet his very lack of ruthlessness, in part, leads to his demise: even as he bemoans their disbelief, Václav exhibits Christian charity towards his enemies, especially his mother and brother, who ultimately kill him. Unfortunately, this might also impute weakness to this pious duke, a message at odds with his leadership role within Bohemia's Christian community. Perhaps in response to such a conundrum, of the very man who "destroyed prisons and tore down all the gallows," the author of the *vita*, rather incongruously, says: "those he knew were cruel and wayward without reason, or drinking in taverns and falling away from [Christian] teaching, immediately binding them prone to a table, he flogged them severely with many blows."²⁶ Precisely by placing the terrible question — can a holy man be a fitting duke? — in the mouth of his enemies, the *vita*'s author undercuts its validity. At the same time he hints that Václav himself asked it, noting that the saintly duke "wanted to relinquish the principate for the love of God" ("pro dei amore relinquere voluit principatum") and take the monastic habit, a desire he put off only to see the completion of the church of St. Vitus. On the whole, *Crescente fide* portrays Václav himself struggling, indeed from the moment he was enthroned, to "diverge as little as possible from [Christian] doctrine while remaining in the principate."²⁷ Even as they closely follow *Crescente fide*, subsequent Latin legends handle this matter differently, as we shall see, and thus ascribe disparate meanings to the saint's life.

While both make a case for Václav's sanctity, these two earliest *vitae* vary in their basic emphases, as well as in crucial facts, and thus reflect the circulation of divergent explanations and interpretations of his murder already in the first decades after his death.²⁸ The question hardly asked but implicitly answered by the anonymous authors of these texts concerned how a relatively ordinary political assassination could be construed as Christian martyrdom. The OCS Legend explicitly resolves the issue by comparison with Christ himself.²⁹ Like Jesus, Václav was the victim of demonically inspired, Judas-like betrayal; the Jew-like scheming of his enemies testifies to his righteousness. Drahomíř, his mother, is cast in the mold of Mary, encouraging her son in his faith, weeping over his dead body, and suffering similar persecution. Construing Václav as a victim gives the text a sombre, brooding tone, even as his likeness to Christ offers hope. *Crescente fide* takes a different, more providentially triumphant tone, seeing Václav not so much as Christlike but as both protagonist and divine sign of Christianity's victory in Bohemia. The young duke's personal travails have been transformed into the struggles of the faith as a whole; it is his contribution to that struggle, as well as his sacrifice, that earns

him martyrdom. In *Crescente fide* Václav's enemies are opponents of the faith, disbelievers in God who seek to turn Václav from his religion. At one point he summons his incredulous detractors to ask: "why do you prevent me from teaching the law of the Lord my God and from serving him alone?"³⁰ In striking contrast to her Marian role in the OCS Legend, Václav's own mother, unnamed but described as *incredula Dei*, stands chief among these foes.³¹ At her door is laid responsibility for killing Václav's Christian grandmother, Ludmila, whom the Slavonic author never mentions. Václav's fate is thus foreshadowed in Ludmila's death — likewise an intradynastic political murder turned martyrdom — which her young grandson himself prophesies. So too, Václav's construction of the church of St. Vitus, soon to be his tomb, is prefigured by the rotundas of St. Mary and of St. George built in Prague castle by his predecessors. The young duke's untimely death could be construed as martyrdom for the blow it dealt Christianity in Bohemia, even as, by that very martyrdom its cause was furthered.

Crescente fide served as the basis for a life of Václav composed in the 980s outside the land of his martyrdom, the *Passio Sancti Wenceslai martyris* by Bishop Gumpold of Mantua.³² It provides the text for the best-known manuscript of Václav's life, now preserved at Wolfenbüttel, with its full-page illustrations.³³ This codex, commissioned by Duchess Emma, the wife of Boleslav II (967–99), testifies to the early awareness of Gumpold's text within Bohemia. In substance, Gumpold simply rewrote *Crescente fide*, following its order of presentation closely and including the same miracles. Gumpold's text is double the length of his source merely as a consequence of its elevated Latin; what the anonymous author of *Crescente fide* said in one sentence, Gumpold relates in two or three much longer ones.³⁴ In his convoluted prologue, the author, who shows no signs of having traveled to Bohemia, declares himself to be writing at the order of the German emperor, Otto II.³⁵ His overarching theme, as in *Crescente fide*, concerns Christianization. Told this time from an outsiders' perspective, Václav's story is cast in terms of the conversion of yet another people to the true faith.³⁶ The most striking interpolation, fittingly, is a passage describing the pagan practices prevailing among the Czechs during Václav's lifetime.³⁷ The prayer that concludes *Crescente fide* has been omitted. While otherwise adhering faithfully to his model, Gumpold also neglects to have Václav's mother question the rule of a prince surrounded by clerics. For an imperial audience well versed in the tales of missionaries and convert-kings, and actively engaged with various pagan Slavic tribes to their north and east, the meaning of Václav's life and death was clear — only the style of its telling needed to be "improved."

The longest of the four legends, entitled *The Life and Passion of Saint Vác-*

lav and His Grandmother Ludmila, was written by a cleric who identifies himself as “Christian,” a designation traditionally taken to be his personal name (called here “Kristián” after the Czech fashion for convenience).³⁸ Although the earliest surviving manuscript originates from the fourteenth century, in the prologue the author personally dedicates his work to Bishop Adalbert, effectively dating the *vita* to his episcopacy in the 990s.³⁹ Like Gumpold, Kristián follows *Crescente fide* for the basic story of Václav’s life and his posthumous miracles, while rewriting its Latin. The few new miracles included at the end, followed by an anomalous episode from Václav’s lifetime, however, do not appear to have been part of Kristián’s composition and were probably added considerably later.⁴⁰ The main difference from *Crescente fide* is announced in the title: fully a third of Kristián’s text is taken up by a background narrative, describing the history of Christianity in the Czech Lands from the time of Constantine and Methodius’s mission to Moravia. These stories—of Methodius; of Bořivoj, the first Christian duke; and of Saint Ludmila, his wife and Václav’s grandmother—frame Václav’s life within the larger narrative of Bohemia’s conversion to Christianity. From the beginning, each advance met with a setback instigated as much by political ambitions and machinations as by the Czechs’ reluctance to accept the new faith. Other variations in the actual telling of Václav’s life are more subtle. Václav’s “perfidious” mother, for instance, poses a slightly different question to his detractors, described now as “sons of Belial”: “Alas, what do we do? Where do we turn? Indeed our prince, who was raised by us to the pinnacle of the realm but has been twisted by clerics and made as if into a monk, does not allow us to continue on the usual steep path of vice.”⁴¹ The paganism of Václav’s detractors, only suggested in *Crescente fide*, is thus magnified. Likewise, Kristián emphasizes the young duke’s forceful efforts to spread the faith, which lead him also to take a firmer stance toward his enemies—banishing his mother, for instance, so that “with everyone having one and the same Lord, they might most perfectly learn true Christian teaching.”⁴² This also hints that forcefulness, not exemplary piety, was what was needed to make Christianization succeed. Just as the stories of Václav’s predecessors and of Ludmila reinforce the impression of Christianity’s inexorable progress in Bohemia, so Kristián’s more subtle embellishments effectively replace *Crescente fide*’s ambivalent stance toward Václav’s dual status as holy man and prince, as well as its almost apologetic tone, with a strident certitude.

The primary venue for reading these *vitae* aloud was almost certainly liturgical. Bohemian liturgical books extant from the eleventh through early thirteenth centuries reflect the successful assimilation of the legends’ account of Václav’s life and death. A twelfth-century breviary from Břevnov speaks of “the blessed man, Václav, whom his evil brother made a martyr by deliber-

ate murder as Cain once did Abel.”⁴³ In prescribing readings, antiphons, and the like for his feast, such manuscripts invariably refer the lector to the standard texts “for a single martyr” (*de uno martyre*).⁴⁴ In the litany of Christian saints, of angels, patriarchs, apostles, martyrs, confessors, and virgins, Václav was invoked in the company of martyrs.⁴⁵ Even the duke’s *denáry*, which often depict Václav with a martyr’s palm or at the very moment of his murder, emphasize his standing among martyrs for the faith. In liturgical contexts he is always called “Václav the martyr,” never “Václav the duke.” The deluxe evangeliary known as the Vyšehrad Codex, made in honor of Vratislav’s coronation in 1086, provides readings for the regular liturgical year, a coronation mass, and the feast of Saint Vaclav, alone among the saints. Among the liturgical survivals from the Czech Lands in this period, only there, as a rubric to the historiated initial showing Václav enthroned and holding a lance with a banner, is he called “Saint Václav, duke and martyr.”⁴⁶

The four *vitae*, all composed before the year 1000, crafted an image of Václav that lasted for the next two hundred years. All clerical products, each fixed for posterity a version of the oral tradition surrounding Václav’s memory, at the same time revising and responding to previous written renditions of his life. Yet collectively the *vitae* written by Gumpold, Kristián, and their anonymous predecessors, also enshrine difference. In the process of securing his status as a martyr, they provide distinct interpretations of his personality and deeds.⁴⁷ Thus the Latin and Slavonic legends established for posterity a tradition with ample room for individual, novel, or evolving efforts to give Václav’s life meaning. No specific text emerges as the standard *vita*, although together they present a tale consistent in its rudimentary details and recitation of stereotypical saintly virtues. In a sermon for Václav’s feast, for instance, that exhorts his listeners to follow Václav’s example, an anonymous bishop of Prague describes the extraordinary humility, patience, mercy, and love of God exhibited by the saint, drawing on the Latin legends for illustrative anecdotes.⁴⁸ He acknowledges a disjunction between the saint’s Christian but less ruler-like virtues, proposing still another, quite simple solution: “though he was a prince and lord of this land, exalted in glory, honor, and wealth, he humbled himself day and night before God, so much so that the devil was in no way able to seduce or bind him in his traps.”⁴⁹

The Time and Place for Commemoration

The legends tell of Václav’s virtues, martyrdom, and posthumous miracles, all as proof that, by his earthly life and subsequent entry into heaven, he stood at

the intersection of the mortal and the divine. The *vitae* also situate such a convergence at specific times and places associated with the saint. Although only Kristián notes the year, they all correspond in dating his murder to September 28, the date that would become his principal feast day.⁵⁰ They report the immediate burial of Václav's corpse at Stará Boleslav, where he was killed.⁵¹ Although the accounts diverge considerably, each of the four tenth-century legends tells of the translation of his relics from there to the church of St. Vitus in Prague; they agree that it occurred three years after his death and fix the date as March 4.⁵² These times and places, September 28 and March 4, Stará Boleslav and his tomb in Prague, provided the focal points for commemorating Václav's merits, celebrating his martyrdom, and beseeching his intercession before God. Around them his cult emerged, and through them Václav's presence was felt in everyday life.

Václav's cult flourished, first and foremost, in the context of regular liturgical celebration. The anniversary of the saint's death, and other days on which he was remembered and celebrated, focused his devotees' attention at a specific time, while the cycle of the Christian liturgical year assured that these dates would become annual fixtures. Of the liturgical calendars extant in manuscripts of Bohemian provenance that can be loosely dated to the eleventh, twelfth, or early thirteenth centuries, all include Saint Václav on the anniversary of his death, September 28, as well as the feast's octave.⁵³ His feast is always listed as a red-letter day, as is his translation from Stará Boleslav to Prague on March 4. Bohemian lectionaries likewise include readings for the anniversaries of Václav's death and his translation.⁵⁴ Thus these various liturgical books testify that Václav was commemorated not once but twice during the liturgical year, and that his September feast constituted more than a one-day event. Falling as it did in early autumn (indeed, on the eve of Michaelmas), Václav's day must have eventually become the main post-harvest holiday celebrated among the Czechs. Cosmas, in describing the alms-giving practices of Bishop Jaromír (1067–90), notes that he donated his winter garb to the poor at Easter and his summer clothes on St. Václav's Day; even for a churchman these two holidays divided the year, marking the end of winter and beginning of spring, and the close of summer and start of autumn respectively.⁵⁵

In a sermon for Václav's feast in an extant twelfth-century homiliary, the bishops speaks of "the multitude of people" who have flocked to the cathedral "like bees to their hive."⁵⁶ Already in the previous century, the gathering of Czech Christians at Václav's tomb on September 28 had become so large that the old rotunda of St. Vitus could no longer contain the crowds. For this reason, a new church in Romansque style was begun in 1060, as Cosmas reports:

When Duke Spitihněv came to Prague for the feast of Saint Václav, he saw that the church of Saint Vitus was no longer sufficiently large and capacious for people hastening to the holy celebration. Saint Václav himself had built a rotunda in the likeness of a Roman church and in it Saint Václav's own body rests. Another little church was attached to it, located almost in the portico of the church, in the midst of which the mausoleum of Saint Adalbert lay in a tight space. The duke decided it was best to destroy both and construct a single great church for both patrons. He immediately designated the place for the church in a long circle and laid the foundation.⁵⁷

As this description indicates, by the mid-eleventh century Václav was not the only saint whose remains lay in Prague's main church. Martyred at the hands of the pagan Prussians and venerated first among the Poles, who buried his relics with honor at Gniezno where they immediately laid the ground for a Polish metropolitan, the remains of Bishop Adalbert of Prague were forcibly translated to Prague by Duke Břetislav I in 1040. Somewhere inside also lay the bodies of other saints stolen from Gniezno with Adalbert, including Radim (Gaudentius), Adalbert's brother and the first archbishop of Gniezno, and five martyred Polish hermits.⁵⁸ The church's crypts were dedicated to St. Martin and to Sts. Cosmas and Damian.⁵⁹ Still, in twelfth-century chronicles, Prague Cathedral was called either "the church of St. Vitus" or "the church of Sts. Vitus, Václav and Adalbert," or simply "the church of Vitus and Václav" or "of Václav" alone.⁶⁰

At the turn of the century, to judge from Cosmas's remarks in the *Chronica Boemorum*, the canons of Prague seem to have imagined themselves chiefly in relation to Václav. Cosmas, as dean of the cathedral, identifies himself in the preface as "servant of the servants of God and Saint Václav."⁶¹ In another instance, he describes how he was called upon to defend his chapter's claim to the village of Sekyřkostel in Moravia, granted "to us, the servants of God and Saint Václav"; the duke ordered its restitution, he states, "not to the bishop nor to any other person, but to you the servants of God and Saint Václav."⁶² Gifts to the canons were made to Václav and vice versa. In the second half of the twelfth century, Prague's bishops began to emphasize a special attachment to their holy predecessor Adalbert,⁶³ in particular by displaying his image on the seal of the church of Prague.⁶⁴ It shows the bishop, wearing a mitre and holding a tall crozier, facing the model of a large Romanesque church; the seal's peripheral inscription reads "SCA ECCLESIA PRAGENSIIUM," but a second inscription, above and to the right of the bishop, identifies him as "SCS ADALBERTUS."⁶⁵ A striking dedicatory frontispiece to a mid-twelfth-century manuscript of the *Flores Bernardi*, a gift of Bishop Daniel of Prague to a bishop of Olomouc, seems even to give Adalbert precedence over both Vitus and Václav. Above images of the kneeling bishop and his scribe offering

up the manuscript loom the three patron saints of Prague cathedral, each with his martyr's palm: Adalbert, wearing a miter and pallium, occupies the central position and dominates his comrades.⁶⁶

Sharing space with Václav in Prague's cathedral, Adalbert was similarly regarded as the Czechs' patron. The reputation and appeal of the holy bishop seems never to have matched that of the murdered duke, however. This discrepancy resulted, in part, from duke's subtle promotion of Václav's cult. One cannot fail to notice, for instance, that as amends for the illicit removal of *Adalbert* from Gniezno,⁶⁷ Břetislav I constructed a grand monument to Václav: "in the town of [Stará] Boleslav on the Elbe, where the saint himself once happily consummated his martyrdom; there, as can be seen today, a numerous crowd of brothers serves God and the *prepositura* and basilica are considered very religious."⁶⁸ The ubiquity of Václav's image on the duke's coinage, too, reinforced that saint's presence in daily life. Yet differences ran deeper and were by no means exclusively associated with the duke. Václav's relics had already lain in Prague for more than a century when Břetislav brought Adalbert's to join them. More importantly, in the Czech Lands, Václav was celebrated more consistently, frequently, and elaborately than Adalbert. Václav was doubly present in the liturgical year in comparison to Adalbert, whose feast alone was kept (on April 23) and whose translation from Gniezno to Prague was rarely commemorated, although Cosmas, for one, knew the day to have been September 1.⁶⁹ All liturgical books judged to be of Bohemian provenance include the feast of Saint Václav; only half of these include Adalbert and fewer still the other Czech saints, Ludmila and Prokop. Indeed, of the extant calendars, sacramentaries, or *sanctorales*, none contain Adalbert in the absence of Václav.⁷⁰

Without any doubt, Saint Václav's feast provided an important occasion not only for preaching, almsgiving, and prayer, but feasting and celebration. "Duke Vladislav and the whole of the Czech commonfolk were celebrating the anniversary of their patron, Václav, with festivity and rejoicing," Cosmas says, when a messenger announced the approach of Soběslav and an army of Poles toward the Czech border.⁷¹ The duke, it seems, customarily played the role of host; Cosmas remarks concerning the year 1100: "according to the rite of this land, [Duke Břetislav II] celebrated in Prague the anniversary of his patron, Saint Václav, with all the appropriate rituals; with all his satraps and *comites*, he threw a magnificent party over the course of three days."⁷² As one of the most important events of the year, both religious and political, the celebration of Václav's feast in Prague was, for the duke of Bohemia, an occasion not to be missed. Vincent, for instance, says that King Vladislav "returned happily" to Prague from Milan "on the feast of blessed Vaclav,"⁷³ while the Canon of

Vyšehrad troubles to report that the wife of Duke Soběslav, returning to Bohemia from her native Hungary and unable to make it back to Prague in time, celebrated Václav's feast at Olomouc.⁷⁴

Already by the end of the eleventh century the annual celebration of Václav's feast had taken on a broader political significance. The Vyšehrad Codex of 1086, as already noted, includes readings not only for a coronation mass to be celebrated in Vratislav's honor but also for the feast of Saint Václav.⁷⁵ The convergence of so many Czechs at Prague for the celebration of Václav's anniversary, for feasting and for prayer, constituted the perfect setting for the new king to flaunt his elevated status. It was also an ideal time to treat more mundane matters, whether routine administrative business or extraordinary political problems. In Prague on September 28, 1134, for instance, Duke Soběslav I spontaneously called a council of the leading men of his realm, lay and cleric, to discuss the merits of candidates to succeed Bishop Meinhard; he was able to do so, the Canon of Vyšehrad says, because "it so happens they had gathered there for the feast of our blessed patron, Václav."⁷⁶ For reasons of both prestige and practicality, September 28 provided an ideal occasion for the duke to convene gatherings of Czech freemen and clergy.⁷⁷ The great reverence for Václav, the place of his feast day in its celebration, and the implicit political dimension of his cult was acknowledged outside the Czech Lands. When Vladislav II was granted the rank of king in 1158, the imperial coronation charter formally sanctioned what the Vyšehrad Codex showed his grandfather, King Vratislav, practicing. It thus authorized the new king to hold crown-wearings not only on Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost but "beyond those, on the feasts of Saint Václav and Saint Adalbert, because those solemnities in honor of their patrons all of Bohemia observes with greater reverence and celebration."⁷⁸ Notably, by the mid-twelfth century—and perhaps under Bishop Daniel's influence—both Václav *and* Adalbert are honored as the Czechs' patrons.

Circa 1170, a freeman named Časta, son of one of King Vladislav's chamberlains, donated a village "to the church of Saint Václav," "such that the caretaker of the tomb of Saint Václav and his successors would hold it in perpetuity without any interference from the canons"; the donor further demanded that the chapter, as well as the duke, corroborate the donation by attaching its seal.⁷⁹ This is a powerful, even aggressive, reminder that Saint Václav in no way belonged to the canons alone, however much spiritual and economic capital they derived from his relics. Barbarossa's coronation document emphasizes that Václav and Adalbert's feast days, the occasions on which Vladislav might display his new crown, derived their importance from the great reverence the Czechs felt toward the saints whom they considered their own special patrons. As a consequence, neither the saints, nor the respect and awe they

commanded, nor the celebrations in their honor could be contrived to serve the pleasure of the duke or, for that matter, the bishop. These were communal celebrations on the grandest scale. In the legend of Prague's founding, as told by Cosmas, Libuše predicts that the place will become famous for "two golden olive trees" that will "glitter throughout the whole world with signs and miracles." "All the tribes of the Bohemian land, and other nations too," she says, "will worship and adore them, with gifts and against enemies (one of these will be called Greater Glory, the other Consolation of the Army)."⁸⁰ These metaphorical trees are the Czechs' twin patrons, Václav and Adalbert. To them and to Prague, as Libuše foresaw and Cosmas acknowledged, the Czechs looked for portents and divine intervention in their affairs.

Noster Patronus

In 1039, Duke Břetislav I took advantage of a succession crisis to raid and conquer a swath of Polish territory, including Cracow and Gniezno. Whether among his aims from the beginning or an opportunity that simply presented itself, the duke determined to bring to Prague, among his spoils, the body of Saint Adalbert, which had lain in the cathedral at Gniezno since 997. According to Cosmas, however, the saint himself miraculously prevented the opening of his tomb, striking Břetislav's men blind, dumb, and incoherent for almost three hours.⁸¹ After three days of fasting on the part of the army, Adalbert appeared in a vision before Bishop Severus of Prague: "'Say,' he said, 'these words to the duke and his *comites*: 'Our Father in heaven will grant what you ask, if you do not repeat the evil deeds that you renounced at the baptismal font.''"⁸² Once the duke, the bishop, and the assembled Czech warriors promised to adhere more strictly to Christian mores, the saint ceased to resist his translation.⁸³ Adalbert's relics, reduced already to dust, were received with great ceremony in Prague on September 1, and placed in a tiny church attached to the old rotunda of St. Vitus.⁸⁴ There he joined Václav and like him, as we have seen, became one of the Czechs' two protectors and advocates in heaven.

Both Václav and Adalbert were routinely called *noster patronus*. The anonymous twelfth-century bishop of Prague, whose sermons are recorded in an extant homiliary, on several occasions refers to them in such terms.⁸⁵ Indeed he invokes the saints' supernatural power, their access to God, against evil of every kind: "Therefore, brothers and sisters, we ask Saint Václav and Saint Adalbert, whom God bestowed upon this tiny land as patrons, that through their intercession we be freed from both visible and invisible enemies."⁸⁶ In the Middle Ages a saint's patronage was never passive, nor did it function in ways purely emblematic, as an image to be displayed or name invoked merely

as a symbol of some collective identity. Rather, a heavenly patron was assumed to be working actively on behalf of those he protected, so long, of course, as they were faithful and virtuous. When, during an unusually strong thunderstorm in 1132, lightning struck the “tower of St. Václav” atop Prague Cathedral, the Canon of Vyšehrad reports that the fire in the tower was quenched and the church itself saved from any damage “with God’s grace protecting it and the prayer of the holy martyrs Václav and Adalbert helping.”⁸⁷

Several miracles are described in the *Chronica Boemorum* and in the Canon of Vyšehrad’s continuation of Cosmas’s text. A few of them testify simply to the belief that such wondrous supernatural interventions could, and indeed did, occur. In a self-reflective mood, Cosmas reports a miracle that apparently constituted a formative experience of his youth. A man appeared before him, a schoolboy ruminating upon the psalms in the cathedral’s crypt, and before abruptly vanishing said that he had been miraculously freed from a prison in Cracow by Radim (Gaudentius), whose remains lay in that very crypt. Cosmas comments, by way of conclusion, that the canons of Prague often saw visions when in the crypt at night.⁸⁸ The anonymous Canon of Vyšehrad tells the story of an elderly, bedridden woman in a village near Čáslav too ill to attend mass at her local church; left alone on the feast of Stephen in 1137, Saints John the Evangelist and Gotthard appeared before her and miraculously transported her to a church nearby.⁸⁹ This “new work of divine piety and power to be wondered at” was perhaps dished up by the Canon, in part, as evidence of the sanctity of Gotthard, whose new cult was then popular.⁹⁰ Concerning the year 1132, he reports that word of miracles performed by Gotthard at Hildesheim was spreading widely and bringing many people to that place.⁹¹ Events deemed true but unexplainable within the realm of worldly phenomena (miracles) were part and parcel of medieval life. Always wondrous, and indeed hard to believe sometimes, they nevertheless constituted wholly tenable occurrences. Like their contemporaries, many Czechs must have hoped for such supernatural intervention, or simple encouragement, at moments of personal crisis, when family members were sick, crops failing, children not forthcoming, danger in the air.

The duke shared his subjects’ heavenly patrons and in his times of difficulty called upon them, Václav especially but Adalbert too, just as they did. The Canon of Vyšehrad comments casually upon a routine raiding party: “Duke Soběslav, protected by God’s mercy and the prayers of Saint Václav, went to Poland with an army.”⁹² As the Czechs’ war leader, the duke of Bohemia routinely had cause to hope for victory with God’s help. According to the anonymous Monk of Sázava, when Soběslav heard that the joint forces of Otto and

Lothar were preparing to attack him, the duke said: “‘I hope in God’s mercy and in the merits of Christ’s holy martyrs, Václav and Adalbert, that this land will not be given into the hands of foreigners.’ Then that most prudent duke, throwing all his thought to the Lord, travelled around to every monastery, begging that divine defences support him against adverse consequences.”⁹³ The Canon of Vyšehrad, describing the same conflict, notes that Václav’s lance was carried as a relic in battle and that a special banner associated with Adalbert, retrieved at Soběslav’s order from the village where it was found, hung from it.⁹⁴ The duke, facing a grim situation whose outcome was uncertain, clearly felt need of *both* saints’ succor. He sought it by his own prayers and those of his land’s clergy, and also invoked it by carrying holy relics into battle. While Adalbert and his banner come as an afterthought, the bearing of Václav’s lance in battle is noted as customary.⁹⁵ Taken together with the occasional depiction of Saint Václav with ducal iconographic attributes, including a lance, and the importance of other “holy lances” in neighboring lands, scholars have tended to overlook the simpler point here.⁹⁶ Like the prayers for victory offered up to the saint, Václav’s lance, almost as a totem, was intended to summon divine power to the Czechs’ aid.

Many of the miracles told by chroniclers, by contrast with those appended to *vitae*, describe the saint’s intervention on behalf not of a single individual, but of the whole community. As such, their telling serves a grander purpose even than giving proof of the holy person’s sanctity. The miracle told by Cosmas in which Saint Adalbert resisted and then allowed the translation of his relics to Prague provides a vivid illustration, certainly, of the way divine intervention, mediated by saints, was expected to penetrate the earthly realm. But it also patently worked to further the cause of Christianity among the Czechs, and thus their salvation. It was their collective failure to uphold their baptismal promises, the saint himself announces, that prompted him to prevent the the opening of his tomb. The lifting of all impediments to Adalbert’s translation came only after the duke and the bishop proclaimed decrees legally binding on all Czechs to enforce monogamy, Christian burial, Sunday observances, and the protection of priests. Bishop Adalbert, who had despaired of his flock’s disbelief while living, was apparently better able to convert the Czechs to true Christian practice from his place in heaven. He also gave the Czechs a stunning reminder that the supernatural power of saints was not to be trifled with; mortal men, dukes and bishops alike, might humbly ask their aid but only the virtuous received it, and the presumptuous might be sternly rebuked.

Miracles worked for the good of the community could also appear in surprisingly political contexts. The most remarkable comes in Cosmas’s account of the events of 1091, when such resentment and animosity arose among the

Přemyslids that war began to threaten. Tensions among King Vratislav, his son, Břetislav, and their respective supporters had reached a stale-mate and then begun to mount again when, according to Cosmas, Saints Václav and Adalbert miraculously intervened. Appearing to certain imprisoned men and releasing them, the saints declared: "Until now our intercessory support has been absent from you and this country, because you are unworthy of God's grace, since these princes are waging a more than civil war between Moravia and Bohemia. . . . Now, certain of God's mercy, get up, rush to the church, and proclaim that we, Saint Václav and Saint Adalbert, freed you and brought peace to everyone."⁹⁷ In Cosmas's capable hands the saints' very words, decrying civil war and denouncing the men responsible, constitute an adroit fusion of the religious and the political. Playing on the tradition of miraculous emancipation established in the Václav legends, the saints nevertheless free the prisoners solely as a means of disseminating their pacifying message. For Cosmas and for his narrative, the miracle explains the surprising resolution of a political crisis he has related in considerable detail.⁹⁸ He calls the peace arranged between Vratislav and Břetislav by Conrad of Brno "another miracle," one that took place on the very same day in accordance with the "revelation of the holy martyrs."⁹⁹ Cosmas seems genuinely to believe that the enmity between the king and his son ran deep, and their differences were irreconcilable; only the timely intervention of the saints averted the imminent war. Although both "our patrons, Saint Václav and Saint Adalbert," appear in the story, Cosmas ultimately gives credit only to God and Václav: "And indeed in that storm, the worst crime since the founding of Prague would have been committed, if the holy regard of the most blessed Václav and the great pity of omnipotent God had not arranged every move of the princes and the people to the king's will."¹⁰⁰

Writing of the tumultuous first decade of the eleventh century, when the Poles had conquered Bohemia, Cosmas describes their ouster by the Přemyslid Oldřich in a similar vein: as resulting from the "wondrous permission of God and the intercession of Saint Václav." "With Christ looking down on the Czechs," the chronicler says, "and with Saint Václav aiding his people (*suís*), they were victorious."¹⁰¹ This language accords closely with the Canon of Vyšehrad's identification of the Czechs as the saint's "household" and his description of the pious duke on horseback in the sky at Chlumec. Given the Czechs' emotional investment in and spiritual commitment to Saints Václav and Adalbert, it hardly seems surprising that when astonishing things happened in the Czech Lands they were attributed to supernatural power emanating from God channeled through these saints. As was fitting, God himself

received the lion's share of gratitude; Bohemian chronicles, like such texts elsewhere, routinely remark that certain deeds were done "with the Lord helping" or that specific outcomes were achieved "by God's grace." But it was Václav especially, and to a lesser extent Adalbert, who personified divine grace, whose feasts celebrated it, and by whose miracles it was made manifest among the Czechs. Václav's iconographic transformation from martyr to warrior on the duke's coinage in the late eleventh and early twelfth century surely facilitated visions of the saint fighting "our enemies" in person, a picture otherwise at odds with his characterization in the *vitae*. Still, it was the long-nourished expectation that Václav, and Adalbert also, might come to the aid of individuals in distress and, by extension, might perform miracles for the good of the whole community in response to their prayers that enabled the Czechs to imagine themselves belonging especially to their patron, and thus to be construed as "the household of Saint Václav."

Appeal and Appropriation

If the *vitae* offered an exclusively ecclesiastical construction of Saint Václav the martyr, the coins produced under the dukes in the eleventh and twelfth centuries represent the clearest instances of his cult's appropriation for explicitly political ends. While the authors of the legends make a virtue of Václav's shortcomings as a ruler, even emasculating him politically in some versions, the dukes avidly portrayed him in their own likeness. On the coins, Václav became a powerful duke, bearing the lance, banner, and shield emblematic of all Czech rulers. From this newly militarized version of his image it was a relatively short step to the portrait of a warrior-saint, riding a white horse in defense of his people, told in the story of the battle of Chlumec in 1126. More important than the consequent transformation of the saint's persona, the dukes' adoption of his portrait in connection with their own, the association of their saintly predecessor with their own rule, constituted a deft political strategy. Its aim, as the reaction from Moravia shows, was to imbue their authority with Václav's holy sanction and thus supplement or even replace dynastic charisma, which too often empowered nonruling Přemyslids and their supporters among potentially rebellious freemen. Both the *denáry* and the ducal seals modeled on them, however, worked beyond these narrowly defined ends toward loftier goals. The seals in particular, with their majestic image of Václav haloed and enthroned, seem to equate the duke of Bohemia ruling from Prague with the holy martyr in heaven, a message reinforced by their inscriptions.

The Denarii: Images of a Martyred Duke

The Přemyslid dukes of Bohemia began to mint silver pennies in the mid-tenth century, and thereafter they became part of daily life. Over generations, Czechs bought goods with these *denarii*, using them by the pouchful for large items, spending them individually for everyday transactions, or saving them for later needs. All such pennies were issued by the duke, except in Moravia where the vice-dukes possessed minting rights. The ruler's name then was on the obverse, accompanying an appropriately ducal image. From the early eleventh century, Saint Václav adorned the reverse. This pattern, with the duke and the saint on opposites sides of the coin, held consistently for two hundred years, even as the images themselves varied widely. Dies were cut and coins stamped by mint-masters in Prague but they surely operated, and chose their designs, at the duke's orders. Developments in the iconographic program, manifest either in patterns over time, within a particular duke's issues, or on specific pennies, support the conjecture that decisions made in the mint were not haphazard but worked toward specific ends. Indisputably then, the inclusion of Václav on Czech pennies constitutes the most obvious, thorough, and pervasive appropriation of the saint by the dukes of Bohemia. The abundance of extant coin allows us to trace it in remarkable detail.

Václav's name and portrait were introduced on Czech coins by Duke Oldřich (1012–37), and remained on the products of Bohemian mints until bracteates replaced two-sided pennies two hundred years later. The first such coin actually bears a full-type inscription reading “SCS WENCEZLAVS,” but thereafter the reverse shows either an emblem or a stylized portrait of the saint with his name in the peripheral inscription.¹⁰² In his earliest appearances on *denáry*, Václav is clearly construed as a martyr. On two coins dating apparently to the end of Oldřich's reign, the saint holds a cross or raises his right hand in blessing.¹⁰³ The pennies issued by his immediate successors, Břetislav I (1037–55) and Spitihněv (1055–61), exhibit substantially the same iconography.¹⁰⁴ By Oldřich's time, dukes had been issuing coins for well over half a century. The old reverse types, adopted from Anglo-Saxon or Bavarian models, had included the cross, dagger, church, bird, or *manus Dei*; after his reign, they disappeared permanently (with the exception of some late eleventh-century Moravian issues). Thus Oldřich, by establishing Václav on the reverse, fundamentally transformed the coinage. One of Oldřich's pennies depicts the duke and Václav in nearly identical busts, with the duke holding a spear with a large banner and the saint a staff topped by a cross. The implicit equation of the duke with the saint, manifest already on this *denár*, would play a crucial role in ducal ideology throughout succeeding decades.¹⁰⁵

Well before the mid-eleventh century, variation in the coin-types issued by a single ruler was already the norm in the Czech Lands. After representations of Saint Václav definitively took over the reverse decoration, such variability persisted and even increased as the technical proficiency of the die cutters improved. As a consequence, no single, simple trajectory of the deployment of the saint's image may be charted. Three trends nevertheless stand out among the coins struck during Vratislav's long reign (1061–92). For the first time, Václav is shown with a spear rather than a cross, marked, that is, as a warrior rather than a Christian. A *denár* attributed to the mint at Olomouc depicts Vratislav enthroned, while the standing figure of Václav on the reverse holds a spear; a similar penny from the same mint was issued by Vratislav as king (between the years 1086–92).¹⁰⁶ Since a standing figure or bust portrait flanked by a spear had long been a typical image for the obverse, this was simply to portray Václav as a duke instead of a martyr.¹⁰⁷ Moreover, on several other pennies issued by Vratislav in his years as king, the reverse shows an enlarged hand holding a spear.¹⁰⁸ Thus the ducal emblem itself stands in for Václav. Two coins on this model, issued by Svatopluk at Olomouc, are nearly identical except that one reverse replaces the spear in the enlarged hand with a staff topped by a cross; this seems to argue convincingly that the enlarged hand was understood to be that of the saint.¹⁰⁹ Another striking coin bears a side-facing bust with a large crown on the obverse and, on the reverse, an ideograph of a church, arm, and spear (Fig. 3c). The combination of church and spear leaves no doubt that Saint Václav is represented by this formula.¹¹⁰ During Vratislav's reign, then, Václav the martyr begins to metamorphose into a warrior and thereby comes to be recast as Václav the duke.

The pennies issued by Vratislav both as duke and as king illustrate another crucial development. Late eleventh-century *denáry*, especially Moravian but also Bohemian issues, still bear inscriptions that are badly garbled, the work of illiterate die cutters.¹¹¹ Obviously, we must assume that the ordinary Czechs using or hoarding these pennies, the audience for the duke's display of Saint Václav, were equally illiterate. Presumably they identified Václav on the reverse initially by his cross, probably after a generation or two everyone expected the saint to be depicted on one side of the duke's coin, and perhaps people even came to recognize the pattern of letters that spelled out "WEN-CEZLAVS." However the correspondence between image and inscription was understood to function in the medieval Czech Lands, Vratislav was the first of many dukes to treat his ducal iconography and the iconography of Saint Václav interchangeably. Whereas the enlarged hand with a spear appeared on the Václav side of three of Vratislav's pennies—two bearing a crowned head on the obverse, the third an enthroned figure—a fourth *denár* has this image on



Figure 3. *Denarii* of various periods (courtesy of the American Numismatic Society). (a) Duke Břetislav I (1037–55), issued after 1050. (b) Duke Vratislav (1061–92), before 1086. (c) King Vratislav, after 1086. (d) Duke Břetislav II (1092–1100). (e) Duke Bořivoj (1100–1107). (f) Duke Vladislav I (1107–25). (g) Duke Soběslav I (1125–40). (h) Duke Vladislav II (1140–73), before 1158. (i) King Přemysl Otakar I (1198–1232), before ca. 1210.

the *obverse* surrounded by an inscription reading “WRATIZLAVS.”¹¹² Another pair shows a similar transposition: on one penny, a seated figure holding a sword appears on the Vratislav side and a crowned head on the reverse; the same head, wearing a helmet or crown with long earflaps, is shown on the obverse of another *denár*, whose Václav side has a bearded face.¹¹³ One of Vice-duke Otto’s coins combines these permutations: the bearded face is displayed with the inscription “WENCEZLAVS,” while on the obverse the word “OTTO DVX” encircles an enlarged hand holding a lance with a banner.¹¹⁴ The three coins extant from the reign of Vratislav’s son, Břetislav II, exhibit a similar pattern: one has a seated figure with a spear on the obverse and the familiar bearded face on the reverse; another, nearly identical, shows both the helmeted, spear-bearing duke and the bearded Václav as portrait busts, including cloaked shoulders (Fig. 3d); the third has an unadorned side-facing bust on the duke side, and Václav wearing a helmet and carrying a spear on the flip side.¹¹⁵ Not only was Václav, the martyred duke, depicted explicitly as a duke, using the same iconographic emblems as the ruler, but the very distinction between duke and saint was, quite deliberately, beginning to blur.

By the end of the eleventh century, then, certain trends had clearly manifested themselves, and important precedents had been established. In spite of a tradition of variation, Saint Václav’s name and image were included on all Bohemian mint issues nearly without exception. So strong was the expectation that Václav should appear on the coinage that the Moravian vice-dukes, as we will see, could conjure no other possibility but the image of a saintly patron for the reverse of their own two-sided pennies; thus at Olomouc they adopted Václav as well, while at Brno they opted for the patron (at that time) of the Moravian see, Saint Peter, and later, Lutold of Znojmo chose Saint Nicholas. Although originally, and often subsequently, identified only with Christian emblems, half a century after his introduction Václav’s image began to change, as he assumed the spear, banner, sword, or shield that clearly signaled “warrior.” Thus his iconography came to accord more closely with the duke’s own. It comes almost as no surprise that the same images should appear on both obverse and reverse—if not yet simultaneously—surrounded either by the duke’s name or the saint’s. Such conflation of ruler and martyr that (presumably) stopped just short of confusion, further strengthened their association. Even when Vratislav was made king, a transformation that ushered in new “royal” iconographic motifs, Václav remained indispensable.¹¹⁶ These points, once perceived, are simple ones yet they merit clear emphasis. The sheer constancy, the repetition of Václav’s name and portrait on so many and varied coin-types, seems quite extraordinary. It would persist to the end of the twelfth

century, even as novel iconographic styles and technical innovations, both initiated by Duke Bořivoj, lent new qualities to the coinage.

Despite his otherwise unsuccessful and ill-fated reign, Bořivoj perfected the whole-type punches introduced under his predecessor, Břetislav II, so that delicate, detailed pictures could be crafted within the tiny circumference of his pennies. He also experimented with the iconographic depictions of both himself as duke and Saint Václav on the reverse. To best illustrate the variety and novelty of his depictions of Václav, Bořivoj's *denáry* demand *seriatim* description — although the order of individual coins given here, as established by František Cach, remains speculative. The first penny ostensibly issued by Bořivoj shows Václav enthroned, holding an orb in his left hand and raising his right in blessing¹¹⁷ (Fig. 3e). On the subsequent four, Václav wears a helmet, carries a shield, and — for the first time — rides a horse.¹¹⁸ All of these coins have a portrait bust on the obverse. On the next, Bořivoj, similarly portrayed, also holds a cross in his right hand. The reverse shows a strikingly vivid scene: one man, sword raised, about to kill another, whom he grabs by the hair.¹¹⁹ Anežka Merhautová has demonstrated that this *denár* copies ivory game-pieces showing the labors of Hercules, yet without any doubt the picture on the coin is intended to recall Václav's martyrdom: a sword blow to the head is precisely how the *vitae* describe his murder.¹²⁰ On another penny, Václav (assuming this portrait is indeed meant to represent the saint) is seated, facing left, holding what appears to be a tiny church in a posture traditionally associated with ecclesiastical patronage. Bořivoj, on the obverse, appears in what would soon become the standard iconography of a Přemyslid duke: seated on a throne, with a spear in one hand and a shield by his side in the other.¹²¹ On the next coin, "DVX BORIVOI" has traded his shield for a sword, which he grips in his right hand, keeping the lance with a banner in his left.¹²² The reverse, however, constitutes the first appearance of Saint Václav, holding a sword and a cross, in the company of Saint Adalbert, bearing his crozier and raising his right hand in blessing.¹²³ The inscription, so far as it survives legibly, seems to name Václav alone. The *denár* that follows has Václav holding up a cross-topped orb and a book; the obverse shows an enthroned figure bearing a similar orb and a lance with a banner addressing a second man with a sword.¹²⁴ The next depicts the duke in the same armed equestrian posture adopted previously for Václav; the saint himself, again holding a book and with his left hand raised, sports a halo for the first time.¹²⁵ On the succeeding penny, however, Václav the holy martyr again becomes Václav the warrior, with helmet, lance, banner, and shield; Bořivoj appears on horseback, apparently unarmed but with a falcon (perhaps?) on his uplifted right arm.¹²⁶ The last of Bořivoj's coins, unusually, has the face of a helmeted duke flanked by a cross and a lance with a

banner within a kind of frame. The reverse — again a striking novelty — shows a kneeling winged figure, facing right, bearing aloft a smaller individual whose hands seem to be raised in entreaty.

This listing of the dozen coin-types issued during Bořivoj's rule from 1100 to 1107 and his brief return to the throne through Vladislav's generosity in 1117–20 illustrates the astonishing diversity in imagery exhibited on both the obverse and reverse of ducal pennies. Although the iconography on the coins experienced a continuous evolution throughout the eleventh and the twelfth centuries, Bořivoj's coins signal a number of simultaneous new developments. Die carving technologies and craftsmanship always affected the nature and style of depiction, and these techniques continually improved with each decade. The use of intricately carved whole-type punches, however, enabled far more complicated "scenes" to be rendered within the tiny center circles of Czech *denáry*. Thus, the duke and the saint could be figuratively portrayed as more than a head with a spear or cross. Among the novel iconographic possibilities whole-type punches offered appeared images stressing Václav's warrior role, in equestrian posture, for instance, as well as representing his martyrdom at Boleslav's hands. Whether the technological adaptation spontaneously led to new iconographic modes or whole-type punches were themselves devised to meet the ruler's demands for specific imagery remains an open question. By their variety, in the new styles of rendering and types of pictures, and with the introduction of specific prototypes, Bořivoj's pennies would set the standard for all subsequent *denáry* of the twelfth century.

Bořivoj's innovations had a deep influence on the *denáry* minted by dukes Svatopluk (1107–9), Vladislav I (1109–25), and Soběslav I (1125–40). Three coin-types survive from Svatopluk's two-year reign as duke of Bohemia: typically, one reverse portrays the haloed saint with both hands lifted in prayer, another has Václav bearing sword and shield, and the third shows a complicated scene in which a seated man holding a full-length staff topped by a cross faces another who offers up something like a chalice while a tiny child stands between them.¹²⁷ Vladislav I's coins, however, exhibit a striking preference for Václav as martyr: fully half of his many pennies portray the saint with a cross, halo, or book, his hand raised in blessing or his bust framed within a church-like structure.¹²⁸ Of the remainder, seven *denáry* show Saints Václav and Adalbert together, sometimes merely as two figures flanking a tall cross, in other instances with them holding crozier and spear and wearing pallium and cloak respectively, and once as a pair of angels carrying a child between them.¹²⁹ The latter, and one other as well, includes the names of both saints in the inscription;¹³⁰ the others read simply, as usual, "SCS WENCEZLAVS." Three reverse images, of a man holding a church, an angel carrying a child, and an angel

and a seated figure in conversation, are difficult to interpret, but all three pursue an explicitly ecclesiastical theme.¹³¹ Václav combines Christian attributes with ducal ones on only two *denáry*: one in which he holds a spear in his right hand and a book in his left, and another where the book has been replaced by a martyr's palm¹³² (Fig. 3f). A single penny among Vladislav I's twenty-eight distinct types depicts Václav as duke, enthroned with sword and shield, his sanctity in no way marked.¹³³

Unfortunately, the next *denarii*, those of Soběslav I, the victor at Chlumec, raise more questions than they solve. They generally follow a similar pattern to those of his predecessor: Václav usually appears alone with a Christian emblem, or in the company of Adalbert.¹³⁴ Yet a handful of his *denáry* are different, either because they include within the "St. Václav" inscription a picture that seems to bear no relation to him or because they display a scene there which is difficult to interpret per se or with respect to the saint (Fig. 3g). Such pennies might reflect a moving away from Václav, but ambiguities inherent in their interpretation prevent our drawing even hypothetical conclusions. It is difficult to know, for instance, whether it represents complacency on Soběslav's part, evidence of the success of his predecessors' efforts to associate the sainted duke with themselves. If so, it was short-lived. While several of the *denáry* minted by Vladislav II before his elevation to king in 1158 exhibit the same peculiarities as Soběslav's, most show either Václav and Adalbert on the reverse, or Václav in a Christian guise.¹³⁵ Moreover, after Vladislav's elevation to king, none of the ambiguous images appear. The most frequently inscribed picture accompanying Václav's name on the reverse is of the two saints, Václav and Adalbert, standing together or framed within a church-like structure.¹³⁶ The pennies with the most overtly political messages, to judge by the obverse, show a "traditional" Saint Václav bearing both ducal and Christian emblems. For instance, the one that seems to depict Barbarossa bestowing the crown upon Vladislav, has a haloed Václav on the reverse, holding a lance with a banner in his right hand and both a shield and a cross in his left.¹³⁷ Even for a king, it seems, Václav remained an integral — even indispensable — part of the ruler's ideological program.

The dukes of Bohemia crafted an iconography of Saint Václav in their own image, enthroned or as a warrior, even as that very image was taking shape. The lance, banner, and shield, which Václav was ultimately made to adopt, emerged as central to the image of a duke over the course of the eleventh century.¹³⁸ Together with the introduction of the throne, they served to construct an abstract ideology of rulership. The armed duke on the pennies and later the seals was not merely a warrior, nor even a war leader — and hence literally a *dux* — but the Czechs' protector. This perception was reinforced particu-

larly once these martial emblems were held by a duke enthroned. The image of a regal, martial duke, the beneficent and protective war-lord of the Czechs, meshed well with Václav's protective role as the Czech's heavenly *patronus*. In the duke and Saint Václav, the coins seem to say, the Czech are similarly well-served. At the same time, the pennies constitute an appeal on the ruler's own part for Václav's blessing. Signified by unmistakably Christian symbols, Václav's sanctity per se, his status as martyr and heavenly patron, played a crucial role in the dukes' strategies. The dukes of Bohemia drew in equal measure upon Václav's dual roles as martyr and duke. Their *denáry*, overriding the ambivalence manifest in the *vitae*, helped to fuse these two aspects of his persona. Thus they were also able to blur the distinctions between the holy duke-martyr and themselves. Most importantly, by including Václav's image on the reverse of the mint's every product, the dukes reinforced the personal connection between ordinary Czechs and the saint on the penny in daily use. With the duke's own name and image emblazoned on the obverse, Czech coinage constituted a medium with a powerful message indeed.

The Response from Moravia

The dukes' efforts to associate themselves with Saint Václav were intended, in part if not exclusively, to work against dynastic charisma. As remarked in Chapter 3, men of the Přemyslid patriline apparently enjoyed a special charisma that set them apart from other laymen and also marked them as eligible for the throne. Whatever the nature of this charisma, it seems both to have antedated the extant written sources and to have required little reassertion by members of the dynasty in the face of their contemporaries. Never, in the innumerable succession conflicts and rebellions that occurred in the Czech Lands during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, do the chroniclers hint that a non-Přemyslid magnate might be a more fitting duke. Yet nothing in the extant evidence suggests an endeavor on the duke's part to promote the dynasty's unique claim to the throne, or his own right to its particular charisma; not one penny among more than three hundred issued by a duke or vice-duke makes iconographic reference to Přemysl. They drew instead, and heavily, upon Saint Václav, a political strategy registered and resisted by the subordinate Přemyslid rulers in Moravia.

In the later decades of the eleventh century, the first Moravian vice-dukes, Conrad of Brno and Otto I of Olomouc, were granted the right to mint coins in their own names and, in doing so, imitated the appropriation of Václav's saintly image, then in its third generation. Several of their pennies show Václav on the reverse, as noted above.¹³⁹ But on coins from Brno the inscription

accompanying the bust flanked by a cross more often designates the man as Saint Peter (“SCS PETRVS”).¹⁴⁰ Vratislav himself initiated this practice, presumably while at Olomouc in the last years of his brother Spitihněv’s reign, before assuming the throne in Prague.¹⁴¹ Saint Peter was not an idle choice: the church in Olomouc that served as the cathedral for the newly established see of Moravia was dedicated in his honor.¹⁴² Several *denáry* make this association explicit by depicting a large church flanked by “S PETRVS” on the reverse; a similar church on the obverse was perhaps intended to signal the vice-duke’s patronage of the cathedral as well as his enjoyment of the saint’s favor.¹⁴³ These pennies were all minted by Conrad of Brno; Otto of Olomouc continued to favor Václav, as his sons would also.¹⁴⁴ Conrad’s successor, Oldřich of Brno, carried on his father’s display of St. Peter; remarkably, on some coins the prince of the apostles carries not a cross but a spear.¹⁴⁵ The pennies of his second son, Lutold, vice-duke of Znojmo, have the reverse inscription “S NICOLAVS.”¹⁴⁶ These Moravian coins show how thoroughly the image of Saint Václav had become wedded to the reverse of Czech *denáry*.

With these coins, the vice-dukes mimicked the duke’s own strategy explicitly, taking advantage of their delegated minting rights to depict Saints Peter and Nicholas, as well as Václav himself, on the reverse of their coins. Yet the vice-dukes felt obliged to do more than merely adopt Václav, as if his image was but one of several iconographic elements to be borrowed from the duke’s pennies. Their efforts to associate other saints with themselves and their coinage emphasize that Václav’s role on the duke’s pennies, if by the later eleventh century entirely customary, had not yet been reduced to an empty, *pro forma* gesture. They chose the saints whose patronage they could best draw upon in direct association with themselves. Their adoption might also have been an attempt to subvert the message implicit in the duke’s display of Václav, whether by reducing him merely to the saint commemorated in the church within the duke’s main castle at Prague (analogous to St. Peter’s at Olomouc), or by serving as a reminder that Václav was but one of many saints in heaven, where Peter and Nicholas easily outranked him.

But the most striking evidence of the Moravians’ adverse reaction to the duke’s appropriation of Saint Václav comes not from the coinage. As described in Chapter 3, the frescoes in the chapel of St. Catherine in the castle at Znojmo, built by Vice-duke Conrad in 1134 at the seat of his power in southern Moravia, include a series of dukes and vice-dukes, painted in rows. Saint Václav, who presumably stands among his fellow dukes, is indistinguishable from them. Vratislav with crown and scepter, stands out from the rest, but no halo or martyr’s palm marks Saint Václav. The denial of Václav’s saintly attributes, in a church even, seems truly astonishing. Unmistakably aimed at the duke of

Bohemia, it provides powerful evidence as well that dynastic charisma shared by all Přemyslids and the special association with Václav propagated by the duke were at odds.

So too does the one exceptional instance of overt display of the mythical first duke, Přemysl “the Ploughman,” which also appears, not coincidentally, in Znojmo’s small church.¹⁴⁷ Typically for early medieval Bohemian and Moravian churches, St. Catherine’s is a small, nearly windowless rotunda. Its thick walls are covered inside with frescoes, painted in a complete circle and vertically divided into four rows. In the top row, effectively the domed ceiling, appear angels and the emblems of the four Evangelists. The middle rows depict Přemysl at his plough being summoned to rule, followed by a series of standing men, bearing lances with banners and shields, who clearly represent Přemysl’s successors. The connection between the legend, whose rendering here accords precisely with Cosmas’s version of the myth, and the rule of subsequent dukes and vice-dukes could not be more clear. Lest the frescoes’ full meaning be lost, however, the bottom row shows Christ’s Nativity. Baby Jesus in the stable, mirrored by Přemysl at the plow, reminds churchgoers of the Přemyslids’ similarly humble origins while simultaneously exalting them. Moreover, displaying the Přemysl legend—and the dukes and vice-dukes themselves—within a church, framed by the Nativity and the Evangelists, may represent an effort to reinscribe a story replete with paganism within a Christian context, and thereby to sanctify the dynasty as a whole.¹⁴⁸ Sanctifying the Přemyslid lineage as a whole while simultaneously denying Václav’s personal sanctity was an aggressive, unmistakably ideological move on the part of Conrad of Brno.

Among the Moravians, then, there were varying reactions to the duke of Bohemia’s appropriation of Saint Václav. The saint might appear on the vice-dukes’ pennies, the duke’s own strategy adopted wholesale. It might be imitated, or even answered, by the choice of another saint, one somehow particularly associated with the vice-duke, for the *denár*’s reverse. In either instance, the coins issued by the Moravian vice-dukes seem vividly to confirm the force of Václav’s image on the duke’s *denarii*. Conrad of Znojmo quite explicitly promoted the myth of Přemysl at Znojmo as a means of asserting his own—and his fellow vice-dukes’—status as members of the ruling dynasty. By the same stroke, he iconographically denied Václav’s sanctity. All these reactions argue for the vice-dukes’ perception of an ideological program that demanded refutation or coopting, not merely imitation. We can hardly know how much the vice-dukes resented the duke’s exploitation of the Czechs’ deep reverence for Saint Václav, but they can, without any doubt, be seen chafing at it and pursuing their own strategies in response.

The Seals: Conceiving Power “in the Hand of Saint Václav”

Curiously, and by contrast with the preceeding two centuries, the survival rate of Czech *denáry* from the period after 1173 is very spotty; by and large, only rare and isolated specimens have been found.¹⁴⁹ Before shelving the coins altogether, however, one final observation merits mention: those pennies that have been discovered chiefly recycle the coin-types of previous dukes, especially Bořivoj; furthermore, the striking is exceedingly poor. While the survival rate of *denáry* must largely result from accident, the nature of the imagery and the coins' low quality are telling. The dukes' ideological strategies, so far as we can trace them, seem to have shifted venue. Whether by accident or intention, innovations in iconography — and the new messages about rulership they imply — manifest on seals instead of coins. Wax seals survive for King Vladislav and for every duke who reigned after him during the last quarter of the twelfth century.¹⁵⁰ (The single exception is Soběslav II's son, Václav, who governed Bohemia for only four months in 1192.) It is these ducal seals, extant for the first time, which enable us to continue the analysis of ducal iconography and ideology pursued above.

Like the written documents to which they were attached, wax seals remained relatively rare in the twelfth century. The first extant seal appended to a charter of Czech provenance is that of Bishop Henry Zdík of Olomouc; his episcopal seal is fastened to two charters issued by him in 1141, with his smaller personal seal impressed upon its reverse.¹⁵¹ The use of seals was not restricted to the duke; it soon, if not quickly, spread not only to duchesses and other Přemyslids but to abbots and laymen as well. Ducal seals are much larger than most Czech seals of this period; only the church of Prague used ones of comparable size. They alone are double-sided, however. In patent imitation of the coinage, the duke's seals display the ruler on one face and Václav on the other.¹⁵² Yet in contrast to *denáry*, no duke of Bohemia changed his seal or its design during his reign.¹⁵³ The fact that ducal seals are much more formal and static in their composition than the coins results, no doubt, from the fundamental differences inherent in the two media.

On the seal of Soběslav II, both he and Václav adopt the “majestic” pose of a Czech duke: enthroned, holding a lance with a banner in the right hand, a shield in the left (Fig. 4). Václav also sports a simple halo, the lone visual signifier of his sanctity. Vladislav's royal seal had portrayed Václav similarly, while the king was shown with crown, orb and scepter.¹⁵⁴ Such iconography, with the throne, lance, banner, and shield as emblems, had appeared on the coinage over the course of the previous century or more. By the late twelfth century, this seems to have become the standard imagery for a Czech ruler, including



Figure 4. Seal of Soběslav II, affixed to a charter dated 1175 (Prague, Státní Ústřední Archiv, AZK #575, used with permission).

even the cloak he wears. It was not, however, so rigidly fixed as to preclude variation: both Frederick and Conrad Otto are shown on their seals standing rather than enthroned, wearing a helmet and chain mail instead of tunic and cloak.¹⁵⁵ During his first reign as duke, in 1193, Přemysl chose an equestrian figure for his seal.¹⁵⁶ Yet in each of these instances, the representation of Saint Václav adhered to the ducal iconographic standard. Moreover, the rendering of the throne and cushion on which he sits, the shape of his shield and pattern on his banner, the cloak fastened around his shoulders and draped between his knees, all are nearly identical; great pains have been taken to present a stable image of Saint Václav.

As on those pennies depicting Václav as duke—with a spear rather than a cross, a shield in place of a book—or interchanging obverse and reverse imagery, the inscriptions and the portrayal of Václav in an explicitly ducal posture on the seals was patently intended to link the saint to the Přemyslid ruler. Given their larger size and greater consistency, however, the affinities between duke and saint stand out more clearly on the seals, Soběslav II's in particular. The depiction of Saint Václav is identical to that of Soběslav himself, adding only a halo; the two sides seem almost to have been impressed by the same mold, if this were possible.¹⁵⁷ Soběslav's seal thus hints at a subtle intensification of efforts to sanctify ducal authority. It suggests that Soběslav "is now" what Václav had been, a Přemyslid duke of Bohemia; that Václav was somehow still the Czechs' duke; that Václav tacitly blessed his successor's rule; even that Soběslav governed with the same justice and mercy that might be expected of a saint. All this too lay implicit in the inclusion of Václav on the pennies. Yet so close are the renderings of Soběslav II and Václav that, but for the halo, the duke and the saint seem, for the first time, truly interchangeable.

In comparison with minuscule *denáry*, wax seals provide sufficient room around the perimeter for a fuller inscription. The inscriptions on ducal seals from the second half of the twelfth century follow two models.¹⁵⁸ On those of Soběslav and Henry, the inscription on the duke's side reads "DEI GRATIA DVX BOEMORUM" and "SANCTVS WENCEZLAVS DVX" on the other. The designation of the ruler as duke "by grace of God" echoes the customary invocation used in his charters. In striking contrast to the dukes' pennies, where only Václav's name or "SCS WENCEZLAVS" appeared as the reverse inscription, on the seals he is called both "saint" and "duke." This usage merely states in words what the iconography, the warrior imagery on the coins and the now-standard portrayals of the saint enthroned, had long conveyed as directly: the fusion of Václav's roles as martyr and as ruler. At the same time, it reinforced the overlap between the duke's and Václav's very persons. *Dei gratia* in the duke's title adds a novel ecclesiastical element to his representa-

tion, while subtly signaling affinity with Václav, the surest recipient of God's grace. The designation of Václav as *dux* emphasizes the martyr's secular side and, in the process, obviously links him to the reigning *dux Boemorum*.

This message was further reinforced by the way the seals were physically attached to the charter, effectively the "context" in which they would have been "read." Whereas with the coins it is customary, merely for the sake of convenience, to speak of the ducal side as the "obverse" and the Václav side as the "reverse," sealing practices caution against the casual use of such distinctions. Charters from Soběslav II's reign in which the seal is impressed directly upon the parchment display Václav as often as the duke on the "up" side. Half of the originals surviving from Soběslav's brief rule, and for which the seal is affixed to the lower portion of the charter, are mounted so that Václav faces the reader of the text; the duke himself, on the other side, graces a blank sheet.¹⁵⁹ The same holds in cases where a seal hangs from the document by a strip of parchment; for instance, the seal attached to a charter issued by Duke Frederick shows Václav face up, the same direction as his wife Elizabeth's single-sided seal, attached to the duke's larger one¹⁶⁰ (Fig. 5). On duplicate originals of a ducal grant to Kladruby from 1177, notably, one seal shows the duke face up, the other Václav.¹⁶¹ The point is not that Václav was, in fact, the obverse, but that notions of obverse and reverse, of the "front" and "back" sides of the seal, were fluid at the very least and, more likely, being deliberately conflated. On many charters, the seal hangs from a single silk thread such that it can swing freely from the parchment or fall with either side facing upwards, thus effacing the distinction between obverse and reverse entirely — likewise, between Saint Václav and the duke.

Whereas many twelfth-century coins had appealed for heavenly sanction by invoking Saints Adalbert and Václav together, as copatrons of the Czechs, the seals call upon Václav alone. So thoroughly, intimately, and exclusively was Václav connected with the duke that the church of Prague, those canons who had styled themselves *servi sancti Wenceslai* earlier in the twelfth century, chose Adalbert instead for their seal.¹⁶² More revealing still are the difficulties that Henry, reigning for several years as both bishop of Prague and duke of Bohemia, was compelled to negotiate in representing his two official personas in wax. On several charters hangs a seal that reflects his dual status quite simply. The obverse is identical to Henry's episcopal seal, while the reverse shows him as duke.¹⁶³ Although Gerlach comments that Henry abhorred the military activities in which he was obliged to participate as duke, this seal depicts him wearing chain mail and bearing the customary lance, banner, and shield.¹⁶⁴ Henry's coins conform to this pattern.¹⁶⁵ Yet appended to another charter, issued by him on 30 September 1194, are four *single-sided* seals: Henry



Figure 5. Seals pendant to a charter issued by Duke Frederick (1178–89) (Prague, Státní Ústřední Archiv, ŘM #960, used with permission).

as bishop, Henry as duke, Saint Adalbert (the seal of the Prague cathedral chapter), and Saint Václav.¹⁶⁶ This solution thus separates and gives equal emphasis not only to Henry's dual persona, but to parallel abstractions of the offices he occupied. The seal of "Saint Václav the Duke" was thus understood in a manner analogous to that of the "Holy Church of Prague." Still more striking, however, is the unique depiction of Václav in chain mail; without any doubt, this was intended as a mirror image to that of Henry as duke. At one level, this confirms the conclusion drawn from the seal of Soběslav II: that its main message was the closest possible identification of the current duke with Saint Václav. It also, and quite significantly, points toward an abstraction of the duke's own authority, one still very closely associated with his person.

Henry's sealing practices reflect the duke/bishop striving to harmonize his own exceptional circumstances with iconographic and ideological norms. Soběslav II, however, a beleaguered ruler, beloved of the clergy for his justice but doomed to a short reign, had simply exploited the potential inherent in the iconographic conflation of the duke with Saint Václav to its fullest extent. Other Přemyslid rulers performed a similar trick with the seals' inscriptions. The seals of King Vladislav and of Dukes Frederick and Conrad Otto introduced an inscription that read "PAX REGIS [or DUCIS] IN MANU SANCTI WENCEZLAI."¹⁶⁷ "The king's peace in the hand of Saint Václav" the seals intone, even as they seem to imply that it was actually Václav's peace in Vladislav's or Frederick's hands. Again, the inscription signals that the Czech ruler governed not only with Václav's blessing, but almost in his stead. The invocation of "peace," with its connotations of safety, draws on the ruler's and Václav's protective role, even as it reaches beyond martial imagery to link justice and public order with the image of a ruler enthroned.¹⁶⁸ Vladislav's and Frederick's seals employed the *Pax* inscription on the Václav side, where those of other dukes read *Sanctus Wencezlaus Dux*. At the beginning of the thirteenth century, however, King Přemysl Otakar I chose it for the side bearing his own image; around Václav's image, the same used by his predecessors, is a new inscription: "SANCTUS WENCEZLAUS BOEMORUM DUX" (Fig. 6). While on one face the saint himself sits in the customary posture of a "duke of the Czechs," holding protective emblems of lance, banner, and shield, on the other Přemysl Otakar is shown seated on an ornate high-backed throne and with the royal attributes of crown, scepter, and orb. It is the "peace" of this regal figure that lays in Václav's hand. The seal's two sides respectively represent old and new iconographies of rulership, and their attendant ideologies, long established for dukes of Bohemia and for Christian kings.¹⁶⁹ Significantly, Saint Václav is invoked on *both*.

Czech dukes had long sought to imbue their authority with Václav's holy



Figure 6. Royal seal of Přemysl Otakar I, from a charter dated 1207 (Prague, Státní Ústřední Archiv, AZK #590, used with permission).

sanction. Yet the seals, through their imagery and inscriptions, suggest that, by associating themselves with their holy forebear and predecessor, the twelfth-century dukes of Bohemia were endeavoring to construe Václav as the “eternal ruler” of the Czechs.¹⁷⁰ Perhaps they were explicitly striving to craft a “Václav-centered dukeship” akin to the Christ-centered kingship enjoyed by the Ottomans and their successors.¹⁷¹ In the medieval coronation ceremony, the king was anointed with holy chrism on his head and shoulders, as a sign of the sacrality of his office.¹⁷² Since Přemyslid dukes were not anointed “kings,” the ideology of Christ-centered or sacral kingship did not apply.¹⁷³ Through Saint Václav, they could attach at least a sacred sanction to their person, their authority, even to the throne they occupied. This served not only as a counterweight to the customary—and troublesome—dynastic charisma that had long somehow distinguished Přemyslids from wider Czech society; it marked them as special by virtue of a Christian charisma. More importantly, the dukes drew on Václav’s role as the Czechs’ *patronus* to link their divinely sanctioned authority to the very subjects of that rule. Whereas in previous decades the dukes had appealed for Václav’s aid, protection, and favor together with their fellow Czechs, now the duke stands with Václav reigning mercifully over them. Saint Václav and the Přemyslid ruler on Prague’s throne, the seals claim, jointly constitute the source and keepers of peace. They could even be read to suggest that, just as Václav was a powerful intercessor before God, so the duke acted as a crucial intercessor before Václav. Thus, taking advantage of Václav’s central place in communal Christian rituals and the hopes widely vested in his access to divine power, Bohemia’s rulers carved out a place for themselves at the very heart of the Czechs’ relationship with their heavenly patron.

As medieval Czechs adopted the Christian faith in ever greater numbers, saints like Adalbert and Václav—holy men whose lives were written in *vitae* and whose reputation for sanctity spread orally, whose feast days and resting places provided the time and place for communal prayer and celebration, and who occasionally deigned to reach down from heaven and intervene by God’s grace on behalf of the worthy—came to inhabit their world. The Přemyslid dukes, too, celebrated Václav’s feast and entreated his protection and aid together with their subjects. Before the fateful battle in February 1126, we are told, Duke Soběslav personally visited the monasteries of his realm and asked for their prayers in support of his cause. Václav’s lance was customarily borne in battle as a token of hoped-for divine favor, a material sign of everyone’s prayers for victory. Václav’s appearance on the coinage must have initially, indeed perhaps always, signified a similar plea. In appealing to and appropriating Václav, the dukes endeavored to tap into a thriving cult that, by

the second half of the eleventh century had penetrated deeply into the ritual and devotional life of the Czechs. Václav was so powerfully present to medieval men and women that to understand his role as mere “symbol,” whether of ducal authority or of the Czechs as a community, is to strip the martyred duke’s image and persona of all meaning, religious *or* political.

The dukes’ appropriation of his image for use on their *denáry* soon went further, suggesting a close and special relationship between the ruler and the martyr who had also been a duke. Assuming ducal postures and martial attributes, Saint Václav’s iconography was thus transformed. Because the appeal to his intercessory powers before God remained at the heart of the duke’s use of Václav’s image, however, the majority of the coins minted in the eleventh and twelfth centuries placed symbolic emphasis on his sanctity, by depicting him with Christian emblems or in the company of Saint Adalbert. The pennies thus stay close to the *vita*e and to the liturgical commemoration of Václav as martyr, stretching his persona only enough to transform *Sanctus Wenczelus* into *Sanctus Wenczelus Dux*. Iconographic arguments for such a close affinity between the mighty duke of Bohemia and an awesome heavenly figure graced by God packed a powerful political punch. The marginal, but dangerous, Přemyslid vice-dukes of Moravia felt its force, and reacted on their own coins and in the frescoes at Znojmo, appropriating other saints for themselves, reiterating and sacralizing claims of dynastic charisma, even denying Václav his saintly attributes. But only on the seals do we observe the flowering of a full-blown ideology of rulership associated with Saint Václav, one that exploited fully affinities between a saintly duke and the man currently ruling, as well as the personal and communal bond between the Czechs and their *patronus*. Seals like those of Soběslav II or of Henry blurred all distinctions between a “duke of the Bohemians, by grace of God” and “Saint Václav the duke.” The inscriptions on Vladislav II’s, Frederick’s, and ultimately Přemysl Otakar I’s seals proclaimed the ruler’s peace in the saint’s own hand.

Patron saints, like holy lances, were by no means unique to the Czech Lands, nor was the political manipulation of religious artifacts, imagery, or ideology. What Václav’s case offers, however, is an exemplary opportunity to trace the political mobilization of sanctity in detail: the dialogue among hagiography, liturgical celebration, and secular messages; the evolution of imagery and inscription in different media, and their intersection; and the variety of conflicting and overlapping meanings of the saint made by successive dukes, other members of the Přemyslid dynasty, bishops of Prague, cathedral canons, and the wider community of Czechs. Almost from the moment of his introduction on *denáry*, Václav became indispensable to the duke’s self-presentation on his coinage, however widely the pictures on obverse and re-

verse varied; neither an attribute nor an emblem per se of the duke of Bohemia, his image constituted an integral element, perhaps *the* key component, of the ruler's iconographic program. Yet while the dukes of Bohemia were clearly implementing a conscious political strategy in mobilizing the martyr to sanction their authority, they in no way held a monopoly on either his sanctity or his patronage. The protection of saints — of Saint Václav, at least — was not something to be possessed and controlled, either by dynasties or peoples.¹⁷⁴ Our understanding of the place of patron saints in politics must remain grounded in the medieval expectations represented by appeals to the supernatural protection and intercessory powers of those deemed to have joined God in heaven. Even as his display and appropriation of Václav furthered the saint's cult in Bohemia and Moravia, the dukes *shared* the broad reverence felt for their holy predecessor among the Czechs.¹⁷⁵ They too were members of the saint's *familia*.

6. DYNASTIC RELATIONS, MORAVIA, AND THE PROGRESS OF REVOLT

This chapter tackles three distinct questions raised by the conclusions put forward in previous chapters: If the freemen's leverage lay in their readiness to depose the duke, how did such revolts proceed and what changes manifested over time? Since the seniority rule of succession and an abundance of ambitious dynasts empowered the freemen, what characterized intradynastic relations? And what precisely was the relationship between Moravia and its vice-dukes and the Bohemian duke in Prague? These issues will be treated here together not only because they can be, but because they must be. To tell either the story of rebellion or of dynastic problems without consideration of Moravia would be impossible, as would discussion of the situation in Moravia without attention to its Přemyslid rulers. Almost from the beginning, the narrative lines of these three questions converge; in fact, it is precisely in such convergence that the answer to each issue lies. For this reason, three essentially separate points are here considered under a unified — and unifying — thesis. No single answer to one of these questions drives the others; rather my thesis lies precisely in the dense web of interconnections between the three issues. The goal here may be likened to describing a three-dimensional object: it must be viewed from as many different angles as possible in order to portray most fully and accurately the single item under examination.

In the course of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, in an effort to relieve their dependence, the freemen rebelled increasingly often, striking particularly at the duke's Achilles' heel — that is, exploiting the liminal positions of the vice-dukes of Moravia and other nonruling members of the Přemyslid dynasty. Břetislav's seniority rule of succession, which applied to all male Přemyslids, opened the door for a larger number of claimants than primogeniture allowed, as we have seen. It made the possibility of succession real and tantalizing to

lesser members of the dynasty, otherwise dispossessed. Ambitious, out-of-favor Přemyslids could provide rallying points for disgruntled freemen, just as broad dissatisfaction gave them occasions to usurp the throne. Every duke after 1055 kept a close watch on his brothers and cousins, carefully monitoring and strictly limiting their activities—if he could. While some nonruling Přemyslids were dispossessed, others were established as vice-dukes in Moravia.¹ These men wielded the duke's vast lordship in Moravia and, like him, employed the title *dux*. The decision to endow lesser Přemyslids with lands in Moravia raises complicated questions about the relationship of those rulers and their territories to the duke of Bohemia.² From the outset, beginning with Břetislav I's own arrangements for his sons, Moravia was closely connected to dynastic politics and became a site of dynastic tension. Yet because they never renounced their claim to succession, the vice-dukes remained deeply involved in contests over the throne in Prague.³ Moravia was, thus, increasingly implicated in the dynamics of revolt.

Revolt was an overtly political instrument, consciously wielded—and was constant in the high medieval Czech Lands for precisely this reason. Understanding the way uprisings served as a strategy to break the tension between the duke and the freemen, to upset the balance as well as to define it, requires careful analysis of how uprisings were staged and performed by the participants—and reported by the chroniclers. This examination, in contrast to the preceding chapters, is narrative: it follows closely the stories told by the chroniclers, and it weaves from them a larger tale. The chroniclers themselves seem to have viewed little of the violence they witnessed or heard about as justified. They often refer to the various factional arguments, attempts at deposition, assassinations, and armed rebellions loosely called here “revolt,” as “wars more than civil” (*bellum plus quam civile*), a designation that reflects the seriousness of these violent conflicts, though it also implies instability, lack of control, and chaos. Condemnation, whether mild or, as with Cosmas, vituperative, slants the stories the chroniclers tell. It also reminds us that none of the violence they describe—within the dynasty, against selected freemen, between them and the duke, and among the freemen themselves—was somehow “sanitized.” It was always personal as well as political and never entirely lawful; for everyone, the stakes were high.

Perhaps because revolt was one of the crucial defining aspects of Czech political life, instances of rebellion or assassination were naturally the stuff of the chronicles. In peaceful years there was little to report. While to read the chronicles is to hear little else but the tale of revolt, that does not mean, unfortunately, that they provide sufficient information to understand fully its progress or causes. Cosmas's *Chronica Boemorum* provides the most detail

about how events unfolded and about the motivation of those involved, but his views about the protagonists, barely concealed, strongly color his account. His continuators, meanwhile, can be quite terse and rarely give any idea why the freemen revolted or which men joined the rebel party. The situation is worse for Moravia. The only specifically Moravian source is the *Annals of Hradiště-Opatovice*, which consists largely of material lifted from *Cosmas*. Although it does betray a Moravian perspective and provides some original information concerning the 1130s and 1140s, its format allows only the barest report of events. All of the other chronicles are distinctly centered around the duke, Prague, and Bohemia. Only a very small number of documents survive from Moravia, most concerning the bishopric of Olomouc, and many of those pertinent to Bishop Henry Zdik.⁴ In consequence, nearly all aspects of medieval society in Moravia except its control of revolt, lie beyond our knowledge.⁵

This chapter continues the previous chapter's emphasis on strategies and dynamics of power. Revolt—as argued in Chapter 3 and analyzed more fully here—constituted the means by which the Czech freemen counterbalanced the duke's power. Recourse to arms was thus a normal part of the political process, not a reflection of the erosion of social coherence, a breakdown of political structures, or even challenges to Přemyslid overlordship. For this reason, in spite of the innumerable civil conflicts reported by the chroniclers, social and political structures in the Czech Lands were never profoundly altered or threatened by outright anarchy. Over the course of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, in fact, both rulers and freemen increasingly prospered. Yet, if such violence did not undermine the structure of society, then we must look for meaning within the stories of violence. Close attention to the activities of dukes, vice-dukes, and other Přemyslids in the years of “peace” between rebellions and succession conflicts shows that reigning dukes, in particular, did not sit idly by, but devised counterstrategies of their own—some quite subtle, others obvious and brutal, all finely tuned to specific needs and circumstances. This maneuvering vis-à-vis Moravia, lesser Přemyslids, and—as discussed in Chapter 7—the emperor, when combined with the revolts waged by varying leagues of freemen, became the dynamic for long-term change.

The Eleventh Century: Laying the Groundwork

Conquered in the early eleventh century, Moravia was set apart in the same stroke as Břetislav made provisions for his younger sons. Dynastic considerations likewise motivated reorganizations of Moravia under Dukes Spitihněv and Vratislav. Ultimately, the role of Moravia in provisioning lesser dynasts would lead to its involvement in attempts at deposition, in which all Přemyslids

not sitting on the throne in Prague played a crucial role—but such was not yet the case in the eleventh century. In the reigns of Oldřich, of Břetislav, and of his sons, which comprised most of the eleventh century, the dynasty remained relatively small and uncomplicated; simultaneously, the freemen appear to have enjoyed little leverage against their ruler. Břetislav I, the only Přemyslid of his generation, ruled for nearly thirty years without internal strife (so far as we know). Before and after his reign, however, there is hint of trouble instigated by the freemen, favoring one member of the dynasty at the expense of another. Still, during most of the eleventh century, that is, before 1091, the stories of Moravia, of dynastic strife, and of revolt were not yet intimately interconnected.

Early Plotters

We begin by reaching back to the early eleventh century, or at least considering Cosmas's account of these times. Too little is known about the years between the death of Boleslav II in 999 and the accession of Břetislav I in 1037 to draw sound conclusions about domestic political affairs. During this period, Bohemia was caught in the web of imperial expansion policies in the East, as well as experiencing internal crisis.⁶ These events are chronicled by Thietmar of Merseburg and other German sources but they report little of affairs inside Bohemia besides the bare bones: Boleslav II was succeeded by his son Boleslav III, who was immediately ousted, apparently in favor of his Polish cousin Vladivoj. Soon afterward, in 1002, Vladivoj was defeated and Bohemia overrun by the Polish king, Bolesław Chrobry. Jaromír, the second of the three sons of Boleslav II, regained the throne in 1004 with imperial backing. Eight years later, under circumstances that cannot be determined, his brother Oldřich deposed him and ruled Bohemia until his death in 1037.

Writing in the 1120s, Cosmas knew hardly any of this in substance. Instead, he fixates on the Vršovici,⁷ attributing to them the first act of violence reported against a duke. In a story Cosmas dates to 1000, describing the events that occurred after Boleslav III was blinded by the Polish Duke "Měsko," the Vršovici attack Duke Jaromír, Boleslav's successor.

Meanwhile, the domestics and household enemies of Duke Boleslav, a hateful *gens* and an evil *generatio*, the Vršovici, committed an abominable evil which was unheard of in earlier times. The first among them and the head of all evil was Kohan, a most criminal man and the worst of all bad men. He and his relatives, evil men, arrived with the duke's son [sic] Jaromír at a place for hunting called Veliz. With rumor reporting about the duke of Poland, they realized afterwards what had been done. "Who is he," they said, "a little man commoner than pond-scum, who ought to be greater than us

and called lord? Is not a better man to be found among us, who might be more fit to rule?"⁸

Jaromír was then seized, stripped, tied, and fixed to the ground on his back by stakes through his arms and legs; they used him to play a military game, jumping horses over him.⁹ After a servant summoned help, Jaromír was rescued "half-alive" and taken to Vyšehrad.¹⁰ In Cosmas's version, Jaromír remained safely at Vyšehrad after the Poles had conquered the rest of Bohemia, until his brother Oldřich regained the land two years later. Just three days after Oldřich took Prague, "with those same household enemies (about whom we spoke above) fraudulently suggesting it, he deprived his brother Jaromír of sight."¹¹ In comparison with Thietmar of Merseburg and scattered references in other German sources, Cosmas is patently wrong. The Czech chronicler gives inaccurate dates, confuses Bolesław Chrobry with Mieszko of Poland, and believes Jaromír and Oldřich were the sons of Boleslav III rather than his brothers. More importantly, Oldřich did not gain the throne immediately upon the expulsion of the Poles; Jaromír ruled for over a decade before Oldřich ousted him.¹² While it is not insignificant that the deposition of Jaromír was remembered as the violent deed of a few particularly evil men, little reliance may be placed on these tales.

Not only is Cosmas's chronology for the early eleventh century untrustworthy, his ascription of this violence against the duke to the Vršovici is suspect. The Vršovici are for him the archetypal *inimici familiares*, associated with all traitors. The speech Jaromír makes at Břetislav I's enthronement, which Cosmas presents as the conclusion to Book I, demonstrates this clearly:

And those, who are the Vršovici, the worthless sons of evil fathers, the domestic enemies of our *gens*, household enemies, avoid and turn away from their company like a muddy wheel, because they will never be faithful to you. Behold, they first bound and variously mocked me, their innocent prince, and afterwards they arranged, by the lies and fraudulent counsels innate to them, that a brother deprive a brother — me — of these very eyes.¹³

A few days later, on 4 November 1038, Jaromír was brutally murdered when he rose in the middle of the night to relieve himself.¹⁴ Although it seems certain that Jaromír died on 4 November 1038, probable that he was blind, and possible that at some time he was cruelly attacked, no firm determinations may be reached about the reasons or methods of his removal from the throne. Cosmas's vitriolic bias against the Vršovici means we can never be certain whether they were indeed responsible for the acts he ascribes to them or whether their invocation serves merely as a *topos* for all perfidious men.¹⁵

The Vršovici were summarily massacred in 1108 by Duke Svatopluk, an act here foreshadowed by Cosmas's vituperative rhetoric. The actual killing had its precursor in the famous attack on the so-called Slavníkids at Libice in 995, one of Boleslav II's last deeds before his death. Without becoming embroiled in late tenth-century politics or debates about the significance of the event for the consolidation of Přemyslid power,¹⁶ this massacre demands brief recounting here. Although recorded in extant *vitae* of Saint Adalbert, the second bishop of Prague (982–97) and himself a Slavník, the fullest account comes, as always, from Cosmas.¹⁷ Cosmas recounts the dramatic events of 995, when all the family and warriors of the sons of Slavník were gathered at Libice to celebrate a feast day: "Like savage wolves, they broke through the walls of the town, killing everyone to a man, male and female, and, having decapitated the four brothers of Saint Adalbert with all their children before the altar itself, they burned the town . . . In the town of Libice the five brothers of Saint Adalbert were killed in the year of our lord 995; their names are: Soběbor, Sptymír, Dobroslav, Porej, Čáslav."¹⁸ Curiously, Cosmas's account reflects a certain ambivalence, since he attributes the deed not to Boleslav II, who he says was ill, but to his *comites*.¹⁹ While still largely in the dark about what really happened, the worries and motivations of the parties involved, we can easily imagine the violence in the air at the turn of the tenth century. This massacre, which apparently fell upon only the immediate family and household at Libice, took place not ten years before the supposed Vršovici attack on Jaromír.

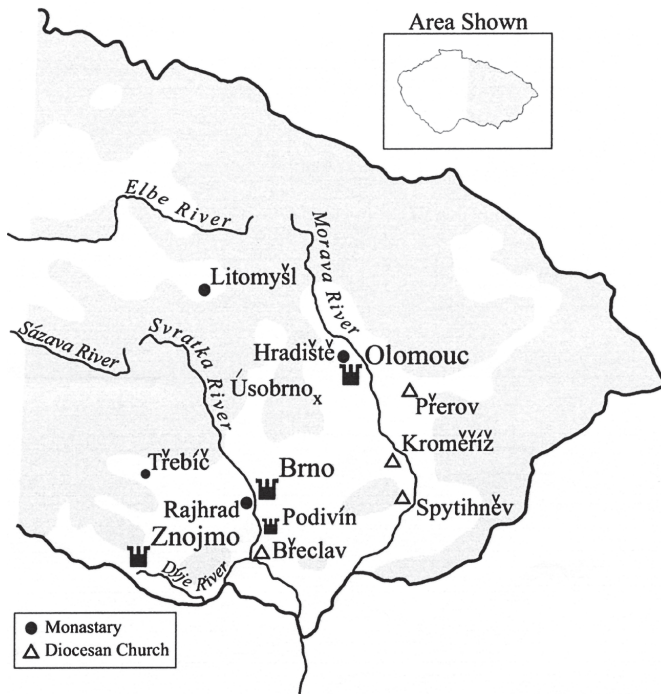
These stories are the earliest accounts of violence against the duke or of the duke's concern about threats originating from them. The venom with which Cosmas speaks of the Vršovici, so obvious here, provides important context for his description of their machinations a century later. At the time of his writing, having witnessed the decades at the turn of the twelfth century full of strife within the dynasty and among the freemen, he was clearly disgusted with the plotting and scheming of all the Czechs. The chronicler actually interrupts his story of the Poles' conquest of Bohemia at the turn of the eleventh century and the emperor's involvement to insert his views of recent affairs, specifically of Bořivoj's troubles and the perfidy of Vacek.²⁰ Nevertheless, to the extent that Cosmas might here be relating oral accounts of a time no one living at the end of the eleventh century clearly remembered, these stories serve as a reminder that even before 1055, the exercise of power was often a violent and decidedly unsubtle business. If a certain degree of ruthlessness was expected of a strong leader, equally vicious measures were required to resist him. The Czech Lands thus witnessed both the assassination of rulers and the outright elimination of hostile freemen. Because Cosmas leaves his readers in the dark as to the motives for such violence, it is rarely clear whether assassinations per-

petrated by individual freemen represented widespread disaffection, or if the duke's repressive acts were intended to suppress or forestall revolt. Yet his accounts of the various incidents that occurred before 1091, and even afterward, betray a common thread. The actions are more those of individuals than of groups and, while this may be a product of Cosmas's dramatic intentions, they did not take place formally on the battlefield.

The Disposition of Moravia

Moravia constitutes a geographic region distinct from Bohemia, separated by mountains and forest and oriented around a different river system (see Map 8).²¹ The Bohemians had conquered Moravia by ca. 1021, although precisely when, how, and from whom is the subject of some debate.²² Since Boleslav II, in his deathbed speech, is made to describe the boundaries of his realm as extending "to the mountains beyond Cracow named the Tatras," possibly Moravia was attached to Bohemia even before 999.²³ Cosmas believed that the Poles had reconquered it from Boleslav II when they briefly took control of Bohemia, but he is notoriously unreliable about the events of the early eleventh century.²⁴ It must indeed have been acquired by the Přemyslids by the end of Oldřich's reign, as Cosmas says, for there are no reports to the contrary for any time thereafter. Cosmas is very vague about the exact date or manner of conquest; he merely remarks that, after abducting Judith of Schweinfurth in 1021, the young Břetislav took his bride to Moravia: "For earlier his father had given all that land into his power, all the Poles having fled from the cities; the many of them seized—hundreds and hundreds bound in a line—he ordered sold into Hungary and beyond."²⁵ Soon after its conquest Moravia had already been delegated to a subordinate ruler. In making provisions for his own five sons some thirty years later, Břetislav looked again to Moravia, distributing half to his second son Vratislav and half to Conrad and Otto.²⁶

The division of Moravia into halves and quarters, first noted with reference to Břetislav's sons, would remain the norm throughout the eleventh and twelfth centuries. What Cosmas calls the "eastern plain, . . . better suited to hunting and more abundant in fish," was centered around Olomouc, situated on the Morava river as well as on the trade route from Prague to Cracow and Kiev.²⁷ During Duke Vratislav's reign Olomouc would also become the seat of a new bishop, whose diocese comprised all of Moravia.²⁸ The region of Olomouc was never partitioned.²⁹ The lower two quarters of Moravia, originally split by Břetislav I and recombined by Vratislav, were oriented around the castles at Brno and Znojmo. Cosmas describes it as "flatter and more fertile in fields and



Map 8. Moravia.

fruits.”³⁰ Znojmo seems to have comprised most of the border with Austria and the castles lining the Dyje river which guarded it.³¹ The area was critical to defense since, as Cosmas says: “no forest, mountains or other obstacle delimits the boundaries of both provinces but a little river called Dyje, flowing through a flat place, barely divides them.”³² The castle of Brno is situated on the Svratka, and the vice-duke’s territory seems to have followed the river to Břeclav and the Hungarian border.³³ Although Cosmas’s references, and others, to these Moravian lands as “halves” suggests the artificial subdivision of the territory for political and administrative purposes, the portions themselves do seem to follow the terrain, particularly as each is oriented around the three main Moravian rivers, flowing south to join the Danube.³⁴ The boundaries between these territories must have been fixed and known to contemporaries but are difficult to map out with certainty given the sources;³⁵ we can be sure only that Úsobrno lay on the Olomouc side of the Olomouc-Brno border, and that Litomyšl marked arrival in Bohemia from Olomouc.³⁶ Given the heavy forestation

in southern Bohemia and the mountains there, the lands of the vice-dukes of Brno and Znojmo must have seemed more distant from the Bohemian heartland than Olomouc, though they were not out of the duke of Bohemia's reach.

Throughout this work, the Přemyslid rulers of Moravia are styled, in English, "vice-dukes." Titulature in the high medieval Czech Lands was extremely fluid, in that specific titles were not rigidly or legally defined and few norms seem to have governed their usage, as described in Chapter 2 for *comes*. *Dux* was applied to ruling Přemyslids, in Prague or in Moravia, and later in the twelfth century even to nonruling members of the dynasty. The Moravian rulers were also frequently called *princeps* but this term could be applied to the duke of Bohemia as well. No distinction was made between *dux* and *princeps*. In the Hradiště foundation charter (1078) Otto of Olomouc refers to himself as "ego dux Otto."³⁷ In his grant to the same monastery, Vratislav, "gratia dei dux Boemorum," calls his brother "Moravie provincie princepe."³⁸ A charter from 1160 mentions in one sentence "the first duke of the Moravians, Otto the elder" and "all the princes of the Moravians," confirms grants made earlier by "Duke Václav" and "Duke Otto the younger," and lists Conrad of Znojmo among the witnesses as "prince of the Moravians."³⁹ A title invented to reflect their rulership of part of Moravia was used once by Cosmas, *diarcha*, and once by the Canon of Vyšehrad, *tetrarcha*; these contrast neatly with the *monarcha* occasionally applied to the Bohemian duke, but all are extremely rare.⁴⁰ In common usage, evidently, the Moravian rulers were addressed or indicated with the same titles used for the ruler in Prague, "duke" or "prince." In employing the term "vice-duke" I have endeavored to reflect the usage of the sources without creating constant confusion with the duke in Prague. However equal their titles appeared to be, the Moravian rulers remained subordinate to the duke of Bohemia, who delegated to them his own rights and privileges in those regions and fully expected that he could remove them.

Because so few Moravian sources, narrative or documentary, survive, it is difficult to draw any firm conclusions about the power of the vice-dukes within their territories. They apparently enjoyed similar powers on the same foundations as the duke himself. As noted in Chapter 1, the 1078 foundation charter for Hradiště, issued by Otto of Olomouc, grants incomes from tolls and minting.⁴¹ Coins bearing the names of Moravian vice-dukes, as well as the geographic distribution of finds, indicate that a separate mint or mints operated in Moravia.⁴² The disputes of the 1140s between the vice-dukes and Bishop Henry Zdík of Olomouc over military and castle-building obligations make clear that the vice-dukes did in fact exercise, even abuse, ducal rights.⁴³ No evidence points to the duke in Prague actively ruling Moravia so long as there were vice-dukes; occasions when the duke "arranged matters in Moravia" and

disposed of castellanies anew always accompanied the removal of vice-dukes from office. The duke of Bohemia's power in his Moravian lands seems to have been fully delegated to his relatives ruling there.

Still, however broad their powers, the vice-dukes remained subject to the duke of Bohemia.⁴⁴ Although they bore equal titles, never in the eleventh or twelfth centuries is ducal overlordship of Moravia and its rulers doubted. Outside an occasional comment, the subordinate status of Moravia is taken largely for granted in the sources. In a speech Cosmas attributes to Conrad of Brno's wife, Wirpirk, she says to Duke Vratislav: "Are we and our goods not yours?"⁴⁵ Vladislav I later gives a pointed speech concerning Otto II of Olomouc: "I want to castigate him so that, having been castigated, he will realize, understand, and teach his successors that the land of Moravia and its rulers should always be under the power of the prince of the Bohemians, as ordained by our grandfather, Břetislav of pious memory, who first subjected it to his rule."⁴⁶ Later, Vincent writes of the revolt of 1142: "Conrad [of Znojmo], in a sacriligious enterprise, took up arms against his lord."⁴⁷ The duke's constant efforts throughout this period to depose vice-dukes testify to the validity assumed for such claims. References to Moravian contingents participating in military expeditions led by the duke of Bohemia attest to more routine and amicable relations between the duke, the vice-dukes, and the freemen of Moravia. It was not until the late twelfth century and the reunification of the Moravian territories that a powerful vice-duke declared himself independent from the weak duke in Prague, and only in 1198 was a Moravian "margrave" formally recognized as (relatively) autonomous from the duke of Bohemia.⁴⁸

The sole living Přemyslid at the time of his enthronement as duke in 1037, Břetislav I ruled Moravia directly. He apparently arranged for his younger sons to govern a partitioned Moravia after his death. However, his eldest son and successor, Duke Spitišnĕv, had entirely different plans for his brothers and for Moravia. Soon after coming to the throne in 1055, "the new duke went to dispose anew the realm of Moravia."⁴⁹ According to Cosmas, Spitišnĕv summoned from Moravia "300 men whom he knew to be better and more noble" to meet him at Chrudim; when he encountered them at nearby Hrutov instead, he sent them to prisons throughout Bohemia and distributed their arms and horses to his followers.⁵⁰ Moved not by the fit of pique he pretended, Spitišnĕv acted to consolidate his power in Moravia; as Cosmas says, "Later, at his *placitum*, Duke Spitišnĕv set in order everything in Moravia."⁵¹ His brothers were ousted as well, though Vratislav was later reinstated in Olomouc. Five years later, as duke after Spitišnĕv's death, Vratislav again saw matters differently. Upon his accession to the throne, in 1061, he returned Moravia to his younger brothers: "He immediately divided the realm of Moravia in half

between his brothers. He gave Otto the eastern plain, which he himself had earlier obtained . . . He gave the western part, which faces the Germans, to Conrad, because he also knew the German language.”⁵² The description of the Brno region as “facing the Germans” emphasizes that, given the clear separation of Moravia from Bohemia, measures needed to be taken for its defense (a war on that front with Margrave Leopold II did arise in 1082). Cosmas’s descriptions of the benefits of each region, cited above, hint that Conrad and Otto could derive provisions and profits from them. Vratislav’s grant might also be viewed as an expression of fraternal sentiment except that Conrad and Otto consistently opposed their older brother, in spirit if not in deed.⁵³ Vratislav must have sought to kill two birds with one stone, appointing vice-dukes to govern Moravia and secure its defense, while providing his brothers with sufficient wealth and authority to keep them satisfied.

In the mid-eleventh century, Duke Vratislav, following his father’s example, saw Moravia as an advantageous means to pacify nonruling members of his family. Indeed, his delegation of Moravia to Conrad and Otto permitted all three to rule in relative peace throughout most of the duke’s thirty-year reign. In the next generation, which included Vratislav’s six sons and his brothers’ four sons, dynastic problems could not be solved so neatly. Dukes continued to resist the partition of Bohemia proper, and dividing Moravia into nine or ten portions must have seemed unwieldy. The sons of Vratislav, Conrad, and Otto could not all be accommodated. Sometime after Otto’s death in 1087, for instance, Vratislav disinherited his young nephews in favor of one of his own sons, Boleslav—an action vehemently opposed by Conrad. Only Boleslav’s death in 1091 served to forestall an outright military contest over the territory of Olomouc.⁵⁴ If Moravia was originally a means of avoiding fraternal violence over the Bohemian throne, it soon became a new point of contention. Throughout the twelfth century, two contradictory assumptions would govern the disposition of Moravia: first, the clear expectation that these vice-dukes were subject to the duke of Bohemia and could be removed by him at will; second, a tacit acknowledgment that the descendants of Conrad and Otto had some right to inherit the territories of Brno and Olomouc delegated to them and the associated rights. Like Břetislav I’s principle of succession by seniority, designation of Moravian vice-dukes was a successful dynastic strategy only among his sons; thereafter, it created as many problems as it solved.

Dynastic Détente

The decisions by Břetislav I to establish seniority as the rule of succession and to delegate power in Moravia to lesser Přemyslids were both motivated by the

perception that dynastic strife was inevitable. With an eye on the history of his own family, he recognized that dispossessing his younger sons would only lead to violence, causing as much harm to his realm as partition. In Cosmas's account, the dying duke expresses precisely this rationale: "If you look at what two brothers have done, what will five do?"⁵⁵ Yet Břetislav's arrangement did not eliminate fraternal strife or struggles for power. Even among his own sons, who lived more or less peacefully, there was constant distrust.

Certainly, in summoning the 300 nobles to Chrudim in 1055 and consolidating his control of Moravia, Spitišnĕv's clear aim was to limit his brothers' power. Vratislav recognized this immediately, it seems; at word of the duke's repressive actions at Hrutov, he fled Olomouc for Hungary, leaving his wife to face imprisonment.⁵⁶ The duke took Conrad and Otto back to his court, putting them in charge, respectively, of hunters and cooks.⁵⁷ Spitišnĕv's distrust of his family extended even to his mother, Judith, who had been expelled with other Germans from his realm on the day of his enthronement.⁵⁸ After Judith married the king of Hungary and Vratislav, newly widowed, the king's daughter, Spitišnĕv felt compelled to placate his brother: "Taking care lest perhaps his brother invade all of Moravia with the Hungarians, he sent messengers to recall him from Hungary and returned to him the castles, which his father had earlier given him in Moravia."⁵⁹ Spitišnĕv was only twenty-four years old when he became duke in 1055.⁶⁰ He was also fortunate, therefore, because Conrad, Otto, and Jaromír, who remained in school, must have been too young to pose a serious threat to his authority.

Vratislav, gaining the throne in 1061, did not have the same advantage; he had to make some provisions for his younger brothers' long years of maturity. As discussed above, he immediately sought to placate Conrad and Otto with lands in Moravia, which seems to have kept them satisfied. The same cannot be said of Jaromír. Břetislav intended Jaromír, the fourth of his five sons, for the church and before his death secured an oath from the freemen that he would succeed Severus as bishop of Prague.⁶¹ When Jaromír approached Vratislav after his enthronement, asking instead "to have some portion of his inheritance in his father's realm," the duke refused and forced his brother publicly to be ordained deacon.⁶² Jaromír afterwards fled to the duke of Poland with his followers, returning only to claim the episcopal throne upon Severus's death in 1067.⁶³ By that time, Vratislav had changed his mind; he made a desperate attempt to appoint one of his chaplains bishop before Jaromír could return to Prague. In this the duke was unsuccessful, faced by united opposition from his three brothers and most of the freemen.

Succession by seniority did at first effectively limit and control intra-dynastic conflict. After Břetislav's reign, brothers and cousins no longer spon-

taneously murdered, mutilated, or imprisoned the reigning duke as Boleslav I had once done to Václav, and, in the early years of the eleventh century, either Boleslav III or Oldřich to Duke Jaromír. Still, while in the more brutal days of the tenth century, brothers were eliminated before they had the chance to beget sons, from the late eleventh century there were more Přemyslids than ever before. The duke no longer had to watch his back every moment, but he did not necessarily feel safe. One of the reasons Vratislav opposed Jaromír's election as bishop, according to Cosmas, was the fear that his younger brothers, and later also his son, were conspiring against him.⁶⁴

The First Rebels

The tension between Břetislav I's sons remained effectively isolated within the family and rarely erupted into violent confrontation, with one very important exception. In 1068, Vratislav attempted to circumvent Jaromír's election as bishop of Prague, in spite of the fact that six years earlier he had forced his brother to become a cleric in fulfillment of their father's wishes. Knowing that Jaromír would claim the see with the support of Conrad and Otto, Vratislav selected a worthy candidate from among his chaplains, a Saxon named Lanzo, and gathered the freemen and the clergy to force his election. According to Cosmas, Vratislav asserted that the selection of a bishop was a matter that should be decided by the people and not just one man — chiefly as a means of putting off Conrad's and Otto's pleas on their brothers' behalf.⁶⁵ With everyone gathered at Dobenina, the duke called forth Lanzo, lauded his faithful service, and said, "Take the ring and staff, be the bridegroom of the church of Prague and the shepherd of holy sheep."⁶⁶ At that moment, however, "there was a murmuring among the people and the sound of approbation did not resound, as is always the custom during an episcopal election."⁶⁷ Vratislav's expectation that he could achieve his will at an assembly of freemen was apparently misplaced.

The opposition to Vratislav's appointment of Lanzo was led not by his brothers but by the palace *comes* Kojata. Kojata, son of Všebor, whom Vratislav had awarded the castellany of Bílina, was undoubtedly among the duke's closest associates.⁶⁸ Nevertheless, Kojata spoke sharply against Lanzo, reminded everyone of the oaths sworn to Břetislav I assuring Jaromír's appointment, and reproached Vratislav for abusing his authority. This speech acted as a call to battle: "'Arms, arms,' cried some; to everyone this ill-advised episcopal election was hateful."⁶⁹ According to the chronicler, the "greater part of the army" followed the party led by Conrad, Otto, Jaromír, Kojata, and Smil, castellan of Žatec. The duke fled, "seeing himself destitute" and unable to de-

feat his opponents' army, fearing also that the rebels would occupy Prague or Vyšehrad.⁷⁰ Vratislav then surrendered his opposition to Jaromír's appointment but claimed to have been swayed by respect for his father's wishes, the freemen's oaths, and brotherly love, rather than the words and deeds of Kojata and Smil.⁷¹ Thus, Jaromír was elected bishop and peace made with Conrad and Otto, who returned to Moravia.⁷² The instigators of the rebellion were not so lucky: "But Smil and Kojata, although they spoke true and just words among the princes, nevertheless, had they not escaped by flight in the night, the duke would have punished them without any hearing as enemies of the *res publica*."⁷³

The freemen's actions in this affair and their motivations may be reflected in the speech attributed to Kojata by Cosmas:

Then Kojata, son of Všebor and *palatinus comes*, as he was truthful in speech and simple in word, standing at the right hand of the duke's brother Otto, forcefully poked him in the side saying: "Why do you stand there? Or are you like an ass hearing a lyre (*ὄνος λύρας*)? How is it that you do not help your brother? Do you not see that your brother, the son of a duke, is being repudiated for a stranger, and an immigrant, who came to this land without leggings, is being raised to the throne? And if the duke violates the oath to his father, it falls to us, that the ghosts of our parents should be called to account before God for this oath and bear the suffering. We know and we will strive for it as much as we are able, because your father Břetislav constrained us and our fathers by an oath of faith, that your brother Jaromír is to be bishop after the death of Bishop Severus. Even if your brother displeases you, why do you soil our clergy, not just a little but equally skilled in learning, with this German? Oh, if you had as many bishoprics as you could find chaplains born in this land worthy of a bishopric. Do you think that a foreigner will love us more and desire better for this land than a native? Indeed human nature is such that anyone, wherever his land, not only loves his people more than a foreign people, but would even divert wandering rivers into his country if he could. We prefer, therefore, we prefer that a dog's tail or the dung of an ass be placed on the holy seat to Lanzo. Your brother, Spitišnĕv of blessed memory, knew otherwise, who expelled all the Germans from this land in one day. The Roman Emperor Henry yet lives and long may he live; you act against yourself when, usurping his power, you give the episcopal ring and staff to a hungry dog. Surely, you and your bishop will not go unpunished if Kojata, son of Všebor, lives."⁷⁴

Kojata's words are seconded by Smil, son of Božen and castellan of Žatec, who questions the justice of the duke's actions: "Let us go and see, whether the tricks and false equity of one man shall prevail or whether the justice and marvelous equity of three brothers, whom similar age, a single will, and the same power unite and a greater abundance of warriors aids."⁷⁵ Whether these speeches represent accurately the sentiments expressed during the gathering at Dobešina which led to the revolt is impossible to tell. It is nevertheless striking that

both Kojata and Smil charge the duke with unjust abuse of authority: in asking them to break their oaths, in usurping imperial rights of investiture, and in disregarding obligations to his brother.

In the conflict over Jaromír's appointment, the freemen took to the battlefield against their duke for the first time. Doing so on behalf of, and under the leadership of, lesser Přemyslids would increasingly become the norm. But on this occasion, to judge by Cosmas's account, it was the freemen who incited Conrad, Otto, and Jaromír to resolve their dynastic grievances in a public forum and by military means. Kojata and Smil neither acted alone nor solely in their own interests—as Cosmas claims was the case with the Vršovici ca. 1000. The chronicler depicts an immediate reaction of disapproval when Lanzo stepped forward and indicates that the vast majority of the army sided with the rebels. The reason for their disapproval perhaps accorded with those expressed in Kojata's speech, since there is no evidence of dissatisfaction with Vratislav later or support for Jaromír's efforts in the long conflict with his brother over the see of Olomouc.⁷⁶ Duke Vratislav was not only outnumbered but caught entirely unprepared by resistance to his designs among the freemen. In the end, the duke backed down and peace was restored among the Přemyslid brothers. Kojata and Smil, by contrast, though they succeeded in securing Jaromír's election, were compelled to live the rest of their lives in exile. Cognizant of the many stories of ducal repression of freemen, not least Spitihněv's summary imprisonment of the three hundred Moravian freemen, these men must have known that the penalties for opposing the duke were very high. Nevertheless, in 1068, two of the duke's most loyal and prominent castellans considered his actions ill-advised and contrary to the good of the realm, and together with many other freemen they acted upon their convictions. Smil and Kojata paid a high price for their words and deeds—one future rebels would remember.

The Troubles of 1091

In the generation after Břetislav I laid the foundation for the governance of Moravia and established the rule for succession to the Bohemian throne, his plan had proven largely successful. Yet the difficulties to come can be observed already in this period of relative calm. Members of the Přemyslid dynasty in Moravia and in Prague lived in a state of distrust if not outright conflict, while the problem of how to handle succession to the Moravian territories loomed. The freemen had already shown themselves willing to intervene in dynastic disputes and to take up arms against the duke. Yet the three issues under dis-

cussion in this chapter—the dynasty, Moravia, and rebellion—were not yet intertwined. That came in 1091, the last year of Vratislav's long reign, which witnessed armed conflict over the disposition of Moravia and family quarrels, as well as reaffirmation of seniority succession to the throne. As before, the only source for this story is Cosmas's chronicle; his rhetoric, however, is relatively restrained in these passages. A blow-by-blow account of these events follows because it reflects so much of the dynamic of revolt and dynastic conflict that would remain typical in the twelfth century.

Trouble first arose after Vratislav appointed his second son Boleslav as vice-duke of Olomouc, in place of his nephews. Vratislav's brother, Vice-duke Otto I, had died on 9 June 1087,⁷⁷ but whether Boleslav was installed as vice-duke immediately upon his death or only in 1091 remains uncertain. Cosmas reports that, in the year 1091, Vratislav was very angry with his brother, Conrad of Brno, for "favoring the party" of Otto's sons, Svatopluk and Otto.⁷⁸ The expectation that his lands would be treated as heritable by his sons (both together, apparently) is thus manifest already at the death of the first vice-duke. Boleslav's premature death on 11 August of the same year rendered the point moot, but the conflict between Vratislav and Conrad had already begun to rage. According to Cosmas, "When [Vratislav] saw that Conrad was alone after the death of his brothers, deprived of fraternal help, he entered Moravia with an army in order to similarly expel him from the province, which had come to him by the lot and bond of inheritance and by right through paternal grant."⁷⁹ Notice the language the chronicler uses to describe Conrad's right to Brno in the face of Vratislav's plan to oust him: both through inheritance and by grant.

At the same time, Vratislav met still another dynastic difficulty—from his eldest son. Břetislav had a long-standing grievance against his father's chief counselor, Zderad, who had humiliated him on an earlier occasion.⁸⁰ When, camped with the army at Brno, Zderad referred publicly to this incident, Břetislav was infuriated. He secretly consulted his uncle, Conrad, who urged him to eliminate Zderad; Conrad apparently blamed Zderad for Vratislav's attacks upon him.⁸¹ The next morning, 11 July 1091, Břetislav and his men murdered Zderad. According to Cosmas, the king alone mourned him while everyone else praised his son, albeit not openly.⁸² Břetislav moved his camp apart from his father's, and "the greater part of the army and the stronger in war followed him."⁸³

Meanwhile, Conrad's wife Wirpirk appealed for peace between the brothers, reminding Vratislav that attacking his brother was fratricide and that in despoiling Moravia he was only robbing from himself.⁸⁴ Faced with a new,

stronger enemy in his son, the king had little choice but to agree.⁸⁵ Hearing that his father and uncle had made peace, Břetislav fled with his army to Hradec to await events.⁸⁶ Cosmas then reports:

As many who followed him, no one dared to return to his own home, because they greatly feared that the king, whom they had offended, would send them captured and in chains or punish them with a capital sentence. The king saw that he was not able to do what he wanted, that is, revenge his anger upon his son and his followers. Therefore, he called his brother Conrad, gathered the elders of the land, and confirmed by the oath of all the *comites* that his brother Conrad would obtain the throne and duchy of Bohemia after his death. Then the king, strengthened by the counsel and aid of his brother, began to scheme openly, how to take revenge upon his son.⁸⁷

For both parties, strength clearly lay in numbers: to the rebels, it meant protection from the duke's wrath; for Vratislav, once Conrad had been pacified, it enabled plans for revenge.

Břetislav now faced a situation entirely altered. His first plan was to go to war with "more than three thousand strong men."⁸⁸ At this point, according to Cosmas, the Czechs' patron saints intervened: Václav and Adalbert appeared to some imprisoned men and released them, warning that they did not approve of such a civil war.⁸⁹ Hearing of this miracle, Conrad began to arrange a peace between the two sides. Cosmas's summary of the situation at this point is telling:

For earlier they were in such discord, that each was suspected by the other—one that he might be deprived of the throne, the other that he might be seized by his father—and they very much feared each other. Youths of the same age and the greater part of the freemen, swifter of hand and stronger in war, accompanied [the son], but Bishop Cosmas and the provosts of the churches and all the freemen older in age and more useful in counsel, together with the whole army of ordinary people, supported [the father] and held him in great affection.⁹⁰

It was a standoff in a classic generational conflict, not only between father and son, but between all those established in positions of power (including, notably, the higher clergy) and younger men, in their prime, eager to make their name and ready to fight. Both sides were formidable in their way.

Břetislav may have been ready to bury the hatchet with his father, but his men were not willing to trust their lives to the ruler against whom they had rebelled: "He will never cease vindicating all the deeds by which we have offended him; he will not let any, down to the very smallest, go unrevenged. For which reason, you should either send us away to some land with your grace

or seek higher palaces somewhere with us. We are prepared to serve no one other than you as our lord.”⁹¹ Břetislav “preferred to seek his bread abroad with them than to have domestic peace with his father alone without a warrior.”⁹² A company of more than two thousand warriors therefore gathered all their belongings, including cattle and slaves, and fled to Hungary, where the king allowed them to settle and hunt in the area around Trenčín.⁹³ The freemen’s words (in Cosmas’s telling), Břetislav’s choice, and the decision of so many to move into exile reflect real fear for their personal safety and demonstrate the vulnerability felt by those excluded from positions of power.

The troubles of 1091 had begun with the question of Olomouc. By the turn of the twelfth century already, years after the deaths of Otto I and Conrad, the tension between the “hereditary” expectations of their sons and the duke’s desire to appoint someone more closely related to himself would become a source of tension, sometimes leading directly to revolt. This pattern would persist throughout the century. Vratislav’s attempt to eliminate Conrad, as well as the strife between Břetislav and his father, demonstrates also the intermingling of personal grievances with political ones. The Přemyslids and their followers were ready to go to war with one another over such disagreements. Strategically, then, both ruling and nonruling Přemyslids were compelled to form coalitions, and not only with their relatives but with armies of freemen, in order to gain power or to prevent their own elimination. Anyone in isolation was extremely vulnerable; for the freemen that vulnerability was only avoidable by keeping the ruler’s grace or, having once joined the opposition, exile. The only other mechanism for the expression of dissatisfaction open to the freemen was to band together as an army—much larger than a retinue—and stake everything on a pretender who was seeking to depose the duke. This would become the favored course for younger men, and descriptions of war-ring camps as separate “younger” and “older” parties appear again and again in the chronicles. Younger men were both particularly vulnerable and more audacious, though the opposite could also be true, as we shall see, since the more prominent the freeman, the more he had at stake. The final promise offered Břetislav by his men, that they would serve no other lord but him, is no mere expression of fealty but a direct threat to Vratislav, whom they would no longer respect as duke. The implication is that, if they were to make peace, they would be compelled to serve him, their duke, which they were unwilling to do. Thus, while Břetislav’s own motives were probably little different from those of other medieval sons who rebelled against their powerful fathers, the army of young freemen who joined him were the first to openly intend, assemble, and fight against a reigning duke.

The Grandsons of Břetislav I: Negotiating the Bloody Consequences of the Seniority Rule

The turbulent years of the first quarter of the twelfth century witnessed almost incessant conflict over the throne among the grandsons of Břetislav I. In the course of these events, many of the reputed villains—including dukes, their brothers and cousins, and high-ranking freemen—were brutally removed from the political scene. Such strife was not without purpose but, in fact, shows a society learning to negotiate complex political, social, and dynastic relationships. One outcome was the privileging of the battlefield as the locus of dispute, a shift that could not help but ultimately strengthen those most critical to successful military engagements—the freemen. Book III of the *Chronica Boemorum* comprises a detailed description of these events, which Cosmas must have witnessed firsthand. Overall, Cosmas presents the disputes as entirely the concern of a group of ambitious Přemyslids and the few scheming freemen who were their chief counselors. Yet because most of these crises were resolved on the battlefield, large factions of freemen must have been involved, even if little is reported about their motivations.

The role the freemen played in dynastic politics was crucial, and dukes and pretenders patently acknowledged the freemen's influence. Once Svato-pluk fell out with Bořivoj, for example, in 1104, he sent messengers to stir up trouble in Bohemia: "With these men going around to almost all the castles of Bohemia, they corrupted some with money, others they bound with rewards or promises. Those whom they knew to be avid for new things, or deprived of offices, or fickle and inconstant in spirit, they brought into the party of [Vice-] Duke Svato-pluk, all by tricks."⁹⁴ Svato-pluk failed in his subsequent effort to seize Prague but Bořivoj was unable to finish him off because he doubted the strength of his support among the freemen in his army: "At their leaving, Duke Bořivoj followed with his men but, although he had more than seven times the warriors, nevertheless he did not dare engage in battle with them, because he feared their perfidy, namely, that they would desert their camps and transfer themselves to the enemies' army."⁹⁵ Decisive in Bořivoj's fall from power, as we saw in Chapter 3, was his alienation of the powerful Vršovici castellans, Božej and Mutina, after which Cosmas reports simply that "he was deprived of the realm."⁹⁶ But the passages above show that more freemen were involved than a handful of top-ranking men. However many actively fought for Svato-pluk's cause, seven times that number filled Bořivoj's army. And loyalty proved even more crucial to the outcome than the sheer quantity of men on each side. Svato-pluk took care to woo a variety of middle-rankers, whether those recently removed from office, or simply easily bribed with money or "promises." Cos-

mas's account of the years 1104–1106 demonstrates plainly how thoroughly the freemen were involved in these struggles as advisors and warriors to the contending parties. They might be as divided against themselves as the Přemyslids, for motivations as simple as greed, thwarted ambition, personal grudges, or inconstancy. Still, the defections of prominent men and of large numbers of lesser warriors could spell the undoing of a duke, especially when the crucial test came on the battlefield.

In his effort to oust Bořivoj, in 1105, Svatopluk was defeated, but because Bořivoj was powerless to follow him across the border into Moravia, much less remove him from Olomouc, he remained free and with the resources to attack again in 1106.⁹⁷ In the midst of the violence of the early twelfth century, there was as yet no specific place for Moravia and the vice-dukes. Challenges to the throne were certainly launched from Moravia, by Oldřich, Svatopluk, and Otto II, but their motivations and actions were primarily those of contentious dynasts. When unsuccessful in revolt, the vice-dukes could be punished by removal from office, as happened to Oldřich and later Otto II, whom Vladislav imprisoned from 1110 to 1113.⁹⁸ This removal of “hereditary” vice-dukes allowed the duke to appoint other, otherwise powerless, Přemyslids to the office. Thus Bořivoj was appointed vice-duke of Brno under Břetislav II, and Soběslav under Vladislav I. The expectation that Conrad's and Otto's descendants had a right to inherit the Moravian provinces nevertheless persisted. In the short term, for deposition from Olomouc or Brno to serve as an effective means of discipline for rebellious dynasts, the duke had to be strong enough to carry it out. When it became clear to Otto that Soběslav would reconcile with Vladislav in 1126 and gain the throne soon afterwards, he too retreated to Moravia, to avoid capture and, undoubtedly, to plan his attempt to seize the throne in Prague.⁹⁹

A nutshell summary of the complicated machinations among the dynasts and changes on the throne that occurred in these years runs as follows. Břetislav II was enthroned in 1092 without contest; he designated his brother Bořivoj as his successor and appointed him vice-duke of Olomouc at the expense of Conrad's sons, Oldřich, imprisoned in 1097, and Lutold. Břetislav was assassinated in 1099 by a warrior named Lork; it was apparently never determined for whom he was acting, though rumor (and Cosmas) implicated the Vršovici. Bořivoj was enthroned but immediately challenged by Oldřich, who claimed to be elder and therefore the legitimate successor.¹⁰⁰ Neither his Olomouc cousins, Svatopluk and Otto, nor the freemen were willing to support his claim, however. In spite of an army of Germans acquired from the emperor and the support of his brother Lutold, Oldřich was defeated in battle in August 1101.¹⁰¹ By 1104, Svatopluk had become disaffected with Bořivoj's rule and

moved to seize the throne himself. By 1106 he managed to drive Bořivoj into exile and was thus enthroned on 14 May 1107. Bořivoj sought the emperor's help, and Svatopluk was briefly imprisoned by him and Bořivoj reinstated. By virtue of a counterbribe, however, Svatopluk regained the throne. Two years later, on 21 September 1109, he was assassinated by one of the Vršovici, named John.¹⁰² Vladislav, who had supported Svatopluk's deposition of his brother Bořivoj and whom Svatopluk had designated as his successor, took the throne, in spite of the fact that Otto had been elected by the group of freemen on campaign at the time of Svatopluk's murder. That same year, Vladislav defeated an attempt by Bořivoj to seize Prague.¹⁰³ Vladislav's reign provided an apparent respite, fifteen years of comparative peace. In 1117 he even recalled Bořivoj from exile and abdicated the throne in his favor, retaining only a portion of Bohemia, as well as some authority over his brother.¹⁰⁴ Bořivoj was ousted again on 16 August 1120 for reasons Cosmas refuses to tell, and sent into exile, where he died in 1124.¹⁰⁵ Vladislav's and Bořivoj's youngest brother, Soběslav, had earlier sided with Bořivoj and thus spent most of Vladislav's reign in exile. Attempts at reconciliation between the brothers, in which Vladislav once appointed Soběslav castellan of Žatec, later of Hradec, and then vice-duke of Brno, came to nothing.¹⁰⁶ Vladislav died a natural death on 12 April 1125 and was succeeded by Soběslav, whose reign began with an immediate challenge from Otto II of Olomouc.¹⁰⁷ These two were the only Přemyslids left of their generation. Like his cousin Oldřich twenty-five years earlier, Otto apparently had no support from the freemen and was forced to rely entirely upon imperial troops. Accompanied by Lothar III himself and an impressive contingent of Saxons, Otto was killed, and his forces decisively routed at Chlumec on 20 February 1126.¹⁰⁸

This schematized narrative of strike and counterstrike in the efforts of various Přemyslids to seize the throne in Prague over thirty tumultuous years may be dizzying but it is not, in fact, particularly complex or difficult to understand. A far trickier, and more important, question concerns the role of the freemen in these machinations. Svatopluk's short reign, for instance, witnessed the most brutal repression of the freemen—the massacre in 1108 of the Vršovici, including the most prominent of the group's members, Božej and Mutina. Already in 1096, for unknown reasons, Břetislav II exiled Mutina and confiscated all his property; his relative, Božej, was arrested and exiled at the same time.¹⁰⁹ With the vituperative language he used in describing the attack on Duke Jaromír a century before, Cosmas identifies both men as from that detestable, proud and guileful *natio* of the Vršovici.¹¹⁰ He recycles rumors blaming Božej and Mutina for plotting the murder of Břetislav II.¹¹¹ Upon his enthronement in 1101, compelled “by the necessity of the time,” Bořivoj allowed them to

return from exile and granted them “the castles they had held earlier, Žatec to Božej and Litoměřice to Mutina.”¹¹² Once he thought himself safe from Svato-pluk’s attack, Bořivoj planned to punish them as traitors; they fled to Vladislav and thus to Svato-pluk in 1106. These two were clearly among the most powerful men in the realm, men whose support was decisive to a duke but who were also therefore a threat to him and the object of the jealousy of other prominent freemen.

While Svato-pluk was on campaign with the emperor against the king of Hungary, Mutina and Vacek, the preeminent schemer of this decade, were entrusted with defending the Polish border against incursions by Bořivoj. When Bořivoj attacked, in September 1108, he was turned back by Vacek, who meanwhile decided that Mutina had not fought very hard in the previous day’s battle; Vacek sent a messenger to Svato-pluk informing him that Mutina was in league with Bořivoj.¹¹³ Returning from campaign, Svato-pluk gathered all the freemen at Vráclav, and delivered a speech—as usual, patently the work of Cosmas—accusing the evil *gens* of all the crimes noted by the chronicler thus far—the attack on Jaromír, the murder of Břetislav, perfidy towards Bořivoj—naming Mutina as instigator of it all.¹¹⁴ The duke then left the room, obliquely indicating what he wanted done: Mutina was beheaded on the spot; his two sons and two other men were arrested.¹¹⁵ Neuša, a “familiar” of Mutina (perhaps in his household) “from another *natio*,” fled but was captured, blinded, and castrated.¹¹⁶ Svato-pluk offered a reward to whoever destroyed all the Vršovici throughout the land.¹¹⁷ He promised a hundredfold reward and their lands to the men who would kill Božej and his son. They were found eating breakfast at home in Libice but committed suicide upon being confronted.¹¹⁸ Svato-pluk’s fury was directed not only at Božej and Mutina; Cosmas comments: “I do not know how many heads were given to death from that *gens*, because they were not killed on one day or in one place. Some, led into the market, were slaughtered like brute animals, others were beheaded on Petřín Hill, and many were killed in their homes or in the streets.”¹¹⁹ Those who survived fled to Poland or Hungary. The last reference to the Vršovici concerns the assassination of Svato-pluk the following year, arranged by John, son of Csta, of the *gens* Vršovici; later captured, his disfigurement was ordered by Vacek.¹²⁰

The massacre of the Vršovici merits detailed description in part because it was one of the most memorable events of the early twelfth century.¹²¹ It also demonstrates both the extent of the duke’s power and active scheming among the freemen themselves. Not only did Vacek, one of the most important men in the Czech Lands, deliberately seek to destroy Mutina, but several lesser warriors were willing to murder the Vršovici in order to enrich them-

selves. Who the Vršovici precisely were remains uncertain.¹²² Cosmas's reference to them as "domestics of the duke" or "household enemies" emphasizes that they were often in the duke's inner circle; in fact, that treachery should come from trusted men close to the ruler is clearly what most infuriated the chronicler. The repeated usage of *familiares inimici*, which always appears in contexts, such as speeches, when the chronicler steps forward as commentator indicates that it is not a literal description of the status of the Vršovici within the duke's household, but a literary device to stress the perfidy of treachery so close to home. Given Cosmas's clear dislike of Vacek as well, it may be a way of indicting all the most prominent freemen, those closest to the duke and other Přemyslids, for the violence of the early twelfth century. Because the Vršovici, from Kohan to Mutina, were associates of the Přemyslids for several generations, they typify for Cosmas such treacherous counselors more than a new man like Vacek, to whom the *familiaris* designation is never applied. Since the Vršovici were numerous and scattered throughout Bohemia, since they could clearly shift their support from the duke to another Přemyslid, since they are seen serving as castellans and driven into exile, they may not be considered literally, much less legally, as members of the duke's *familia*. Nothing, in other words, but their massacre particularly distinguishes them from other Czech families.

The power of the Vršovici, whatever it may have been, was thoroughly broken, but such excessive acts of repression were never again committed by a duke. This massacre seems to have formed a crucial turning point in relations between the duke and the freemen, though it is unclear why: Were later dukes not strong enough to carry out such acts? Was their authority sufficiently solid to require them no longer? Were people so outraged that they became counter-productive, leading to deposition rather than forestalling it? Cosmas gives us no idea of how the massacre of the Vršovici was perceived by the Czechs in 1108; he himself, after devoting many adjectives to the evil nature of all Vršovici, poignantly describes the executions of Mutina's small sons, crying "Mama! Mama!" on their way to the gallows.¹²³ This was not altogether the last act of brutality by a duke against rebellious freemen. Only two years later, after successfully quashing Bořivoj's assault on Prague: "All the supporters of Bořivoj, at the order of Duke Vladislav, were some deprived of sight and sense and some only despoiled of their goods; the rest, who were able to escape this disaster, fled to the king's son, Soběslav, in Poland."¹²⁴ Vacek, the faithful supporter of Svatopluk and later Otto, who took an active role in all the machinations for the throne after 1105, was finally killed by Soběslav in 1113.¹²⁵ Still, Vladislav's punishment of Bořivoj's men, who were traitors, was lenient compared with

the treatment of the Vršovici; even the senior man commissioned to defend Prague, who had refused his duke entry, was humiliated and exiled but not executed.¹²⁶ And after Vacek's death, things settled down considerably on all sides. Nearly twenty years after the slaughter of the Vršovici, when Soběslav sought to eliminate potential enemies, he neither assassinated any individual nor dared to massacre his kin; instead, as we will see below, the duke staged a very public trial of would-be assassins, who were prosecuted with the utmost of care.

Apparently many lessons were learned in the years between 1100 and 1126, changing the face of Czech politics for the rest of the century. Dukes came to understand that their brothers and cousins were the chief threat to their rule, and a serious one. Soběslav would subsequently—and quite systematically—practice the seizure, followed by imprisonment or exile, of his male relatives.¹²⁷ They also realized painfully the depth of their reliance upon the freemen's support. The days of summary expulsion or massacre were virtually over.¹²⁸ The freemen, meanwhile, following on the events of 1091, came to appreciate how much was to be gained by formally ousting the duke and discovered that they could at any time manipulate lesser Přemyslids ambitious for power. The threat of deposition gave them, collectively and individually, much greater leverage over their ruler than assassination could ever accomplish. Not surprisingly, near the end of this period, the sources hint of the freemen peacefully discussing among themselves whom their next duke should be, with the ruler, Soběslav I, on his deathbed.¹²⁹ Finally, while the vice-dukes never renounced their claims to the throne in Prague, they saw that their lands provided them a measure of security their cousins lacked; when they chose to move against the duke, it could serve as a valuable base from which to launch the attack and often a safe place to retreat.

Although from Cosmas's description most of the action takes place among members of the dynasty and a few prominent men, no doubt the series of revolts and depositions that occurred in the early twelfth century was an expression of discontent among a broader group of freemen—who did not just sit idly by while the dynasty fought within itself. All these changes and challenges to the throne were waged on the battlefield, therefore implicating broader Czech society—though how pervasively we cannot know. On those occasions when the pretender had no support among the freemen, as with Oldřich, Soběslav, and Otto, attempts to seize the throne were unsuccessful. Although originally enthroned instead of Oldřich, Bořivoj apparently failed to court the wider ranks of freemen whom Svatopluk managed to sway, relying to his folly largely on his closest counselors. No amount of effort ever

enabled him to regain the throne and he was even unable to rule when it was peacefully conferred on him by Vladislav. In the end, the first quarter of the twelfth century was not a time of chaos, political instability, and uncontrolled violence. The generation of Břetislav I's grandsons was instead a period when the ramifications of succession by seniority were manifest and first explored.

A Watershed in 1130

Almost paradoxically, these years close with the conscientiously peaceful and judicious trial in 1130 of would-be plotters against Duke Soběslav I, the youngest and last survivor of Břetislav's grandsons. Cosmas had died in October 1125, immediately after Soběslav's enthronement but before his successful defeat of Otto II at Chlumec in February 1126.¹³⁰ The story of the trial of 1130 is, however, related in detail by the anonymous Canon of Vyšehrad, who was an eyewitness.¹³¹ On route to Moravia, Soběslav got wind of plots to kill him. He delegated two warriors to arrest the would-be assassins, one of whom committed suicide while the other escaped. The latter was captured and interrogated concerning his accomplices, "with the leading freemen of Bohemia present."¹³² Two brothers, Miroslav and Střežimír were named as the instigators, arrested, and imprisoned at Vyšehrad. Soběslav stopped in Prague to pray and then continued to Vyšehrad; at both churches he arrived humbly and was received with great joy. According to the chronicler, many Czechs arrived the next day ("congregating like bees") to rally around their duke and assure themselves of his health.¹³³ Gathering all the freemen and canons of Prague and Vyšehrad—"almost three thousand men"—Soběslav addressed them and the trial proceeded.¹³⁴ The duke did not interrogate the plotters himself but instead "one of the leading freemen" undertook to ascertain from Miroslav the details of the scheme and names of those involved.¹³⁵ Miroslav claimed that, with the duke's chaplain as intermediary, Bishop Meinhard of Prague had approached them, promising that they would attain the prominence their father had enjoyed and have the pick of the best castellanies and court offices if they would kill Soběslav and thereby allow the enthronement of the son of Břetislav II, also named Břetislav.¹³⁶ Miroslav, Střežimír, and another accomplice were publicly dismembered the following day, two others were tortured, and three were sent to Prague to prove their innocence by ordeal or suffer a capital sentence. The chaplain was imprisoned to await ecclesiastical judgment; Bishop Meinhard, who was in Jerusalem at the time of the trial, later answered for his crime to his archbishop.¹³⁷ Soběslav's nephew, Břetislav, in prison for several years already and undoubtedly the eldest of the next generation of Přemyslids, was blinded.¹³⁸

What is most remarkable about these events of late June 1130 is not merely Soběslav's self-conscious recourse to legal procedures in order to eliminate his enemies, but also his appeal to public support in their condemnation. His opening speech is presented by the chronicler:

The monarch of the Czechs himself, standing in the midst of all of us, like a son beseeching his father concerning all his disobedience, raising his voice and with tears, said: "O Czech freemen and shield of the Czech land! I do not praise or extol myself, but speak the truth. When I was in exile, I was happy anywhere by God's grace and I had enough of those things which were necessary to me. But now, weeping, I say: with my brother and Duke Vladislav living, I acquired this duchy and honor neither with a shield nor by any other force. Instead, I attained everything by God's mercy and the designation of my yet-living brother and of you. For this reason and justice I consider myself to possess it justly and reasonably. But certain more noble men of this province, moved by the impetus of Satan, (alas!) wanted to kill me, as their predecessors once killed my brother Břetislav, the wisest duke, and killed Svatopluk without cause. I do not know for what reason they wanted to kill me—me, who struggled for the benefit of the fatherland and for your honor. With the help of God's grace, they were not able to succeed. Do you not see how much hardness and how much impiety was in their hearts? I shared with them the gifts of my grace, held them dearer than others in affection, and had them sit appropriately at my side. Their malignant will eased my destruction. Lest I appear to condemn them either ambitiously or for a plot, let the words of their own mouths suit your dignity to hear."¹³⁹

With this preamble, it is hardly any wonder that the accused men were condemned to death.

We can have no idea how the freemen, churchmen, and ordinary freemen perceived the turbulent thirty years preceeding the trial of Miroslav, Sřežimír, and their accomplices. Clearer is what Soběslav intended them to believe. The duke appeals to their sympathy for all his years in exile and reminds them that he acquired the throne justly, not by usurpation. He portrays his assassins as ungrateful men, plotting his death for no apparent cause. In the process, Soběslav indicts all those who usurped the throne or murdered their duke in the preceeding years. Through the well-staged prayer session at Prague, the conscientiously correct trial, the flowing tears, the many invocations of God's grace, Soběslav constructs himself as a victim; in so doing, he resurrects the image of the just ruler, one who does not himself engage in plots or summarily murder his enemies. Whatever resentment of abused authority lingered a dozen years after the massacre of the Vršovici, the duke turned to reflect on schemers in the upper rank of freemen. Though, as always, we must assume that such speeches are partly the work of the chronicler, there is no reason to doubt that the account provided by the anonymous Canon, who was an eye-witness, at least loosely represents the tone of the proceedings.

The trial of 1130 seems to have been deliberately staged by Duke Soběslav as a moment of closure after years of violence. While one more wave of arrests followed the accession of Vladislav II to the throne, in 1141, the assassinations, plotting, massacres, and contested rule described by Cosmas in Book III of his chronicle would never again obtain. To be sure, as we shall see, the last quarter of the twelfth century witnessed as many attempts at deposition and changes on the throne as its first quarter. But those events have a distinct feel — and were carried out by different means and under altered circumstances. To some extent, the difference is one of sources, since Cosmas's successors are more terse and less self-conscious about conveying a specific political moral or even constructing a tight narrative. There nevertheless seems little doubt that, by 1130, the days of manipulators like Vacek or widespread repression of powerful freemen like the Vršovici were over. The result was a restoration of the balance between dukes and freemen, in which, paradoxically, the latter had gained stronger footing.

Mid-Century: Preemptive Measures

The middle years of the twelfth century were dominated by Vladislav II, who ruled from the death of Soběslav I in 1140 until 1173, when he abdicated the throne. Although Vladislav's reign appears to have been free from unrest, a closer look at the three variables under investigation here — nonruling dynasts, Moravia, and the freemen — shows that trouble continued to brew at these points of tension. Circumstances had, however, changed since the rule of Vladislav's father and uncles. The Přemyslid dynasty, which now comprised fifteen sons of eight fathers, was segregated between the powerless and the powerful. Among the latter were the Moravian vice-dukes, who took increasing advantage of the authority they wielded in their own lands, using it to strengthen their power vis-à-vis the duke of Bohemia. The freemen, although generally more conservative in the formation of factions, could now effectively exploit Moravia and the vice-dukes as a base from which to launch their revolts and safely retreat.

The surest sign of the strength gained by the freemen after the violence of the early twelfth century was Vladislav II's election in 1140. At the death of Vladislav I in 1125, Cosmas depicted the freemen debating about his successor, though their lack of focus left it to be largely arranged by members of the dynasty.¹⁴⁰ Fifteen years later, the Canon of Vyšehrad shows the freemen in more serious deliberation, in which no Přemyslid seems present, at the deathbed of Soběslav I:

Meanwhile how many rumors and how many councils the freemen of Bohemia instigated, I thought safer to pass over in silence, lest perhaps in pursuing the events as they were I incur the hatred of someone. All the Czech freemen came together at Vyšehrad. Holding councils day and night, some struggled to elect and enthrone this one and some that one. Nevertheless the entire gathering turned to Načerat alone, such that they would all equally subject themselves unanimously to whomever he supported.¹⁴¹

What is important about the election of 1140 in the present context is that the freemen acted collectively, putting aside entirely their differing views about who should be duke in order to stand together. They decided to ignore Soběslav's designation of his son Vladislav as successor and their own oaths to uphold it, choosing instead to enthrone the eldest son of Vladislav I, also named Vladislav.¹⁴² In the process, they also circumvented the seniority rule of succession; although there is no way to know for certain the relative ages of Přemyslids, it is highly unlikely that Vladislav II was older than all three of Bořivoj's sons or the vice-dukes of Moravia. By refusing to form factions in support of Bořivoj's sons they contributed to their isolation and to thinning the ranks of contentious dynasts. Revolt was a political instrument, as was its threat: in this case, the freemen transformed the implicit threat to contest succession to "elect" their duke without removing to the battlefield.

The power to elect a duke was not yet the power to control him—a fact that undoubtedly frustrated Načerat and his colleagues. The same freemen instrumental in Vladislav's election, including Načerat, led an insurrection against him in 1142—an event for which, uniquely, we have three separate narrative accounts. There is no mention of the vice-dukes or of Conrad of Znojmo's interest in claiming the throne until the disgruntled freemen began the rebellion by fleeing to Moravia. Vincent, whose account of the revolt is fullest, makes this point clear:

Iniquity was begun by many elder and more noble men of Bohemia, from whom equity ought to arise. . . . Certain nobles in the land, obtaining better benefices, wanted to arrange everything according to their will. And when they were not able to achieve this, actually holding little gatherings of their relatives, they declared that they had elected badly for themselves a lord who was not able to direct the governance of such a duchy.¹⁴³

The Canon of Vyšehrad reports a similar division in the ranks of the freemen: "the better and more noble part went to Conrad, duke of Moravia, but the lesser and younger remained with Vladislav."¹⁴⁴ Once again, the freemen were divided among the younger and the elder, though in this instance the young men, who must have been of a similar age to the new ruler, joined

the duke's party—surely hoping to profit simultaneously by faithful service to Vladislav and by the defeat of men of Načerat's stature (he was killed in battle at Vysoká). The established men of prominence, the same ones whose voices most counted in determining succession after Soběslav's death, in 1142 comprised the rebel party.

Alongside the division between elder and younger freemen, or better and lesser, appear also the distinctions "Bohemian" and "Moravian." The condensed report given by the Monk of Sázava describes the events of 1142 thus: "*Comes Načerat and other freemen of Bohemia conspired against Duke Vladislav and, united with the Moravians, entered Bohemia hostilely with a large army. Then they met in war, with the Bohemians retreating, and besieged Prague . . . Then Conrad, king of the Romans, arrived and pushed them back from the siege of the city, and they withdrew and returned to Moravia.*"¹⁴⁵ The rebels also retreated back into Moravia when their plans failed.¹⁴⁶ Whereas an earlier generation might have endeavored to assassinate the duke in order to resolve their grievances and fulfill their ambitions, in this instance Načerat and his colleagues incited a rebellion by drawing upon the latent ambitions of the most powerful of the nonruling dynasts and launching their attack on the throne from Moravia. That the rebels not only sought the support of the vice-dukes and intended one of them for the throne in Prague was nothing new. Yet the identification of the warring parties as "Moravians" fighting against the "Bohemians" (even though the chroniclers indicate that the former group included Bohemian freemen) reflects a new dynamic, one that will become increasingly common.¹⁴⁷

As Břetislav I recognized, the "live wires" of medieval Czech politics were nonruling Přemyslids. Only one man could be duke; but when all the men of the dynastic family were made theoretically eligible for the office, the disruptive potential of lesser members was magnified. When they could not be bought off with lands in Moravia the situation worsened considerably. Not surprisingly, therefore, dukes sought mercilessly to contain their many cousins. The process was begun already by Soběslav I: in the blinding of his nephew, Břetislav, who was not himself directly implicated in the plot to assassinate him, Soběslav removed the oldest Přemyslid of the next generation.¹⁴⁸ Throughout his reign the sources note the summary imprisonment or exile of dynasts: Břetislav was imprisoned immediately after Soběslav's enthronement in 1126; Otto III went to Russia after his father's death at Chlumec; Conrad, son of Lutold, was imprisoned in 1128; Vratislav, son of Oldřich, was seized in 1129, although he is reported returning from exile the following year; and Vladislav, son of Vladislav I, who went into exile in 1133, returned briefly in 1136 and immediately fled again.¹⁴⁹ Not all were in disfavor all the time, of course.

Václav, son of Svatopluk, served as vice-duke of Olomouc from 1126 to his premature death in 1130.¹⁵⁰ In 1132 Jaromír, one of Bořivoj's sons, led a Czech army to Rome for Lothar III at Soběslav's request.¹⁵¹ His brother Leopold was appointed vice-duke of Olomouc in 1135 but expelled in 1137.¹⁵² The remaining Přemyslids, especially Vladislav's younger sons, were probably yet minors; nothing is reported of them.

Upon his accession in 1140, Vladislav II would have inherited these same men as problems, minus the deceased Václav and blinded Břetislav, but including the newly-returned Otto III and Soběslav's four sons. A relatively young man, expecting to rule for many years — which he did — Vladislav could hardly plan to keep all of his relatives in prison for their lifetimes. With the collusion of the freemen, the Přemyslids were effectively divided into three groups. First, the "hereditary" vice-dukes, each conveniently his father's only son, were installed in Moravia; whatever trouble Conrad of Znojmo, Vratislav of Brno, and Otto III of Olomouc would later cause, they also remained firmly ensconced in their seats. Second, Vladislav's own brothers, Theobald and Henry, took positions of complete loyalty and apparently sought security and prosperity for their children in the formation of cadet branches of the dynasty — for which they were rewarded.¹⁵³ Bořivoj's sons were apparently left to languish in exile or to keep themselves occupied in the duke's graces at home.¹⁵⁴ The same holds true for Soběslav's sons, at least in their maturity.¹⁵⁵ On the whole, all Přemyslids but the vice-dukes and Vladislav's brothers were ignored, and not merely by the duke. The freemen apparently colluded with their ruler in the disenfranchisement of these men, at least tacitly, for there is no indication of any effort to rally behind them. Bořivoj's sons, in particular, appear as isolated figures.

This strategy for dealing with the proliferation of Přemyslids, therefore, was almost immediately successful at disempowering all but the vice-dukes, leaving the only threat of deposition to come from Moravia, albeit considerably strengthened. This reorientation was begun in the second half of Soběslav's reign but decisively worked out soon after Vladislav's enthronement. The 1142 revolt had been launched from Moravia at the instigation of prominent freemen, led by Conrad of Znojmo and joined by all the mature dynasts but the duke's brothers. Vincent reports: "And with the advice of some depraved men they fled into Moravia, some to prince Conrad, some to Otto, some to Vratislav. Vladislav, son of Soběslav, Spitišnĕv and Leopold, sons of Bořivoj, were attached to the latter criminal. With God arranging it otherwise, they chose as duke for themselves Conrad, who himself aspired to it."¹⁵⁶ Endowment of selected members of the dynasty with Moravian lands gave them power without assuring their loyalty, although Vladislav, at first word of the revolt, tried

in vain to appeal to his cousins: "He sent messengers to Lord Conrad and Lord Vratislav ordering them to admonish [the vice-dukes] to remember that they had promised by an oath of fidelity to him that they would hold the land, which they had from him, in peace, and not to acquiesce to the depraved advice of the exiles."¹⁵⁷ Bishop Henry Zdík was sent to speak to Otto of Olomouc in a similar vein, reminding him especially that he had only just returned from exile and to Olomouc by the duke's grace.¹⁵⁸ These efforts to forestall an armed struggle came to nothing. A battle was waged at Vysoká, where the duke's forces were routed. Vladislav was compelled to flee to beseech imperial aid, leaving Theobald to hold Prague and sending Henry to collect reinforcements from Bautzen.¹⁵⁹ Theobald was successful in holding off the army besieging Prague until Vladislav could return with a host of German reinforcements, led by Conrad III himself.¹⁶⁰ The rebels fled back to Moravia without giving battle. This revolt was the end for many of the lesser Přemyslids—who appear thereafter only in the margins—but the beginning of a series of struggles with the vice-dukes of Moravia.

One result of the reduction of the Přemyslid dynasty to two distinct groups, the powerless (the sons of Bořivoj and Soběslav I) and the empowered (the duke, his brothers, and the vice-dukes), was a lessening of the threat of deposition. A collateral consequence was the strengthening of the position of the vice-dukes of Moravia. From the eleventh century, the chief check on their power had been removal from office and the duke's appointment of another male of the dynasty. Now, in the effort to exclude lesser Přemyslids from the smallest expectation of power, that strategy could not be employed. The *de facto* "hereditary" hold on the vice-duchies by the descendants of Conrad and Otto I left them free to enjoy the authority delegated to them. Vratislav, Conrad, and Otto III were mature leaders—undoubtedly older than the new duke—and were ready to take advantage of the situation.¹⁶¹ Vladislav II did endeavor to check the abuse of power in their lands, especially where it led to conflict with the bishop of Olomouc, but because he refused to depose them from office permanently, he achieved little effect.

The years after the revolt are illustrative of this approach toward the vice-dukes, even rebellious ones. In 1143, Vladislav II took his revenge, laying waste to the lands of Conrad and Vratislav and, "seeing that this pleased the Bohemians," continuing on to those of Otto.¹⁶² The following year, Otto and Vratislav, "acknowledging themselves to have acted evilly against their lord duke . . . and submitting their white necks to his sword, acquired the grace of Duke Vladislav and were permitted to hold their provinces, although devastated."¹⁶³ Not only did Conrad of Znojmo apparently refuse to make peace with the duke, but in 1145 he attempted to assassinate Bishop Henry Zdík of Olomouc on his way

to Rome. The bishop managed to escape by stealth to Litomyšl in Bohemia, but a monk in his entourage, mistaken for the bishop, was killed and all their goods stolen.¹⁶⁴ The next year, not surprisingly, Vladislav invaded Conrad's province, laid waste to the land, and besieged and took Znojmo.¹⁶⁵ Conrad apparently fled to the imperial court; with Conrad III's mediation, "the duke restored the land to Conrad, although devastated."¹⁶⁶ Altogether, therefore, though their lands were badly burned and despoiled, all three of the rebellious Moravian vice-dukes were allowed to keep their offices, suffering not even a day of imprisonment.

Conrad's attempt to assassinate the bishop of Olomouc was not the first conflict between the vice-dukes and Henry Zdík, nor the last. The bishop, not unexpectedly, was among the duke's allies during the revolt of 1142. When, in retribution, the vice-dukes banned him from his diocese, he responded by excommunicating them and their supporters. The vice-dukes declared the act invalid, and the bishop imposed a general interdict on the diocese.¹⁶⁷ The ban was lifted the following year by the papal legate, Guido, whose task was first delayed by the war in Moravia, but who ultimately assisted the vice-dukes in obtaining the duke's grace.¹⁶⁸ For his attack on the bishop in 1145, Conrad was again excommunicated, this time by the pope himself.¹⁶⁹ The papal letter lists the names of those excommunicated for the assault and includes Vratislav of Brno and Theobald as well as Conrad and eight others; Theobald and Vratislav were later absolved but priests in Conrad's lands were further punished for celebrating the divine office in spite of the ban.¹⁷⁰

Friction between the vice-dukes and the bishop of Olomouc was not solely associated with their revolt against Vladislav II. Henry Zdík was among the strongest Czech bishops of the eleventh and twelfth centuries: his diocese encompassed all of Moravia, and his episcopal lands were scattered throughout their three territories. A charter from circa 1147 reflects that confrontations could arise on many levels and that the bishop turned to the duke for support, a convenient privilege that undoubtedly added to the vice-dukes' hostility:

Moreover, granting with liberal generosity, we confirm by princely authority that men of the aforesaid church of Olomouc, whether they be free or servile of whatever condition, of any age or sex, living in the land of Lord Vratislav or Lord Conrad or Lord Otto, should be separated and completely removed from the power and dominion of them and their successors, the princes of Moravia. They should be burdened by no exactions of tributes, of produce, or of any other sort and should remain free from every disturbance or bother of the princes of that land.¹⁷¹

Coupled with the earlier confirmation of all the lands held by the see of Olomouc,¹⁷² this charter reflects the vice-dukes' active, perhaps abusive, exercise

of their authority and the resulting clashes with the only other powerful lord in their lands, the bishop of Olomouc. The duke of Bohemia, as overlord of the vice-dukes and protector of the bishop, could mediate these disputes and declare the freedom of the church. To do so was to succor the church, certainly, but it also worked, and must have been intended, to weaken the vice-dukes (surely it is no accident that such immunities were still vehemently denied the bishop of Prague seventy years after being generously granted the bishop of Olomouc).

In the end, the chronicles are remarkably silent about the fate of the rebels of 1142. Probably most lost their castellanies and court offices to Vladislav's "younger" supporters. (Vincent says that those warriors who participated in Vladislav's punitive devastation of Moravia in 1143 were "enriched with many benefices."¹⁷³) Some perhaps remained in Moravia, serving the vice-dukes in a partial exile. Clearly, however, a certain equilibrium was achieved after 1142, and it was not entirely the work of the duke. In 1147, Vladislav II, together with his brother Henry, went to Jerusalem on crusade, leaving Theobald in charge of affairs in his absence — something no duke of the previous generation would have dared.¹⁷⁴ Not only did the freemen who stayed home not revolt but when Soběslav entered Bohemia to seize the throne, hardly any rallied around him; Theobald was able to capture his cousin and hold him until the return of his brother, who imprisoned him.¹⁷⁵ Meanwhile, even Moravia was quiet; after the turbulent 1140s, the vice-dukes presumably ruled well and in harmony with the duke. The deaths of Conrad of Znojmo, Vratislav of Brno, and Otto III of Olomouc are not recorded. Partly from a reduction in the number of contenders and partly out of recognition of the strengthened position of the vice-dukes, the new dynastic politics meant a reorientation of magnate dissatisfaction toward strategies centered on Moravia. Thus, although trouble with the freemen and with nonruling Přemyslids would erupt again at Vladislav's abdication, the road was paved for an increasingly separate and independent Moravia. For the freemen, all the dynastic reorientation seems less to have caused dissatisfaction than to have changed the manner in which they acted upon it. The freemen, moreover, not only altered their strategies to adjust to the consequences of ducal policies toward fellow Přemyslids or towards Moravia, but had an active hand in their formation.

Last Quarter of the Twelfth Century: Dark Days?

Always in medieval history, scholars are at the mercy of sources that are less numerous, less comprehensive, and less trustworthy than they would like. Cosmas's account of events was almost too elaborate, but his fixation upon machi-

nations within the dynasty and among the freemen provided a wealth of detail, if not all of it reliable. The preoccupations of Vincent and Gerlach, the sole narrative sources for the second half of the twelfth century, lay elsewhere, however. Vincent's chronicle is devoted to the reign of Vladislav II but his chief interest was the imperial campaigns in Italy and diplomatic service of Bishop Daniel, both of which he witnessed personally. His continuator, Abbot Gerlach of Milevsko, writing in the early thirteenth century, was most concerned about ecclesiastical affairs, and almost half of the chronicle extant describes the life of Gottschalk, abbot of Želiv. As a consequence, just at the moment when we are ready to examine the culmination of the strategies described above, the sources provide less information than before. Only the most rudimentary facts—and not all of those—may be established.

The reign of Vladislav II, first as duke then as king, seems to have been quite peaceful; perhaps the constant campaigning on crusade, with the emperor in Poland and Italy, and in Hungary kept everyone too occupied for scheming at home. Nevertheless, Vladislav was not immune to pressure from the freemen. On two important instances, the freemen opposed his plans—to send armies to Milan in 1158 and to Hungary in 1164—and he was forced to release them from their obligation to support him.¹⁷⁶ By cannily offering lavish rewards to those who would willingly serve on these expeditions, the king exploited the rift between older well-established freemen, who undoubtedly saw little to gain from such adventures, and younger ambitious men, anxious to improve their standing and accumulate wealth.¹⁷⁷ Nor was he entirely spared the usual dynastic problems. His second son, Svatopluk, killed the courtier Vojslav in 1170 because he resented the prominence and royal favor he enjoyed; Svatopluk was immediately exiled and died abroad soon after.¹⁷⁸ We hear little otherwise from lesser Přemyslids because Soběslav spent the years 1161 to 1173 in prison, and Oldřich in exile.¹⁷⁹ The real evidence, however, that Vladislav's reign did not fundamentally alter the underlying tension between the duke and the freemen or among members of the Přemyslid dynasty lies in the consequences of his decision to abdicate the throne in 1173.

The turbulent events that followed Vladislav's abdication and continued to Premysl's second accession in 1198 may briefly be summarized. Vladislav abdicated in favor of his eldest son Frederick. Both were opposed by the freemen and by Oldřich at the imperial court, who persuaded the emperor to arbitrate succession. Frederick was thus deposed and Soběslav enthroned, in 1174.¹⁸⁰ Four years later Soběslav had lost the support of the freemen, angered Barbarossa, and started a war with Conrad Otto of Znojmo/Brno; Frederick invaded Bohemia and, with assistance from the emperor and Conrad Otto, was enthroned in 1178.¹⁸¹ The freemen rebelled in 1182 and turned to Conrad Otto,

who attempted to overthrow Frederick, but with imperial mediation peace was made.¹⁸² Václav, the youngest son of Soběslav I, revolted against Frederick in 1184 but was defeated.¹⁸³ When Frederick died in 1189, Conrad Otto succeeded without incident and ruled until his death in 1191.¹⁸⁴ That year, Václav was enthroned. The Přemyslid bishop of Prague, Henry, opposed him, however, and with imperial intervention secured the Bohemian throne for Přemysl, and Moravia for Vladislav, both sons of Vladislav II.¹⁸⁵ When Přemysl refused to pay the debt owed the emperor and redeem the hostage bishop, Henry invaded to seize the throne himself, again with imperial assistance.¹⁸⁶ Henry ruled as both duke and bishop from 1193 until his death in 1197. As the bishop entered his final illness, Přemysl attempted to seize the throne but was repulsed by the freemen, who enthroned Vladislav as Henry's successor. When Přemysl attacked a second time, Vladislav met him and, before a battle could be fought, the brothers made an agreement: "that both equally would rule, one in Moravia and the other in Bohemia, and that both would be, like one spirit, so also one principate."¹⁸⁷ Thus, in 1198, the two began long reigns: Vladislav as margrave of Moravia and Přemysl as duke and — from later that same year — king of Bohemia.¹⁸⁸

In spite of the apparent predominance of the emperor, which will be analyzed more fully in Chapter 7, the freemen were clearly involved in all of these changes on the throne, most of which took place on the battlefield. Like his great-uncle Bořivoj at the beginning of the century, Frederick faced opposition led both by Přemyslids and by freemen at almost every turn. Of Conrad Otto's revolt in 1182, for instance, Gerlach reports: "That same summer, our elder Bohemians whipped up a full-blown persecution of long-held hatreds against Duke Frederick and, throwing him out of the land followed by a thousand complaints, elected as prince for themselves the Moravian Conrad Otto. With him they besieged Prague for some time and finally took it."¹⁸⁹ The habit, now fully developed, of relying upon imperial aid when sufficient support among the freemen could not be mustered allowed dukes to survive widespread disapproval among the freemen — as Vladislav II himself had in 1142. Unlike Bořivoj, therefore, Frederick was able to hold onto his throne. The advantages the dukes derived from their relationship with the emperor served increasingly as a strategic counterweight against the freemen at home, but reliance on such a strategy itself reflects how powerful collective opposition among the freemen remained.¹⁹⁰

Gerlach claims that he does not entirely know what set the freemen — who remain virtually unnamed throughout his chronicle — against Frederick, whether his own ineptitude or their perfidy.¹⁹¹ Analysis of dynastic politics yields a more compelling explanation. By the 1140s, the Přemyslid dynasty had

dwindled down to the sons of Vladislav I, of Soběslav I, and the vice-dukes in Moravia. In his long reign, Vladislav had ample time to plan further realignment within the dynasty. In 1158 he secured from Barbarossa the title of king and right to wear the royal crown, as well as an imperial charter certifying its application to his successors.¹⁹² Marking his two older sons for secular rule, he dedicated Adalbert to the church, though not in the Czech Lands.¹⁹³ His loyal brothers must have agreed to form cadet branches: Theobald's son became a sort of subordinate vice-duke in eastern Bohemia, while Henry's only son was designated early for the see at Prague and sent to study in Paris.¹⁹⁴ Apparently dispossessing Otto III's young sons, Frederick became vice-duke of Olomouc from 1164 until his father's abdication, which effectively served to associate him in rule. Had the freemen not rebelled, Vladislav might have successfully created a hereditary kingship, established succession by primogeniture, and realigned the ruling dynasty along lines already common, and rapidly becoming the norm, elsewhere in Europe. If he had been successful, the freemen would have irrevocably lost their political leverage, at least as they had exercised it in the past. A host of circumstances typical of Czech politics proved the undoing of Vladislav's plans: Frederick was indeed inept, the sons of Soběslav I could not entirely be made to vanish, Conrad Otto was not content merely with Znojmo, Bishop Henry would not forget that he was a Přemyslid, and the youngest of Vladislav's own sons, especially Přemysl, had ambitions of their own. Likewise the freemen, whose earlier willingness to ignore the sons of Bořivoj had allowed their marginalization, would not countenance their own disempowerment, and thus began the series of conflicts that continued to the end of the twelfth century.

It is, meanwhile, very difficult to ascertain what was happening in Moravia in the second half of the twelfth century; we can only name the vice-dukes, and then but barely. After the death of Bishop Henry Zdík in 1151, nothing is reported of the activities of Conrad of Znojmo, Vratislav of Brno, and Otto III of Olomouc. The latter requested papal protection for the monastery at Hradiště circa 1154–59 and had a hand in the appointment of a new bishop of Olomouc in 1157.¹⁹⁵ He was apparently alive in 1161 when Soběslav seized Olomouc, as was a Conrad of Znojmo, though this "Conrad" could already be his son Conrad Otto.¹⁹⁶ By 1164, King Vladislav's son Frederick was styled "duke of Moravia," and a charter from 1169 indicates that he was, in fact, vice-duke of Olomouc.¹⁹⁷ It is not clear when he was appointed vice-duke or under what circumstances, but presumably the sons of Otto III, Vladimír and Břetislav, were deposed. Depending upon when Frederick was appointed, they may have been minors; Vladimír was born in 1145. Since neither of Otto's sons is known as vice-duke before 1190, the circumstances of Frederick's appointment were

hardly innocent. After Frederick's enthronement as duke in 1173 and his subsequent deposition by Soběslav II, Olomouc was apparently bestowed upon Soběslav's brother Oldřich, as a single charter from 1174 testifies.¹⁹⁸ Whether Soběslav's other brother, Václav, acquired a portion of Moravia at this time, such as Brno, is not clear.

Conrad Otto, son of Conrad of Znojmo, quietly emerged in this period as the predominant power in Moravia; without doubt, he was the first vice-duke after Břetislav I to govern a united Moravia. The first unambiguous mention of him comes during his conflicts with Soběslav II and with the Austrians in the years 1175–76.¹⁹⁹ Znojmo must have passed to him from his father by "inheritance," probably sometime after 1161. By 1178, perhaps in a bid to earn his favor, Soběslav had delegated Brno to Conrad Otto as well—though he lent his support to Frederick in his successful bid for the throne of that same year.²⁰⁰ Přemysl was perhaps appointed vice-duke of Olomouc by Frederick, but more likely, Conrad Otto added Olomouc to his holdings in Znojmo and Brno at this time, making him the sole vice-duke of Moravia.²⁰¹ In 1182, as already mentioned, the freemen tried to replace Frederick with Conrad Otto. At the imperial court, where peace was made and Frederick reinstated, Barbarossa "returned Bohemia to the one, and ordered the other to be content with Moravia."²⁰²

Scholars have traditionally assumed that Barbarossa bestowed upon Conrad Otto the rank of *marchio* at this time, although Gerlach's account of the court of 1182 gives no specific indication of this.²⁰³ Later, Conrad Otto is indeed listed with the title *marchio Moravie*: once by Gerlach for the year 1184, once as a witness to an imperial charter of 1187, and once in retrospect from a charter of 1190.²⁰⁴ The use of this title is indeed extraordinary; it was never applied to earlier vice-dukes and would not appear again until after the 1198 agreement between Přemysl and Vladislav. By summer 1185, meanwhile, Frederick sought to curb his quite powerful and undoubtedly independent cousin, and the chronicler's explanation of his rationale is telling:

Duke Frederick was very angry at Conrad of Moravia, both on account of an old injury, namely that he had tried to expel him from the realm three years earlier, and on account of the alienation of Moravia, which he longed [*gestiebat*] to hold not from him but from the hand of the emperor. Considering the absence of the emperor (he was crossing the Alps) to be his opportunity, he sent his brother Přemysl with a strong army into Moravia, in order to lay ruin to it.²⁰⁵

The passing references to Conrad Otto as *marchio*, taken together with Gerlach's use here of *gestiebat*, leave it unclear what precisely was decreed at Barbarossa's court, what Conrad Otto claimed, and where and by whom it was rec-

ognized. None of the charters issued by Duke Frederick between 1182 and 1189 mention Conrad Otto, unfortunately. While Frederick managed to prevent him from seizing the throne in Prague, he was apparently unable to force Conrad Otto to recognize his overlordship or to remove him from Moravia. In the summer of 1195 Přemysl, acting on Frederick's behalf, devastated the area around Znojmo, still Conrad Otto's chief residence, and that winter the Bohemians won a hard-fought and very bloody battle against an army of Moravians and Germans at Loděnice.²⁰⁶ The two made peace the following year, with Conrad Otto recognizing that he could not defeat his enemies — and probably Frederick realizing the same.²⁰⁷

Conrad Otto succeeded Frederick as duke of Bohemia in 1189, leaving something of a vacuum in the Moravia he had dominated for so long. Frederick's widow — whom Gerlach credits with doing most of the governing during her husband's reign — tried to secure Olomouc for herself before relinquishing Prague to the new duke, who agreed and immediately reneged.²⁰⁸ Instead, Conrad Otto reinstated the long-ignored sons of Otto III of Olomouc, Vladimír and Břetislav.²⁰⁹ Whether they were dukes of a united Moravia or vice-dukes only of their "hereditary" portion, Olomouc, is uncertain; the latter is more likely, although it means the duke must have continued to rule Brno and Znojmo directly. In 1192, after Conrad Otto's death, Bishop Henry brokered Vladislav's acquisition of Moravia, together with Přemysl's accession to the throne in Prague.²¹⁰ Whether Vladislav was actually installed is uncertain but probable. In 1194, after deposing Přemysl and becoming duke himself, Henry "went with an army into Moravia and subjugated that land, or rather the castles of that land, to his lordship."²¹¹ Presumably at this time Otto III's sons Vladimír and Břetislav were again granted Olomouc. In December 1195 and January 1196, Vladimír and Břetislav, as "prince of Olomouc" and "prince of the Moravians" respectively, made land grants to Hradiště monastery; issuing separate charters with identical language, both stipulate that the donations were made with the other's consent.²¹² The two thus appear to have ruled jointly, though the different locations given in each charter hints at partition. Nothing is known, however, of Brno or Znojmo at this time. In 1198, as already described above, Vladislav ceded the throne in Prague to Přemysl in return for Moravia, at which point he assumed the title *marchio*. The measures taken to distribute power in Moravia in the years between Conrad Otto's accession to the Bohemian throne in 1189 and the final disposition in 1198 seem half-hearted and unfocused, no doubt a two-fold result of decades of dynastic restructuring and the recent consolidation of Moravia in the hands of Conrad Otto.

What conclusions can be drawn concerning the situation in Moravia from

such complicated and fragmentary information? In terms of dynastic politics and the vice-dukes we find a little of everything in this period: “hereditary” vice-dukes inherit, or are passed over and later reinstated; some nonruling Přemyslids acquire portions of Moravia, some do not; at times, positions of vice-duke lay vacant, while at other times all three were united together; removal of vice-dukes was still possible, if not always accomplished. Since from the earliest times the disposition of Moravia went hand-in-hand with dynastic considerations, the incoherence manifested here may be linked with the reconfiguration of the dynasty itself. On the other hand, while Moravia was always clearly distinct from Bohemia, a trend toward increasingly separate rule by the vice-dukes marks the second half of the twelfth century. The omission from the sources of information about the reigns of Conrad, Vratislav, and Otto III after the turbulent 1140s suggests an increasing independence; Conrad Otto’s strength and his ultimate reunification of Moravia constitute part of this development. Since these men could never be ousted from their territories and they were very difficult to defeat when in revolt, it seems reasonable to assume that no duke in Prague could effectively intervene in their handling of Moravian affairs. Hence, Conrad Otto’s apparent attempt to formalize his *de facto* autonomy, styling himself *marchio* and forcing Duke Frederick to acknowledge his own impotence. Because, like many vice-dukes before him, Conrad Otto would not remove himself from the line of succession to the throne and could not refuse once it became possible to seize it, the ties that bound Moravia to Bohemia were never completely severed. Nor would they ever be. But it is telling that the agreement between Vladislav and Přemysl, virtually the last Přemyslids of their generation, effectively recognized the independence of a united Moravia and “margrave” as the title of its ruler, at the same time as Vladislav withdrew his claim to or interest in the Bohemian throne.

Conclusion

Looking back at the strife of his father’s generation and earlier, Břetislav I in 1055 made a determination designed to provide stability for his realm and futures for his sons. His establishment of succession to the throne by seniority and of appanages in Moravia successfully kept the peace among his sons. The generation of his grandsons, however, proved the crucial test of the ramifications of the seniority rule. The first quarter of the twelfth century witnessed many changes on the throne, but should not be viewed as pointless chaos. The assassination of rulers and summary repression of freemen represent attempts (not all of them effective) by groups of freemen and by dukes to exploit weaknesses, to create imbalance in order to achieve their will. This period also

included the first test of a weak and politically inept duke, Bořivoj, who, whatever his legitimate right, was consistently excluded from power by both his family and the freemen. By the end of these years of violence, everyone knew “the lay of the land” and was ready to implement new strategies for the next generation. The trial of plotters in 1130 thus marked both the close of the preceding period, and the beginning of the next. Soběslav I’s reign saw the last repression of the freemen and the first consistent efforts at preventive elimination of lesser dynasts. Vladislav II would continue the latter, aiming more consciously to restructure the dynasty in the hope of establishing primogeniture in favor of his son Frederick. The freemen were complicit in thinning the dynasty, but would not allow its reorganization around a single main line. As they saw clearly, this would have permanently denied them the leverage to manipulate dynastic conflict, to act on their dissatisfactions, and to choose their ruler. Vladislav’s abdication, therefore, met with immediate rebellion, beginning another twenty-five years of violence. But the conflicts of the last quarter of the twelfth century were decidedly different from those of its first quarter. When Soběslav II killed Sturm he did public penance, though his offense seems trivial compared to those fifty years before.

Moravia was plainly conceived as distinct from Bohemia, marked out by natural and artificial boundaries, comprising a diocese, and possessing its own rulers. Because the vice-dukes held ducal powers, controlling minting, tolls, vast lands, and probably jurisdiction, Moravia’s separation must have been keenly felt in the course of day-to-day affairs. And since their delegated powers included the right to dispose of castles, the vice-dukes had the means to foster communities of freemen loyal chiefly to them. Yet the subordination of Moravia to the Bohemian duke was always recognized, in practice as well as in theory. When the Austrians attacked Znojmo, the duke of Bohemia was called in to respond, for instance, while the Moravian freemen were expected to muster on the same command as their Bohemian colleagues. Most importantly, however, the link between Moravia and Bohemia was reinforced by the vice-dukes’ own pretensions to the ducal throne. Like all other Přemyslids, they never took their sights off Prague, and thus both the vice-dukes and the Moravian freemen who fought with them were always implicated in Bohemian politics.

The various transformations in the play of medieval Czech politics, described at length in this chapter, were achieved by revolt. These revolts, which were endemic to Czech society in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, were not manifested identically in every instance. Consistent pressure upon the duke, nonetheless, forced change. Compared to the early twelfth century, for instance, we later observe no assassination, massacre, or plotting among the

freemen. Freemen were still dependent upon the duke for their advancement through appointments to castellanies and court offices, but they no longer risked exile, imprisonment, or death when they dared to dissent from their ruler's choices. The position of the freemen, as individuals and as a group, was thus stronger in the last half of the twelfth century than ever before. Moravia, always separate, became increasingly independent, if still subordinate. Yet neither of these results should be treated as a foregone conclusion or an overdetermined outcome. Though unified and raised to a margravate under Vladislav Henry, for instance, Moravia would soon be reannexed. Likewise, although the freemen had won a measure of security for themselves, the tension between the duke and the freemen remained, only better or differently balanced.

The nonruling Přemyslids, who stood at the crux of revolt and conflict over Moravia, and whose eligibility for succession created the duke's very dependence upon the freemen, were the ultimate losers. These men stood outside the structure of independence between the duke and freemen that governed medieval Czech society and politics. Like ecclesiastical institutions, marginalized and rendered virtually powerless because decisively separated from either the duke or the freemen, lesser Přemyslids occupied a liminal position, as in some ways did Moravia itself. Just as Moravia could not be viewed as the same as, or even part of, Bohemia, nonruling Přemyslids cannot simply be treated as freemen. With a foot in both camps, neither wholly tied to one side or the other, they served as a crucial focal point for strategies of power. Increasingly, the freemen saw the value of exploiting this liminality in connection with their own dissatisfaction and attempts at rebellion. While regarding the lesser dynasts as mere pawns of the freemen would exaggerate matters, certainly their dependence upon the freemen was far greater than the duke's, and those unable to garner support, like Bořivoj's sons, were hopelessly disempowered.

The threat and use of military force on behalf of a pretender to the throne constituted the preeminent strategy, the counterweight to ducal power. The freemen were not successful in tipping the balance of power definitively in their favor, but managed at least to lessen their dependence upon the duke by strengthening their ability to threaten deposition. The duke's own machinations — such as the appeals to the emperor and elevation to kingship, discussed in the next chapter — would hardly have been necessary had the freemen been unwilling or unable to exercise political leverage. Dukes were never allowed to become complacent, to shirk their responsibilities, or to abuse their powers. By increasingly manipulating lesser Přemyslids and Moravia, the freemen were able to create a safer and stabler environment in which to exercise their lever-

age against the duke. In other words, one of the results of the freemen's careful exploitation of instability was thus, in fact, stability. Such stability undoubtedly was crucial to moves toward independence, discussed in Chapter 2, which would prove the most effective means of loosening the bond of interdependence for the freemen.

7. MANIPULATIONS OF IMPERIAL AUTHORITY

Finally, we turn to consider the relationship between the duke of Bohemia and the ruler of the array of German and non-German territories that we may justifiably call the “Empire.”¹ The complicated question of the place of the Czech Lands within, or in relation to, the Empire has long been a pre-occupation of Czech and German historians — unfortunately one often driven by modern political agendas.² These discussions usually revolve around Bohemia’s “dependence” upon the Empire, defined in legal and institutional terms in such a way as to create considerable distortion of the actions taken during the eleventh and twelfth centuries and their effects.³ It is similarly inaccurate to consider the Czech Lands as an object of expanding German hegemony since, after the tenth century, the Czechs were rarely the object of imperial territorial designs.⁴ The approach followed here inverts these assumptions: rather than legal relations between states, we find the personal interaction between two rulers, and in place of German hegemony appears not merely ducal agency but a certain imperial passivity. This analysis starts by conceding without hesitation that the Czech Lands occupied an ambivalent position, simultaneously subject to the emperor and autonomous. From that point, it aims to consider the ways in which the relationship between the duke and the emperor functioned, evolved, and served the needs of both parties. To comprehend this relationship in practice, this chapter demonstrates, it must be viewed as ongoing interaction within and around accepted parameters, but motivated on both sides by self-interest. This chapter thus treats the perennial conundrum of “Bohemia and the Empire” with a view to political strategy.

Not surprisingly, when the duke came to exploit his relationship with the emperor, his aim was to subvert the Czech freemen and their leverage in succession and at other times of crisis. The preceeding analysis of the convoluted political machinations that rocked the eleventh- and twelfth-century Czech Lands clearly begged the question of the emperor’s role and its significance.

At the same time, it points toward a new understanding of the basis for, and advantages of, the duke's alliance with the German king or emperor whose superiority he acknowledged. Initially the dukes' strategic appeals to the emperor entailed requests for military support, as well as efforts to appropriate the pro forma investiture of dukes of Bohemia to designate their own successors. While only marginally successful, ultimately these endeavors would culminate in a thorough transformation of the conception of ducal lordship, and the ideology and assumptions about legitimacy that lay behind it. This was achieved through coronation at the emperor's hand, first garnered, perhaps unwittingly, by Vratislav in 1086, then by Vladislav II in 1158 and Přemysl Otakar I in 1198. From 1198, the closing date for this study, Přemyslid rulers governed as kings. Hardly chafing under the imperial yoke, the duke of Bohemia may thus be seen to exploit his alliance with the emperor—in which he fully accepted a subordinate role—to further his domestic interests.

Bases for Interaction

It must have been clear to any German ruler that he could not control the Czech Lands—a lesson learned in the ninth and tenth centuries, and merely reiterated later.⁵ Bohemia was well fortified and isolated geographically, and governed by a strong central authority; Moravia was entirely out of reach. Yet, at the same time, the subordination of the duke of Bohemia to the emperor seems little in doubt. Chroniclers, Czech and German, took it so thoroughly for granted that it rarely merits discussion. At no point do they feel the need to explain why the duke should go to Regensburg in response to imperial summons, for instance, or what obligations precisely required him to send an army to “Sorbia”⁶ at the emperor's command. The acknowledgment of imperial might, of the abstract authority of the king of the Romans, and of a number of ceremonial and concrete obligations undoubtedly proceeded from the cumulative effect of decades of interaction, alliance, and occasional conflict. Yet the *de facto* limitations on imperial interference also powerfully shaped the interaction the “obligations” represent.

However we imagine the relationship between the duke and the emperor, the Czech ruler's full autonomy within his realm must be acknowledged. The reigning Přemyslid duke exercised his lordship in Bohemia and Moravia unimpeded by the sort of oversight characteristic of imperial rule over other territories of the Empire. The emperor owned no land, possessed no incomes, controlled no secular or ecclesiastical appointments. Neither he nor his men ever visited the Czech Lands on routine administrative business, so far as the sources record. A closer look at the imperial itinerary in this regard is illumi-

nating. The German ruler entered Bohemia only four times in two centuries, and three of these occasions were military; no emperor ever set foot in Moravia. In 1040/41, Henry III fought a war with Břetislav I, first meeting with defeat at the borders then approaching Prague victoriously the following year (see below). Henry IV passed through Bohemia on his way from Regensburg to Saxony, fleeing his own rebellious son. Lothar III brought an army in support of Otto II of Olomouc and was routed at the border crossing near Chlumec, in 1126. Later, in 1142, Conrad III led an army to Prague, backing Vladislav II against a revolt of Přemyslids and freemen; the approach of his army forced the duke's enemies to flee without a fight.⁷ Conrad celebrated Pentecost at Vyšehrad but there is no record of his performing any functions other than ceremonial or of his formally visiting any other areas of Bohemia.⁸ In all cases but the first, the emperor's appearance was that of a visiting dignitary and a military ally, not of a governing overlord.

An emperor's power, made tangible by his immediate presence, was reinforced by his rendering judgment, resolving disputes, and issuing charters. But the scarcity of imperial documents pertaining to the Czech Lands likewise argues against his oversight. Of 1,079 letters and charters issued by Barbarossa, for instance, only four directly pertain to Bohemia or Moravia.⁹ Proportionally, this is twice as many as for Henry IV, who issued only the charter suppressing the bishopric of Olomouc among a total of 524 documents.¹⁰ Of Conrad III's 298, there is only the Podivín grant.¹¹ Such statistics are not entirely reliable, of course, since so much depends upon the accidents of survival over the centuries, and since often particular incidents and problems gave rise to unexpected clusters of documents.¹² Still, even these few charters and letters issued to Czech dukes or bishops—or to other parties quarreling with them—provide little evidence of imperial influence. Five of the six are charters, three of those five are extraordinary, and the remaining two were shadowed by ducal charters.¹³ The emperor, regardless of his position as overlord of the duke of Bohemia, was in no way ruling or even exercising decisive influence in the Czech Lands. That there are only six directly relevant items from a few thousand imperial documents over two centuries is truly remarkable.

The bishops of Prague and Olomouc were suffragans of Mainz, an incapable institutional reality. Yet despite the importance of the "imperial church system," of which they were thereby a part, the emperor made no effort to control these bishops or their appointments. Although he always invested bishops of Prague and Olomouc before consecration, no regalian lands or rights were in the emperor's hands to bestow.¹⁴ Bishops were always selected in the Czech Lands and then sent to the emperor for confirmation; on no occasion was a bishop-elect ever rejected. Remarkably, this was even true in 1092 when the

emperor invested a new bishop of Olomouc only six years after decreeing that the diocese be suppressed and reunited with that of Prague.¹⁵ Visitations are recorded for occasional papal legates, but never for imperial bishops; and even the preeminent issues of the turn of the eleventh and twelfth centuries — the Investiture Contest and Gregorian Reform — failed to touch the Czech Lands for another century. In other words, while the bishoprics of Prague and Olomouc were undoubtedly part of the imperial church, in the practice of ecclesiastical affairs they remained quite separate.¹⁶

Yet, as the case of episcopal investiture demonstrates, long-recognized obligations did exist between the duke and the emperor, as did other accepted norms of interaction that should be understood more as customs than as legal obligations. All of them effectively acknowledged the superior status of emperor. In Cosmas's telling, conflict arose between Henry III and Břetislav I precisely over one such ancient obligation, the payment of annual tribute by the duke, as well as excessive and uncustomary demands on the emperor's part. According to Cosmas, hearing of Duke Břetislav's campaign in southern Poland and rumor about "the mass of gold and silver" he acquired, Henry III demanded that every penny of the spoils be sent to him or there would be war.¹⁷ In the chronicler's words the "Slavs" replied as follows:

Always preserving the fundamentals of our law, we have always been and today are under the *imperium* of King Charles and his successors. Our people [*gens*] have never been rebels. We remain, and always will remain, faithful to you in every war — if you desire to show us justice accordingly. Pippin, the son of King Charlemagne, established this law for us: that we should pay annually to the successors of the emperors 120 choice cows and 500 marks (where a mark is said to be 200 coins of our money). Among us this is said to have been the way of things from age to age. This we have paid to you every year without complaint and wish to pay to your successors. But if you mean to oppress us with any kind of yoke beyond the custom of the law, we are more ready to die than to bear an unaccustomed burden.¹⁸

The result was a war waged in two parts, during the summers of 1041 and 1042, respectively: the first was lost by German armies invading from the north-west and southwest and turned back in hostile border terrain; the second, with Henry leading apparently a much larger force attacking from three approaches, compelled Břetislav's capitulation at Prague.¹⁹ (The bishop of Prague at this final crucial moment felt himself, as Cosmas says, trapped between two lords; he apparently made the wrong decision in fleeing Prague for the emperor's camp at night, for Břetislav was in a position to punish him with imprisonment once Henry had gone.²⁰) Ultimately, Břetislav put an end to hostilities by groveling before the emperor:

So he tried to deflect the terrible anger of the emperor with these words: "The wars you make, Caesar, will have no triumphs. Our land is your treasury; we are yours and wish to be yours. For he, who rages against his subjects, is known to be more cruel than a cruel enemy; if you look at the strength of your army, we are not of the least importance to you. Why do you show your power as if against a leaf which is borne away by the wind? For the wind fails, where nothing interferes with it. You know that you should be, and already are, the victor."²¹

Several German chroniclers tell a similar story of this encounter, albeit without such drama, noting that Henry twice waged war in Bohemia.²² In the Czech chronicle, both law and custom are invoked, and a battle of wills and of might described that concerned more than cows and coins. The result, however, was a simple reiteration of the status quo ante, for Břetislav paid only the three years' tribute withheld since Henry instigated the dispute; having been paid, as Cosmas says, he went home peaceably.²³

Even as it provides evidence that the tribute noted in much earlier imperial sources was still being demanded and paid in the mid-eleventh century—and of the precise amount—this tale should be taken as a cautionary one. Only tribute, not some amalgam of legal obligations associated with Břetislav's "tributary status," was in question. Requirements to obey court summons or participate in imperial campaigns are not mentioned, for instance. These may have arisen later, as did the pledge to send Czech troops to Rome on the occasion of a German king's coronation, said by Cosmas to have originated in the reign of Henry IV.²⁴ Here too appears a reminder the obligations dukes of Bohemia recognized need not signify "dependence"—for, in the aftermath of the Saxon revolt, it is difficult to imagine a time when dependence ran more thoroughly in the other direction. There is little doubt that the emperor's summons to court or to war were the commands of a superior, since the verb in Czech chronicles is nearly always "ordered" (*iussit*), yet these must have been limited by custom, whether in terms of frequency, duration, or location of attendance. Such mutually recognized, customary limitations lie beyond our knowledge, as does so much else vital to understanding the relationship between these rulers. The sources for the eleventh and twelfth centuries simply do not reveal whether the duke was released from attending imperial courts held far from the Czech Lands; whether on those occasions the emperor had summoned the duke and he refused; whether the emperor willingly declined to summon the Czech duke to such events; or some combination thereof.²⁵ Similarly, while on several occasions it appears that the Přemyslid duke had traveled to court merely to receive investiture, no evidence indicates whether he was required to do so or whether such confirmation was incidental to other pressing business. Only episcopal investiture constituted a legally

defined bond between the Czech Lands and the Empire unquestionably maintained consistently over the decades from the late tenth to the turn of the thirteenth century.

All these various obligations were still in the air, whether vaguely remembered or still actively contested, at the beginning of the thirteenth century. In a moment of imperial weakness and Bohemian strength, Přemysl Otakar undertook to clarify for posterity the relationship between emperors and — now — kings, again not in terms of status or the realities of political influence “dependence” necessarily implies, but with regard to specific individual obligations. The coronation charter of 1212 stipulates: the king of Bohemia may hold his realm without paying any tribute; he may demand justice from the imperial court; having been chosen, he should never be denied the *regalia*; the boundaries of his territory remain fixed; he has the “right and authority” to invest the bishops of his kingdom; he need only come to imperial courts celebrated at Bamberg, Nuremberg, or Merseburg; he must be given six weeks notice for any summons; he should be present at court and himself bestow confirmation to dukes of Poland; he should send three hundred warriors or three hundred marks, by his own choice, for imperial coronations at Rome.²⁶ The conditions listed in the 1212 charter include all those duties for which an obligation was recognized, by custom or precedent, whether regular and contemporary or long since antiquated. No single condition is set above the others as the definitive marker of the subordinate status of the king of Bohemia. On some points the king was obtaining release from older obligations while others were clearly being affirmed; the right to invest Czech bishops was altogether new.

Such obligations and privileges formed the crucial basis for building a relationship between individual rulers and between a succession of dukes and emperors. They also set the stage for political maneuvering. A duke’s refusal to come to court, or offer of uncustomary military support, for instance, would have carried a political message and borne implications within the context of routine expectations. Between the Czech duke and the emperor a variety of basic institutional arrangements and customary obligations were fulfilled or waived — so far as the sources reveal — in the process of routine, and sometimes contentious, involvement in each other’s affairs. They did not, however, strictly delimit their affiliation. More ad hoc strategies relying upon appeal to the emperor by dukes and Přemyslid pretenders, as we shall see, also profoundly shaped the course of their interactions. The norm within which strategies were mobilized was, nevertheless, one of military and diplomatic alliance in which these rulers recognized the realities inherent in their situations. The duke acknowledged, and sometimes bent to oblige, the emperor’s superior might, wealth, and authority, while the emperor admitted his inability to af-

fect Czech society actively or decisively. This dynamic was well established in the mid-eleventh century and merely reinforced by the “test” that the war of 1041/1042 constituted. Ultimately, reciprocity lay at the heart of the relationship between the emperor and the duke of Bohemia.

Mutual Advantage

Formal obligations and conditions constitute only one aspect of the relationship between duke and emperor. The most detailed analysis of these, in theory or in practice, cannot explain imperial involvement in conflicts over succession to the ducal throne or the broader question about the nature and role of imperial authority in the Czech Lands. To understand fully the relationship between successive emperors and Přemyslid dukes, we must appreciate the opportunities and advantages each potentially offered to the other. This is no less imperative if we accept the duke’s position as subordinate. Given the absence of imperial influence in the Czech Lands, it seems easy to conclude that the Přemyslid ruler’s acknowledged subordination to the emperor had no negative influence on his power at home. Yet it remains to be asked whether it had a positive one, whether it played a role in the duke’s internal political strategies and how effectively. At the same time, the Czech duke must have presented the emperor some advantages if he was to be convinced to become even marginally involved in Přemyslid schemes. Money went a long way toward this end and remained indispensable—but much more was potentially at stake.

The joint involvement of these two rulers in affairs outside either of their realms, whether in military matters or in diplomacy, constitutes a larger issue than can be treated here, one that should be considered within the wider frame of central European history and various constellations of antagonism and alliance involving more than the German and Czech rulers alone. A pattern, nevertheless, manifests itself in these interactions. On the one hand, the duke and the emperor were often in sync, acting in tandem to individual or joint ends. In the political triangle of the emperor, duke of Bohemia, and duke of Poland, for instance, the German and Czech rulers invariably stood together. This had as much to do with the pursuit of Bohemian interests as with support for imperial ambitions (although the ruling dynasties occasionally intermarried, the Polish and Czech dukes seem chiefly to have been at odds). The duke seems also simply to have backed imperial designs, especially against Poland, acting as subordinate or ally in response to customary military summons.²⁷ Vis-à-vis the Hungarian kings, with whom Czech dukes usually had warm relations and whose sisters and daughters they most often married, the emperor sometimes sought the duke’s diplomatic mediation; Hungarian kings

too asked the duke of Bohemia to play this role.²⁸ On the whole, on the larger Central-European stage, the duke and the emperor were steadfast allies, rarely at odds.²⁹ At the same time, however, the Přemyslid duke—and obviously the emperor too—was involved in regional political affairs of his own account; whether attacking Poland or intervening in Hungarian affairs (as Vladislav II did, for instance, during the succession contest of 1164), he acted without command or consultation with the emperor, on his own initiative, and pursuant to his own goals.

As allies, German emperors and Czech dukes occasionally became implicated in each other's internal affairs, always in response to a plea for help. From the emperor's perspective, the Czech duke made a convenient ally, geographically well situated and in command of his own army.³⁰ Strikingly, in all German civil contests during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the dukes of Bohemia consistently supported the reigning king or emperor, never the party in revolt. Moreover, they did so regardless of other considerations: Soběslav I, for instance, had just defeated Lothar's forces at Chlumec when he joined them to defend his authority in the Empire; likewise, forty year earlier, Duke Vratislav firmly supported Henry IV during the Investiture Contest, though his sympathies probably lay with Pope Gregory VII, who had proved a valuable ally in the fight with his brother, Bishop Jaromír of Prague.³¹ In the emperor's case, involvement in Czech succession politics was invariably reactive. Though his intervention was often sought, and crucial in the outcome of particular struggles, on no occasion—and many arose—did the emperor intervene of his own initiative in a succession conflict.³² Although unwavering in their alliance with Czech leaders, in their promises of allegiance to specific dukes or pretenders, emperors would show themselves rather fickle.

The Duke in the Empire

On the whole, we know very little about the activities of the duke in the Empire, in part because they were often sufficiently routine as to be unworthy of mention by the German chroniclers closest to the action. Czech writers noted that the duke had gone but, barring some dramatic natural disaster, hardly remark upon what took place.³³ When the duke attended the emperor's *curiae* and joined his armies on the march, it is difficult to imagine how he mingled with the other men in attendance. Occasionally during the twelfth century, the duke of Bohemia appears in witness lists to imperial charters, where he is always listed among the highest echelon of German dukes, margraves, and counts. But only rarely do Czech sources speak of friendships formed between Czech magnates and German noblemen.³⁴ The duke's facility with the German

language, an ability we should perhaps assume for twelfth-century Přemyslids but about which no certain evidence exists, would have dramatically affected the role he played and influence he wielded in the emperor's presence.³⁵ On the whole, we remain at a loss to know whether, at court and on campaign, the duke was expected to give the emperor counsel and what weight his opinion carried. Surely, it greatly varied according to the personalities of the individual rulers.

The Czech dukes assume relative prominence in the imperial sources in the midst of German civil wars. Several German chroniclers describe Vratislav as Henry IV's most faithful, and sometimes only, ally.³⁶ And the value of his support was considerable: "The duke of Bohemia was present with such a full contingent, that it was judged that he alone would be able to suffice for the Saxon war, if all hope were lost," reports Lambert of Hersfeld.³⁷ Bořivoj fought on Henry's behalf as well, against his rebellious son at Regensburg; from there the duke helped him escape to Saxony through Bohemia.³⁸ Soběslav I aided Lothar on two occasions, in 1127 and 1128,³⁹ and later backed Conrad when the Saxons revolted.⁴⁰ In 1198 Přemysl Otakar began his second reign deeply embroiled in the struggle between Otto of Brunswick and Philip of Swabia for rule in Germany.⁴¹ Přemysl Otakar's opportunistic machinations among the various imperial pretenders and factions lasted more than a decade, well into the thirteenth century, and thus lie beyond the scope of the present study. Before his time, however dukes of Bohemia assessed the situation in the Empire, they consistently saw the greatest advantage for themselves in the role of champion of the legitimate emperor.

Barbarossa put his relationship with the Přemyslid duke to another, to him no less important, end. In 1156, he secured Vladislav II's agreement to take part in the military expedition to subdue Milan and its Tuscan allies. In 1158, Vladislav personally led a large and active contingent of Czech warriors to Italy. They remained after his removal to Bohemia, and, in 1163, returned under the leadership of Vladislav's son, Frederick. In 1175, one of Soběslav II's first acts after gaining the throne was to order an army to Italy under the command of his brother Oldřich.⁴² It is impossible to assess the overall contribution these Czech forces made to Barbarossa's efforts. We can be certain, however, that Vladislav and his army played a particularly decisive role at Milan in 1158. Vincent, the Czech canon and chronicler who accompanied the expedition in the entourage of Bishop Daniel of Prague, narrates their efforts in detail. Almost every German chronicler of Barbarossa's deeds in Italy notes the contributions of the Czech contingent and king, albeit briefly.⁴³ The text outlining the conditions of Milan's capitulation, moreover, describes the king of Bohemia as a crucial mediator, overseeing the mutual exchange of captives.⁴⁴

The duke and his men fought on such occasions by choice rather than obligation. Participation in imperial adventures in Italy was extraordinary and, before Vladislav's day, unprecedented. Except for the occasions when the duke sent men to Rome for the emperor's coronation, there is no record of Czech armies in Italy before 1158. They did not participate in Barbarossa's first Italian campaign in 1153. The emperor himself was clearly aware that it was unusual to order Czech armies to Italy and considered that his need outweighed the price, in this case the coronation of the Czech ruler as king. Vincent suggests that the agreement whereby Vladislav would be crowned in return for sending troops on Barbarossa's second Italian campaign was made secretly at the emperor's wedding in 1156.⁴⁵ Even in the absence of this claim, all the sources, including the charter issued to confirm the duke's new rank, agree that Vladislav II acquired the crown at the winter court in Regensburg, that is, *before* assembling his army and heading south.⁴⁶ It was likewise no accident that Vratislav and Přemysl Otakar attained their elevated rank as kings in the context of imperial civil wars.⁴⁷ The emperor was compelled to bargain for the duke's involvement in the wars of the empire or in Italy; the price he was willing to pay illustrates well how much he valued their support.

Moreover, participation in such military expeditions lay beyond the customary obligations that Czech warriors themselves owed their duke; thus, for a duke of Bohemia to promise the emperor aid meant he had somehow to encourage his own subjects to take part, whether by paying them outright or promising them booty.⁴⁸ The duke surely made the emperor aware, if he did not already know, of this necessity. Perhaps for this reason, German rulers seem to have at least tacitly allowed the Czech army to pillage within their territories. As a consequence, the Czechs acquired a reputation for ruthless plundering, especially of churches.⁴⁹ Concerning Přemysl Otakar's involvement in the German civil war at the beginning of the thirteenth century, for instance, Arnold comments: "The Czechs are depraved in nature and criminal in action; they never wish to undertake an expedition unless they have the free power to lay waste to holy things with the unholy."⁵⁰ This last description stresses that the plundering of churches was not merely a vile deed committed by an army in the midst of war, but rather that *license* to commit such acts was a condition for their service. According to Otto of Freising, on one occasion, at Nuremberg in 1127, when Czech troops — "because they are barbarians" — could not be prevented from looting and raiding churches, Lothar sent them home.⁵¹ In another instance, in 1175, a Czech army passing through Swabia on route to Tuscany outraged the locals by attempting to sell in the market at Ulm goods they had plundered in the countryside; a riot ensued in which many Czechs were killed (according to Gerlach, "almost 250") and wounded. Taking coun-

sel among themselves as to whether to take revenge or simply return home, the Czechs determined to proceed on and appeal their case to the emperor, who must have acted to appease both them and his Swabian subjects.⁵² When such depredations outweighed the troops' usefulness, they could simply be released from service; that often they were not demonstrates their importance to the emperor's plans.

However routinely the Czechs fought in the company of German forces, the distancing comments made by Arnold and Otto of Freising reflect their fundamental "otherness," the degree to which they were not, in fact, part of the Empire. For the emperor, this seems to have been an advantage, for the duke and his men provided the benefit of military assistance without the threat of political maneuvering. He had to worry little about paying the Czech contingents or about maintaining control over them in battle, for they were the duke's men; he needed simply to strike a bargain with the Přemyslid ruler or reward him later. The Czechs were consistent and well-known allies, steadfast, and accustomed to fighting on imperial campaigns — even if they were not so discriminating in their plundering. The duke of Bohemia was the perfect ally in internal struggles precisely because he was not himself involved in complex political machinations in the Empire — not, at least, before the early years of the thirteenth century. The emperor thus had a powerful incentive for remaining on good terms with a strong Přemyslid duke. More was to be gained from steadfast alliance with an autonomous ruler, close enough to be well-known yet distant enough to be trusted, than the list of customary obligations indicates or than could have been achieved by efforts to impose more direct control over the duke of Bohemia and the Czech Lands.

Imperial Involvement in Ducal Succession

When, in 1152, soon after succeeding Conrad III, Frederick Barbarossa summoned Vladislav II to his court at Merseburg, the duke's initial reaction was to refuse. "Not wishing to obey this new creature," as Vincent says, his counselors, including especially Bishop Daniel of Prague, had to persuade him to attend.⁵³ The chronicler does not speculate, or feel the need to enumerate, the arguments that these "wise men" used to induce Vladislav to obey the new German king. It is striking, however, that Bishop Daniel managed at the same time to dissuade Oldřich, the son of Soběslav I, from his plans to approach Barbarossa at this same court, hoping to obtain the throne with his aid in exchange for promises of money.⁵⁴ In cases where both dukes and pretenders clamored for the emperor's aid, not only did the German ruler take no initiative, but he apparently had little preference. Ambivalence, at least in part, seems to account

for the inconsistency of twelfth-century German rulers who regularly invested pretenders they refused to support militarily, sent troops to aid the enemies of men they had earlier invested, and invested successors other than those previously confirmed.⁵⁵ The same combination of close involvement and distance offered advantages to the duke as well. For this very reason perhaps, twelfth-century Přemyslids routinely drew upon their relationship with the emperor to defend themselves against, or to instigate, revolt. It should come as no surprise by now that Czech rulers sought to exploit their relationship with the emperor most assiduously in their efforts to control succession to the throne.

From the first succession crisis in 1101, Přemyslid dukes or pretenders who could not muster sufficient backing from the magnates turned to the emperor. In every instance of an appeal to the emperor we have solid evidence that magnate opposition was strong; and as often as not, the party backed by the emperor lost. In 1101, when Oldřich contested the succession of Bořivoj, he was forced to rely on imperial troops because, according to Cosmas, Oldřich understood from his man that, "neither would his brother relinquish the throne nor would the *comites* acquiesce to his advice."⁵⁶ In 1107, when both parties eventually bribed the emperor, it was Bořivoj, whose efforts to reclaim the throne over seventeen years would repeatedly fail, who appealed first to him for assistance. When Otto II of Olomouc convinced Lothar to bring a large army against Soběslav I in 1126, there is no sign that Otto had any Czech supporters, besides the few who fled with him. On these occasions, it was the pretender who had not been enthroned or had already been deposed who sought aid from the emperor, and he was ultimately unable to prevail. As the Moravian vice-dukes became increasingly difficult to control and a focus for dissatisfaction among the freemen, the dynamic shifted slightly, and imperial participation became critical to defense of the ruler enthroned. In 1142, two years after succeeding his uncle without contest, when Vladislav II faced comprehensive and cohesive opposition in the form of a revolt led by Conrad of Znojmo, Conrad III came to his rescue—in person. When the German ruler appeared with a large army, the rebel party fled without a fight; having narrowly avoided certain deposition, Vladislav would not face a threat to his rule for thirty years.⁵⁷

Requests for assistance became a regular feature of ducal succession, yet this had little to do with the exercise of imperial overlordship. In fact, the emperor usually required a substantial bribe before he would agree to intervene in any way. Every appeal to the emperor described by the Czech chroniclers, without exception, was facilitated by large sums of money.⁵⁸ In 1107, to take one early example, Bořivoj and Svatopluk engaged in something of a bidding war, each promising more money to the emperor for his support. Svatopluk

eventually won, promising so much that his brother Otto had to be left as hostage for the balance, and the country scoured for all the money it could yield: "Surely there was no abbot, no provost, no cleric, no layman, no Jew, no merchant, no banker, no lute player who did not give the duke—unwillingly—something from his stores," Cosmas says.⁵⁹ In 1193, Bishop Henry agitated at the imperial court on behalf of his cousin Přemysl, promising 6,000 marks and himself as hostage. When Přemysl, on the throne in Prague, neglected to redeem the bishop and Henry VI refused to cancel the debt, the bishop undertook to repay the emperor by seizing the throne himself.⁶⁰

At the end of the twelfth century, the emperor's court had become the exile of choice for Přemyslids in disfavor, and both he and the Czechs came to expect his involvement in such matters as routine. Although Barbarossa took a more active role in manipulating the warring parties of Czech dukes and pretenders in the decade after the abdication of King Vladislav II in 1173, overall little had changed in the century's closing years by comparison with its beginning. The party who wished to gain or keep the throne and considered his position weaker still sought the emperor's support. Whereas earlier pretenders like Bořivoj or Otto II apparently enjoyed no support from the magnates and relied on the emperor as their only real hope, Soběslav II and Frederick used it merely to tip the balance. In 1178, each had sufficient backing to contest the throne seriously but neither could win without German troops. To some extent or another, under similar circumstances, the emperor was implicated in all the intrigues around the throne at the close—as at the beginning—of the twelfth century: Conrad Otto's revolt against Frederick in 1182, Václav's rebellion in 1184, Přemysl's deposition of Václav in 1192, and Bishop Henry's deposition of Přemysl the following year.

It was cumbersome and expensive to resolve succession disputes in war and to secure imperial troops. At precisely the same time as they began to seek military aid, however, dukes first requested imperial confirmation of their designated successors, usually by means of investiture with a banner.⁶¹ Investiture with one or more banners eventually became the chief sign of the association between duke and emperor, a mark of confirmation that, like episcopal investiture, was never denied.⁶² After 1101, the Czech dukes, their designated successors, or rival pretenders, were routinely invested by the emperor with a banner. Since little is known about the precise and often varying nature of the duke's subordination to the emperor, as we have seen, it is not surprising that no information survives concerning the ceremonial form of this acknowledgment before the twelfth century. When dukes of Bohemia came to the imperial court, especially for the first time, some sort of formal reception must have occurred, as well as a public pledge of allegiance and loyalty. Whether a

banner or other sign of subordinate status played a role earlier is unknown. However, when Soběslav I asserted his wish to remain subject to the emperor after defeating Lothar at Chlumeč in 1126, he was, the Monk of Sázava reports, invested with a banner.⁶³ Vladislav II received it on his first visit to court, immediately after his enthronement in 1140.⁶⁴ In the last quarter of the twelfth century, Frederick, Conrad Otto, and Bishop Henry each accepted the banners from the emperor “as was the custom,” Gerlach says.⁶⁵ While reports in the chronicles reflect that investiture was known and considered newsworthy at home, there is no indication that the banner or banners themselves held particular significance within the Czech Lands.⁶⁶ Only a single twelfth-century *denár*, attributed to the mint at Olomouc under Vladislav I (although the inscriptions on both sides are almost completely obscured), shows a lance with a banner being solemnly bestowed upon one man by another; since neither the donor nor the recipient is marked by any insignia, it remains uncertain whether the scene represents Duke Vladislav’s investiture by the emperor or his appointment as vice-duke of Olomouc by Duke Svatopluk.⁶⁷

Early on, reigning dukes endeavored to use imperial investiture to predetermine succession to the throne in Prague. On the first occasion when a pretender besought military aid from the emperor, in 1101 when Oldřich tried to depose his cousin Bořivoj II from the throne, we observe the seeds of this strategy. Cosmas reports: “Oldřich went to the emperor in Regensburg, besought him through friends, and wearied him with entreaties and huge promises, that he should restore to him the duchy of Bohemia, unjustly seized by his younger brother Bořivoj. Having accepted money from him, the caesar gave him the *insignia* and banner of the duchy; but he placed the acquisition of election as duke in the judgment of the Czechs.”⁶⁸ In this instance, Henry IV elected not to become actively involved by committing troops to Oldřich, but nevertheless bestowed upon him a supposed sign of rulership. Břetislav II, as the eldest of his generation of Přemyslids, had succeeded his uncle Conrad without contest in 1092. Several years later, however, when the duke accompanied the newly elected bishop of Prague to Regensburg for investiture, he asked Henry IV to confirm his brother Bořivoj as the next Czech ruler: “By entreaties before the emperor, he arranged that he give his brother Bořivoj the banner and assign him to all the Czechs who had come with him, so that they would raise his brother Bořivoj to the throne after his death.”⁶⁹ When Břetislav was assassinated he was indeed succeeded by Bořivoj, and the magnates supported him against his cousin Oldřich. Břetislav II’s appeal to the emperor to confirm a designated successor constituted a break from the seniority rule since Cosmas, who witnessed these events firsthand, states that Oldřich’s claim to seniority was just.⁷⁰ The emperor’s previous investiture of Bořivoj did not,

however, prevent him from giving Oldřich the banner upon request, nor from sending troops to back up his claim, as we have just seen.⁷¹ Bořivoj had the support of the magnates and retained the throne, for the moment at least. The emperor, meanwhile, had proved himself uncommitted to the first candidate he had invested not long previously. Svatopluk, who ousted Bořivoj, may himself have seen that investiture was not the best means of assuring succession; he returned to the method of designation his grandfather used, asking the magnates to swear on behalf of his successor his cousin Vladislav, Bořivoj's younger brother.⁷²

Some twenty years later Soběslav I again turned to imperial investiture as a strategy for designation, this time in an effort to reinstitute primogeniture and thereby weaken permanently the leverage the magnates acquired from succession by seniority. The sources do not reveal what his precise motivation was, whether heartfelt concern for the fate of his sons or pragmatic interest in assuring a peaceful transition. At the imperial court of 1138, Soběslav arranged for the investiture of his eldest son: "With the king's grace supporting him, he arranged that his son Vladislav would succeed him in the rule of the duchy. With his father present, the banner was given to the boy by the king; all the Czech nobles swore over relics of the saints before the king to confirm it."⁷³

Soběslav must have known that even with imperial investiture and the oath of the Czechs who were with him, his young son had little chance to achieve the throne. Upon his return, therefore, he called a court at Sadská: "the duke himself partly requested and partly commanded that under oath and in his presence they confirm their fidelity, that they would wish to serve his son after his death."⁷⁴ The Annals of Hradiště-Opatovice, presumably in reference to this same event, report: "Vladislav, son of Duke Soběslav, was enthroned."⁷⁵ Soběslav clearly strove to use imperial investiture as the first step toward designation of his successor, after which he extracted further concessions from the freemen. His efforts, however, came to nothing. While he was on his deathbed, the magnates had already begun to discuss his successor, clearly treating the question as an open one in spite of their oaths. With no apparent contest, Soběslav's son was passed over, and his nephew, Vladislav, proceeded to Bamberg and received the banner from the same emperor, Conrad III, who had earlier designated his cousin as the next duke.⁷⁶ We are given no indication why Vladislav was not elected duke, nor any sign that the magnates gave any thought to his earlier investiture by the emperor or their own oaths of fidelity. Soběslav I, therefore, attempted unsuccessfully to circumvent precisely this sort of magnate determination, which inevitably occurred, by calling upon the emperor to invest his son with the banner.

Although we can hardly determine what investiture meant to internal

Czech affairs, the evolution of the dukes' efforts to employ it in designating their successors is clear. In effect, the duke of Bohemia attempted to turn investiture, a ceremony he was accustomed to perform at the imperial court — where the Czech magnates had no leverage, if they were present at all — to his advantage, by using it to designate his chosen successor. These efforts were invariably unsuccessful precisely because such investiture was never considered more than ceremonial by the emperor nor binding, or even relevant, according to Czech custom. In the short run, the raw military solution, whereby the armies of a pretender or besieged duke were supplemented by imperial troops, had a more decisive effect — though not always an overwhelming one — in instances of succession conflict. Both the appeal to the emperor for arms and for the investiture of a chosen successor were nevertheless intended to achieve the same goal: wresting control of succession away from the Czech magnates. It was, however, Vladislav II who would realize that primogeniture could be reinstated and succession ultimately controlled through the combination of designation with *coronation*, rather than investiture.

Manipulation

Between the emperor and the duke, interaction in practice was shaped by routine obligations and cooperation, which brought the two rulers into regular contact, as well as by those occasions when emperors and dukes *in extremis* drew more crucial support from one another. Thus it is precisely in the emperor's reliance upon the Czech duke under exceptional conditions that the key to their relationship is manifest. Such circumstances most clearly reveal the delicate but fluid balance of the duke's subordination and autonomy, the emperor's superior authority and ambivalence, the simultaneous involvement and distance of the Czechs from imperial affairs, the position of the Czech Lands as part and yet not part of the Empire. After the tenth century, there is little evidence that the emperor regularly used violence or its threat to assert his authority over the Czechs. We must assume that Přemyslid recognition of subordination was voluntary and accorded with their own interests. Paradoxical as it may seem, this subordination was uncontested, far less onerous than it might be assumed, and, in fact, beneficial to the duke. In the context of the ebb and flow of a long-standing relationship, Czech sovereignty worked to the advantage of the emperor, as his subordinate status did for the Přemyslid duke.

The previous sections have described the parameters and progress of routine interaction between the German and Czech rulers, their joint endeavors in Central Europe and occasional involvement in each other's affairs. Yet the dukes' efforts to turn investiture toward the predetermination of succession

hint at something more. The emperor was not merely the most powerful foreign sovereign in the region, he was an external authority from whom pretenders and potential successors sought legitimation. It was the notion that emperors had something to bestow besides soldiers that lay behind the frequent entreaties of pretenders. The fact that the emperor's power, authority, indeed his entire sphere of political influence and action lay beyond the bounds of Czech life and custom cannot be overemphasized. Otherness worked in tandem with superiority. Whether explicitly as a source of legitimation, or simply as a ruler whose legitimacy derived from a different or higher source, the recognition of the emperor as a superior authority was crucial for the strategic deployment of investiture, and later coronation, as a counterweight to the Czech freemen. Toward this end, over the course of the later eleventh and especially the twelfth century, the Přemyslids themselves, in their appeals to imperial justice, rights, or interests, helped to shape the very understanding of imperial authority that they tried to mobilize at home.

In order to speak of the duke's "manipulation" of imperial authority, we need to be clear about the precise object of such manipulation—for it was not the emperor himself, any given individual recognized as the king of the Germans and of the Romans, but his authority conceived in abstract. In practice, manipulation was facilitated by the fundamental characteristics of the alliance between the duke and the emperor. Because the German king wielded no concrete influence in Bohemia or Moravia, appeal to his authority constituted a relatively safe move on the part of dukes and pretenders. Meanwhile, conditions of mutual advantage together with the usual cash incentive disposed the emperor well enough toward the Přemyslids to be responsive to their entreaties without inciting his direct interference in Czech affairs. Still, such an argument relies on a crucial distinction between authority and power. On the one hand, it presumes that an emperor could have authority where he lacked power, as was patently the case in the Czech Lands. On another, he had authority not by virtue of might, exercised within his realm or in Central Europe broadly, but as ruler of the Germans, whether "king" or "emperor." In other words, it was not merely that an emperor held a higher rank, a larger territory, and vastly more subjects of every rank. Of course, this too was understood, as Cosmas's account of the conflict of 1042, whereby Břetislav I is made to liken the emperor and his armies to a great wind, overwhelming the tiny leaf signifying the Czechs, shows. Nevertheless, the difference between the duke and the emperor was qualitative rather than quantitative.

Written sources of Bohemian provenance occasionally acknowledge the superior authority of the emperor without ever commenting upon it directly as such.⁷⁷ No treatise lays out the nature of imperial authority vis-à-vis the

Czech Lands. Instead there exist a host of trivial passing comments, made by chroniclers and scribes alike. The twelfth-century homiliary from Prague, in one sermon, calls for the congregation to pray for the pope first, “for the life and safety of the lord emperor or king,” then for the bishop and for the prince.⁷⁸ Cosmas dates the writing of Book I of his chronicle by imperial, as well as papal, ducal, and episcopal regnal years.⁷⁹ A handful of Czech charters include dates calculated according to imperial regnal years.⁸⁰ In such oblique remarks, Czech scribes and chroniclers seem to express an assumption normally left unspoken, a background sense of the emperor’s overarching authority. In other instances, however, the chroniclers’ accounts of events, particularly where they use dialogue to drive the narrative, show this view of imperial authority to have been partly the construct of the very Přemyslids appealing to it. Though the only evidence comes from the reports of chroniclers, whose account of what the protagonists allegedly “said” must be treated with some skepticism, it appears that through their own appeals to imperial justice or rights, the Přemyslids themselves helped to shape the very understanding of imperial authority within the Czech Lands that they tried to mobilize as a source of authority, legitimation even, outside the influence of the Czech freemen.

In this light comes the most dramatic of such fictional dialogues about the nature of imperial authority and its relationship to the question of Bohemian succession: the famous account of the battle of Chlumec in 1126 by the Monk of Sázava, in which Otto’s appeal to Lothar goes beyond an appeal to justice to raise the claim that imperial authority has been subverted.⁸¹ Otto begins as his predecessors had, arguing that Soběslav I had obtained the throne by theft and by violence, in contradiction of his own hereditary right and the sworn confirmation of the magnates.⁸² He flatters the emperor, his exalted rank and his justice, concluding: “We know equally that we ought to be subject to the commands of your majesty in all things and, therefore, that the reason of justice will not in any way be denied us from your dignity.”⁸³ Lothar responds with strong words about ancient imperial rights to appoint and confirm all legitimate dukes, and thus declares Soběslav guilty of treason.⁸⁴ When the moment of battle comes, Soběslav sends a messenger asserting the contrary: “It is fitting for your discretion, good emperor, to know that the election of the duke of Bohemia, as we know from our ancestors, is never in the judgment of the emperor but always of the princes of Bohemia; in your power lies only confirmation of the election.”⁸⁵ Soběslav appeals to God and Saint Václav to support him against these invaders; his decisive victory reflects the justice of his cause. When Otto is dead, and most of the Saxons as well, Lothar remembers that he had little grievance with Soběslav. Obviously, the passage cannot be read as indicative of Lothar’s views — though his personal involvement in

the expedition was extraordinary—but represents a Czech perspective on a great victory, whether the author's own or one reflecting a broader tradition. The account provided by the Canon of Vyšehrad—which was undoubtedly contemporary—is quite different, describing the intervention of Saint Václav and a heavenly host in the battle to defend the Czech Lands from Lothar and the Saxons.⁸⁶ The Canon's report does, however, contain two key elements of the Monk of Sázava's version: the perception that an unjust foreign invader was being resisted, and that justice and divine favor were on the side of the Czechs.⁸⁷ The Monk of Sázava's story has the same moral; the language of justice and right attributed to Otto and Lothar was meant to be ironic, as the resolution of the encounter clearly shows. In this, the author imitates Cosmas's style, whereby the most arrogant and boastful speech is placed in the mouth of an enemy whose ignominious defeat is soon to follow. Yet while the extravagant claims are indeed made by Lothar himself, it is Otto who not only turns to the emperor but, in his effort to gain his support, gives him an exaggerated sense of imperial right, virtually handing him the words. In this extreme case, and many others more ordinary, the external authority of the emperor is a Czech product.

Because the emperor himself had little power in the Czech Lands, the construction and recognition of overarching imperial authority did not necessarily strengthen the emperor's hand in questions of succession. To the limited extent that they were effective, efforts to draw upon imperial authority succeeded primarily because they lay beyond the purview of the freemen. The emperor's considerable distance from domestic affairs meant he had little contact and no leverage with lay magnates—nor they with him. In one remarkable instance, in which a succession crisis was again settled at the imperial court, rebellious magnates were tricked into submission by their own respect for imperial authority and sheer awe at his might. Gerlach reports concerning the summer of 1182:

Our elders [*maiores natu*] incited a full-blown persecution through long-time hatreds against Duke Frederick. Ejecting him from the land, persecuted by a thousand complaints, they elected as prince for themselves Conrad Otto of Moravia . . . and together with him besieged Prague for a long time and finally obtained it. Meanwhile, Duke Frederick went to the ever-august emperor, Frederick. Taking pity on his injuries, [the emperor] sent to Prague the Palatine of Bavaria, a friend of the said Conrad, and ordered both Conrad and all the Czechs with him to come to his court, which was to be celebrated at Regensburg. Having received the order, they were recalcitrant at first, refused, and did not want to go; but later, having enjoyed better counsel, they went. The nobles were presented to the emperor alone. Wishing to terrify them, he ordered a large number of pick-axes brought, as if he wanted to have them beheaded.

When they threw themselves at his feet, they sought forgiveness and, necessity having changed into will, they accepted Frederick as their lord and duke. They returned with him to Prague, considering both themselves and Conrad very rich, because they were not punished for the crime of treason. Thus the wise emperor wisely repressed the plot of the rebels; he returned Bohemia to one man, and ordered the other to be content with Moravia.⁸⁸

Barbarossa did not attempt to reason with the rebellious freemen, nor with Conrad Otto; the latter, in fact, he circumvented completely. He did not make claims about imperial rights and privileges. Instead he overwhelmed the freemen, for whom the imperial court was awesome and unfamiliar territory, and let the axes speak for him.

Through decades of practice and an unknown amount of rhetoric at home, the Přemyslids created an authoritative forum outside the Czech Lands where they sought to escape the power of the Czech freemen. If they were not successful in every instance of conflict, they ultimately achieved perhaps more than they wanted: a higher, external authority to which they alone could appeal, but whose decisions they could sometimes be forced to abide. As we shall see at the close of this chapter, by taking the most important political decision in the land — over the throne itself — to the emperor at his court, the dukes partly succeeded in removing the magnates from determinations of succession. Since armies of freemen played a crucial role in such contests, however, they also removed themselves from their strongest power base. Initially a source of troops for pretenders lacking magnate support, the emperor and his authority came to play a much larger role. But first, two dukes, Vladislav II and Přemysl Otakar I, raised the stakes dramatically by seeking not only to become kings themselves, but to secure that rank — and especially its ideological underpinnings, for their designated successors.

Promotion to King and Coronation

Three Přemyslids dukes were formally raised to the rank of king by the emperor: Vratislav in 1086, Vladislav II in 1158, and Přemysl Otakar I in 1198. These men referred to themselves as “kings,” were so called by their subjects or by outsiders, and were remembered as such in posterity. What kingship entailed, and the striking iconographic contrast it made with being duke, is dramatically illustrated by the frescoes in the chapel of St. Catherine at Znojmo.⁸⁹ As noted in Chapter 3, each of the Přemyslids depicted on the walls of the church stands in a unique pose holding a shield and a lance with a banner, wearing plain clothing and no ornament. King Vratislav, however, sports a large, gold

crown; he bears a scepter in his right hand and the lance, banner, and shield in his left. Although included here with his father, brother, son, and all the dukes of Bohemia before them, Vratislav stands apart from his dynastic ancestors and ducal predecessors by virtue of the crown bestowed upon him by Henry IV. This section examines first the effect promotion to king had on iconography and ritual, and then considers its import, or intended function, within internal Czech politics.

Iconographic Transformation

All the coins of the eleventh century portray the duke iconically, in part as a result of the style and quality of the rendering, whereby the dies were carved with a few swift, deep-cut linear strokes. From mid-century, the throne, spear, and/or banner consistently appeared on pennies as iconographic emblems of a ruler represented as either a bust or standing figure. As ducal attributes, the spear and lance with a banner were clearly interchangeable.⁹⁰ During Duke Vratislav's reign, the throne begins to figure routinely on *denáry*. Still, as in the frescoes, on those pennies issued after Vratislav's coronation in 1086 he unmistakably wears his new crown.⁹¹ Ten of his *denáry* feature a crowned head and three a scepter.⁹² Two of these show the full "majestic" portrait, traditional for medieval kings: a crowned Vratislav is seated on his throne with a scepter in his right hand and an orb in his left.⁹³ Significantly, one coin includes the new title, *rex*, in the inscription.⁹⁴ On several of the coins Vratislav issued as king, the Václav side shows one of the ducal emblems rendered more abstractly: an enlarged hand holding a spear.⁹⁵ Another striking coin bears a side-facing bust with a large crown on the obverse and, on the reverse, an ideograph of a church, arm, and spear meant to represent Saint Václav⁹⁶ (Fig. 3c). Vratislav was not merely remembered as a king, as the frescoes at Znojmo show, he avidly deployed his new title and crown on his coins—a strong indication that these iconographic and titular changes were more than incidental.

Vratislav's successors, first his younger brother then his eldest son, on through a series of men of the Přemyslid dynasty, were again "dukes" and, thus, without exception, they traded crown for lance on their coins. Duke Bořivoj's troubled reign was characterized by iconographic experimentation as well as technical innovation which, as we saw in Chapter 5, had lasting effects on twelfth-century Czech coinage. Although one such penny had been issued a century earlier by Oldřich, it was Bořivoj who reintroduced an adapted version of the ruler in "majesty." Stripped of the crown, scepter, and orb, the ruler's posture on the throne, holding instead a shield and a lance with a banner (very rarely a sword) is analogous to that of kings.⁹⁷ This image increasingly became

the standard, to the extent such existed, even as the technological and artistic quality of the *denáry* of his successors improved on Bořivoj's innovations. Ever more elaborate pictures graced these tiny pennies, their finely worked surfaces stamped by dies made with whole-type punches. As the punch-cutters' proficiency increased, so too did the variation in imagery appearing on the obverse and reverse of *denáry*, the duke and Václav sides respectively. The ruler is often represented in some posture indicative of rulership — enthroned, holding a lance and shield, on horseback — but many diverge significantly. On a *denarius* of Soběslav I, for example, the duke is enthroned and surrounded by four men, perhaps his four sons, while on another obverse five armed men face right as if marching to war.⁹⁸ Varied images had, by this time, so long been customary that it was possible to move away altogether from coin-types explicitly associated with rulership, for instance, to depictions of a lion hunt⁹⁹ (see Fig. 3g). Because dramatic changes in coin-type had become the accepted norm in the Czech Lands,¹⁰⁰ the images could be altered freely enough to serve as announcements or propaganda. Several, for instance, seem to represent baptism, of the duke's son probably, while others display a recognizable image of a man holding a model of a church, intended surely to commemorate the construction or significant endowment of an ecclesiastical institution¹⁰¹ (see Fig. 3h).

In the face of this remarkable variation in iconographic representation of dukes on their coinage, the pennies issued after Vladislav II was raised to the rank of king in 1158 demonstrate a striking consistency: except for minor variance between bust and seated portraits, Vladislav is almost always represented in the majestic pose — seated on a throne, wearing a crown, holding either orb or scepter.¹⁰² Drawing on the artistic traditions and propagandistic uses perfected by his predecessors, the new king promoted the elevation itself — thus a famous illustration of the emperor bestowing the crown upon him.¹⁰³ On the penny's obverse, a man seated on a throne, wearing a large crown and holding a scepter in his left hand, passes a crown topped by a cross to a smaller man on his right. The reverse shows Václav, haloed, holding a lance with a banner in his right hand and both a shield and cross in his left. On the pennies issued throughout Vladislav's fifteen-year reign as king, the images associated with Václav continued to vary, falling into three types: Saints Václav and Adalbert together; Václav alone within a church-like structure; and Václav, as a bust or seated, holding a lance, banner, shield, and sometimes also a cross. A single seal of undoubted authenticity survives, presenting this third combination: Vladislav with all the attributes of a king, Václav on the reverse represented an "adapted" version of the majestic pose — the full portrait of an enthroned ruler, in this case holding the symbols associated with the Czech duke, in his left

hand a shield and in his right a lance with a banner.¹⁰⁴ Although little explicit iconographic reference is made to pennies issued decades earlier by Vratislav as king, the result under Vladislav II was the same: stable imagery in which the crown dominates.

The title of king, according to the charter of 1158, was supposed to have passed to Vladislav's successors, but did not; for the last quarter of the twelfth century, Přemyslid rulers again became "dukes." The imagery on these coins is much like that from the first half of the century. They exhibit plenty of variation and relatively elaborate renderings, although with some decrease in quality. Duke Frederick (1178–89), moreover, seems to have deliberately "revived" the use of the more unusual types from the earlier decades of the century.¹⁰⁵ Of particular note in this period are *denáry* issued by Henry, bishop of Prague (1182–97) and, simultaneously, duke of Bohemia (1193–97). They display traditional episcopal iconography, with the ruler wearing a mitre and pallium. On two of these pennies, Henry holds a crozier in his left hand, while on another pair he grips a lance with a banner.¹⁰⁶ On wax seals, both Václav and the duke are often shown in the familiar "majestic" pose of a Czech duke, enthroned with lance, banner, and shield (Fig. 4). Iconographic norms for the seals, if more stable than for the coinage, were not yet fixed: both Frederick and Conrad Otto were portrayed but standing in chain mail rather than enthroned (Fig. 5).

When Přemysl, who had ruled briefly in 1193, returned to the throne in 1198 (adding the second name Otakar), he immediately secured the title of king from one of the two candidates contending at that time for the imperial throne. The coins he issued early in this reign again consistently emphasized kingship. His seal, which one penny copies exactly, shows him in majesty¹⁰⁷ (Figs. 3i and 6). He holds both orb and scepter; the lance, banner, and shield are retained only by Václav. Přemysl Otakar employed this seal for most of his thirty-four-year reign. After 1224, he adopted a revised version, with a more elaborate throne; Václav's shield and banner, moreover, acquired the heraldic device, an eagle, that remains a standard iconographic attribute of the saint until today.¹⁰⁸ After 1212, when a monetary reform transformed the two-sided penny into a single-sided bracteate, Václav disappeared from Czech coinage, leaving only the image of the king in majesty. These bracteates, issued until 1260, are virtually identical to one another; gone is the variation typical of the twelfth-century Bohemian pennies.¹⁰⁹

Variation, Václav, and the combination of several attributes—throne, banner, lance, and shield—all characterize the "official" iconography of the *dux Boemorum* over the course of two centuries as well as hundreds of coins, a handful of seals, and the extraordinary frescoes at Znojmo. No single element or combination was considered essential, but the spear, banner, throne, and

shield became recognized as the standard attributes of the Přemyslid dukes. Václav too, with or without the reiteration of these ducal emblems, constituted an integral element of the ruler's iconographic program, as we saw in Chapter 5. Most easily overlooked but no less important is the sheer variation, the malleability of representations of the Czech duke and of Saint Václav. This is particularly true on the duke's *denarii*, which significantly predate the use and survival of seals. The coins issued after the duke's elevation to king, by contrast, exhibit significantly reduced variation on the obverse, where the image of a crowned ruler dominates.

Not by accident was the crown, not an orb or scepter, so assiduously displayed on the coins and seals of Czech kings—for it was the imperial grant of the right to wear a crown and to be crowned that made these three rulers kings. At Vratislav's elevation to the rank of king, which took place during a synod at Mainz in 1086, the emperor placed the crown on the duke's head with his own hand and ordered the archbishop of Trier to anoint and crown him in Prague.¹¹⁰ On June 15 that year Archbishop Engelbert did so, anointing Vratislav king and crowning both him and his wife, Svatava. As Cosmas reports, this occurred, "with all the clergy and satraps proclaiming three times: 'Life, health and victory to King Vratislav of both Bohemia and Poland, magnificent and peace-making, crowned by God.'" ¹¹¹ (The freemen must have been explicitly schooled to repeat this cry, as it stands in striking contrast to the simple, barbarized Czech version of Kyrie eleison, "Krléš!"—the customary acclamation at enthronement.) Vladislav II was twice crowned by the emperor, once at Regensburg after the Polish campaign and before the Milan expedition, and later, again, after Milan's capitulation.¹¹² According to Vincent, during the ceremony at which the Milanese formally agreed to obey the emperor, Barbarossa presented Vladislav with the diadem from his own head, one of "marvelous craftsmanship" sent to him by the king of England.¹¹³

New rituals, namely initial anointment and coronation, as well as periodic crown-wearings held on special holidays, thus accompanied the new title and headdress. All these ceremonies were explicitly Christian liturgies. One of the rare illuminated manuscripts preserved from Bohemia at this time, the Vyšehrad Codex, made in Vratislav's honor or at his behest, is a lavishly decorated evangeliary that includes readings for the feast of Saint Václav and for a coronation mass.¹¹⁴ Initially, for Vratislav, this ritual component created problems, since crown-wearings, like coronation and anointment, were sacramental liturgies explicitly requiring ecclesiastical, specifically episcopal, participation: Vratislav was permanently at odds with his brother, Bishop Jaromír of Prague, and disliked the obvious implications of receiving the crown from him.¹¹⁵ Vratislav resolved the issue—at least to his own satisfaction—by simply

appointing a new bishop of Olomouc. Both Vladislav II and Přemysl Otakar after him would insure that the bishops of Prague and Olomouc were *equally* qualified to perform the ceremony. The written charter secured by Vladislav authorizes the new king to hold crown-wearings at Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost, as well as on the feasts of Saints Václav and Adalbert.¹¹⁶ These ceremonies, held five times a year for fifteen years, must indeed have been majestic occasions.

Rituals of coronation and anointment were, as contemporaries understood, constitutive of kingship. Vratislav, Vladislav II, and Přemysl Otakar I were crowned and anointed, given the right to wear the crown, and for that reason were entitled to be called “kings.” The coins and seals with crowns commemorated the ritual conferral of kingship. All the images of a crown refer back to the singular occasions whereby these dukes were themselves first crowned by the emperor and anointed. The *denarius* depicting Barbarossa bestowing a crown upon Vladislav is merely the most explicit. The crown so often portrayed on the coins and seals, and at Znojmo, was no mere attribute or emblem of the king—at least not in the Czech Lands—it *made* him king. For Czech kings the orb and scepter seem to have been optional iconographic elements in a way that the crown was not, by the same logic. The relative iconographic consistency of the coins of Czech kings compared to Přemyslid dukes is thus a direct function of the crown, in its commemorative role, as the defining image of a duke made king.

Securing the Crown

Elevations to kingship—or rather, the right to wear a crown and be called *rex*—are often said to have had negligible effect on eleventh- and twelfth-century Czech political life.¹¹⁷ Of Vladislav II’s coronation, for instance, Jiří Kejř concludes that, “The elevation did not really bring anything new for the legal order of Bohemia. For governance it was entirely without significance whether a duke or king ruled” (my trans.).¹¹⁸ For the most part neither Vratislav, Vladislav, nor Přemysl Otakar gained new lands, incomes, or other rights and privileges in connection with the crown. Yet if the first grant of the new, higher title to Vratislav was largely the result of happy accident, an unforeseen reward for critical support to Henry IV during the Saxons Wars, the latter two resulted from conscious policies and deliberate negotiation. We need, therefore, to devote more attentive consideration to the specific aims of these rulers. Drawing upon Vratislav’s exemplary, if anomalous, promotion, Vladislav II and later Přemysl Otakar I endeavored to predetermine succession to the throne in the face of the decisive influence of the Czech magnates by appropriating

the unique, well-developed, and decidedly foreign ideology associated with the rituals and iconography of kingship in the Middle Ages.

Although Cosmas does not say so explicitly, Vratislav's coronation in 1086 was undoubtedly a reward from Henry IV for his steadfast support during the Investiture Contest.¹¹⁹ Henry apparently felt obligations toward both Vratislav and his bitter enemy, Bishop Jaromír of Prague, who had backed the imperial party in the Investiture Contest and served for several years as the emperor's chancellor.¹²⁰ The two brothers had clashed in the early 1070s over the bishopric of Olomouc, carved by Vratislav out of the diocese of Prague, and the bishop had lost decisively in the protracted adjudication of the dispute by Gregory VII. In 1086, then, Jaromír knew exactly what he wanted from Henry: the suppression of the bishopric of Olomouc, which he secured from Henry IV by charter at the same synod where Vratislav was crowned.¹²¹ Perhaps, if his brother was to be made bishop over all the Czech Lands, Vratislav asked for coronation as a sign of his lordship over all of Bohemia and Moravia, a reminder of imperial favor, and as security against deposition led by his three brothers, whom he deeply feared and whose position could only have been strengthened by reintegration of the two Czech dioceses under Jaromír.¹²² Vratislav's promotion to king seems, in 1086, to have been an anomaly, but it was unquestionably an extraordinary, glorious achievement. Letters to the new king survive from persons in the Empire, congratulating him on his promotion or otherwise addressing him as *rex*.¹²³ Vratislav was indisputably remembered in posterity as a king: he is always called *rex* in texts written after his death in 1092, and he is pictured thus in the chapel at Znojmo, painted as much as fifty years after his coronation. Without overestimating the cultural contributions made during Vratislav's six-year reign as king,¹²⁴ it undoubtedly created a powerfully tempting precedent and planted the seed for the more ambitious and successful of his descendents.

At Regensburg in January 1158, as already noted, Vladislav was crowned for his faithful service on an imperial campaign against Poland and, in return, promised to assemble a strong army and proceed personally against Milan.¹²⁵ In fact, the deal — trading kingship for an army, to put it crudely — was apparently struck at a meeting two years earlier, when Barbarossa was planning a second major expedition against his Lombard enemies. According to Vincent:

At [Barbarossa's] wedding, a scheme arose between the emperor and Lord Daniel [bishop of Prague] and Lord Gervasius, provost of Vyšehrad and chancellor of the duke of Bohemia (men of great counsel), such that if Duke Vladislav promised to give aid to the emperor for beseiging Milan in person and with his own army (as was better), he promised to adorn him with the royal diadem and return the castle of Bautzen to him to increase his honor. The duke, considering how much benefit might come to

him from this, promised that he would do it and confirmed it by an oath, with none of the Czechs knowing except the abovementioned two men.¹²⁶

In 1158, then, “what had been done secretly was made public.”¹²⁷ That kingship had serious ramifications for political life in Bohemia was proven almost immediately, however, on King Vladislav’s return to Prague from Regensburg; the Czech magnates—the warriors whose services Vladislav had volunteered to the emperor—were outraged rather than exultant or even awed by their lord’s new rank.¹²⁸ Whether Vincent’s account of the Würzburg meeting in 1156 is accurate or projects the freemen’s own complaints back onto that time, Vladislav’s appearance with his crown was clearly a surprise at the Prague court of 1158. The frantic effort to prepare for Milan effectively drowned out the freemen’s dissatisfaction with the coronation, but it would resurface fifteen years later in their denial of the royal title to his successors.¹²⁹

Forty years later, Přemysl Otakar embroiled himself deeply in the imperial succession contests at the beginning of the thirteenth century and in the process, he secured coronation from each contending king. Immediately after his enthronement as duke in 1198, he backed Philip of Swabia against Otto of Brunswick and was consequently crowned.¹³⁰ In a letter from 1201, addressed to Přemysl as “duke of Bohemia,” Innocent III questioned Přemysl’s coronation at the hands of the “anti-king” and urged the Czech ruler to transfer his allegiance to his own favorite, Otto.¹³¹ By 1203, Přemysl had done so and was again crowned; in subsequent letters, Innocent acknowledged his right to the new title.¹³² The Czech king later joined the rebellion against Otto, in 1211, and aided the young Frederick II against him.¹³³ In 1212, immediately upon Frederick’s arrival in Germany to claim the imperial crown, Přemysl Otakar procured a written confirmation of his regal status, sealed with a golden bull.¹³⁴ There can be no doubt, through all these machinations, that the Czech king was entirely conscious of his own goals and strategies as the imperial crisis progressed.

Both the charter evidence and the course of events indicate that control of succession was part of the goal of elevation to kingship.¹³⁵ The document issued by Barbarossa stipulated that Vladislav’s successors should also be kings.¹³⁶ In 1173, old and ill, the king abdicated and presided over the enthronement of his son, Frederick.¹³⁷ As with other efforts to predetermine succession, this one was entirely unsuccessful, and the effort to make royal status hereditary failed with it.¹³⁸ Frederick was almost immediately deposed, and Vladislav’s cousin Soběslav II enthroned as duke; the old king himself died in exile.¹³⁹ Decades later, Přemysl went to greater lengths to assure that the conditions outlined in the charter of 1212 would be fulfilled.¹⁴⁰ In 1216 he asked Frederick II to confirm the election of his eldest son, Václav, for which a golden bull was

again issued;¹⁴¹ he later associated him through joint-coronation at Mainz and issued a written testament to that effect in Prague in 1228.¹⁴² In 1231, Václav I acquired an imperial charter, again sealed with a golden bull, confirming his inheritance of the throne and royal title.¹⁴³ Not only were all rulers of Bohemia kings after Přemysl Otakar I, they were succeeded, as he was, by their eldest sons.¹⁴⁴ Coronation became requisite for control of succession not because the emperor took it more seriously, but because kingship itself lay outside conceptions of lordship and legitimation in the Czech Lands, even as it tapped Christian ideals that must have been thoroughly familiar. Elevation to the rank of king, thus, facilitated other moves away from customary practice, especially primogeniture succession.

For dukes of Bohemia, ultimately, becoming king meant the use of the title *rex*, the ritual receipt and wearing of a crown, and the display of that crown on their coins and seals as part of their official iconography. Kingship, in these instances, was not about rank, whether judged in relation to neighboring rulers and noblemen or the duke's subjects at home. The display by Vratislav, Vladislav II, and Přemysl Otakar I of insignia widely recognized in the Middle Ages as exclusive to kings constituted the adoption of a comprehensive iconographic tradition developed outside the Czech Lands. Ideals associated with Christian kingship were deeply embedded in rituals of coronation and burial, regalia and titulature, and formulaic language employed both in reference to the king and in his own grants and letters. Both coronation rituals and royal iconography were fully developed and of long-standing by the late eleventh century, and the Czechs adopted them "as is." Although Vratislav had reasons to dislike this aspect of his new rank, for Vladislav and Přemysl Otakar, the ideology that defined Christian kingship in medieval Europe—what the rituals and insignia of kingship represented—was intended to serve domestic political purposes. Stability, the adoption of external models, and ritual associations characteristic of the shift from ducal to royal iconography in the Czech Lands were all integral both to the ideology and to the goals of these two savvy rulers.

Not for nothing did Vratislav, Vladislav, and Přemysl Otakar brandish their newly won titles and crowns, or expend such effort and resources to gain them. Although it was not specifically emphasized in ducal iconography, where the warrior's lance, banner, and shield received equal stress, in the realities of Czech politics the throne stood alone as a monumental representation of the duke's powers. Only by enthronement at Prague could a Přemyslid become duke—and here the will of the freemen weighed decisively. Kings, however, were made by coronation and anointment, Christian liturgies with established norms. Moreover, the orb, scepter, and crown were royal insignia that served no other purpose other than as insignia of rulership, and, unlike the lance, they

were carried by no one else. Only the ruler's consort, anointed with her husband, wore a crown.¹⁴⁵ Looking back at the anomaly of his grandfather's elevation, Vladislav, and Přemysl Otakar after him, recognized the advantages inherent in kingship. With its ritual and imagery, indeed by its very stability and foreignness, kingship represented the potential means to remove the Czech freemen from the business of choosing or replacing their rulers. More than a sign of promotion within the hierarchy of titles, the crown so proudly displayed by Vladislav II and Přemysl Otakar I signified nothing less than a fundamental transformation of rulership in the Czech Lands.

We end here, however, with a caveat: In the only extant document issued after Vratislav's coronation in 1086, he styled himself "Vratislav, having put aside the name of duke, called king."¹⁴⁶ Yet depictions of Czech rulers demonstrate clearly that being "duke" and being "king" were not mutually exclusive. At Znojmo, Vratislav wears his crown and bears his scepter, but keeps firmly in his left hand the lance, banner, and shield displayed by the other dukes. On a pair of pennies issued by Vladislav II after 1158, the inscriptions read "REX WLADISLAVS" while the bare-headed ruler holds an orb in his right hand and a lance with a banner in his left.¹⁴⁷ Even on those *denáry* where the king retained none of the attributes of a duke, they still often appear in the hands of Saint Václav. Václav himself was a critical part of the representational program for Czech dukes, one Czech kings were loath to disavow. By including Václav, the saintly duke, on the same coins and seals bearing their images as kings in majesty, these three kings remained, still, dukes. They retained, after all, the vast material advantages dukes of Bohemia had long enjoyed—even as they initiated a symbolic transformation of their rulership.

Complications and Ramifications

Even when the duke could safely assume that the freemen had no comparable access to the emperor's court, an element of danger lurked in appeals to his authority. In allowing the emperor to stand as a higher authority, dukes and pretenders occasionally found themselves ensnared in their own trap. By taking their grievances to the imperial court or agreeing to answer one there, Czech rulers and pretenders made themselves highly vulnerable; whatever the outcome, the loser was unable to contest it because his armies, allies, and assets remained in the Czech Lands. Since losers were ordinarily forced to abide in exile, such disempowerment persisted until both domestic conditions and the emperor's views had changed.¹⁴⁸ For pretenders already in exile and with almost nothing to lose, the risk was lower, but they could still be captured while making their appeals at court per a secret agreement between the reigning

duke and the emperor. The more dukes emphasized and appealed to imperial authority, the greater the potential for troublesome complications.

Since the duke's machinations usually depended upon a relatively passive, or at least reactive, stance on the emperor's part, an activist German ruler could be highly disruptive—even given the customary limits of their interaction. Over the course of the twelfth century, other dangers proved to inhere in the duke's strategic appeals to imperial authority. While the duke's machinations were predicated on the inaccessibility of the emperor and his court to the freemen whose leverage he was attempting to subvert, other political opponents *did* have such access—the bishops of Prague and Olomouc. So too did other imperial bishops and German dukes, counts, and margraves. In the last quarter of the twelfth century, several such opportunities for disaster opened up simultaneously. The resulting scenario, often taken as evidence of internal political stagnation and disarray, together with weakness in the face of the emperor, should be understood instead as ramifying from the duke's manipulation of imperial authority in his effort to control succession to the throne in Prague. The strategy that privileged imperial authority nevertheless opened the door for consequences more actively detrimental to the duke's interests, in part because it made him answerable to complaints against him raised by those who, unlike the Czech freemen, could appeal to imperial justice.

Besides dukes and exiled Přemyslids, another party had access to the imperial court, one whose appeals to imperial authority often served to counter the duke's power at home: the Czech bishops. Several of the notable instances of imperial involvement in Czech affairs patently responded to episcopal petitions. Henry IV's charter of 1086 suppressing the diocese of Olomouc must have had its origin with Bishop Jaromír of Prague, whoever its supporters at court and whatever their rationale. The charter issued by Conrad III in 1144 granting to the church of Olomouc the Moravian castle of Podivín, which had long been disputed between the bishops of Olomouc and Prague, as well as the right to strike public money, was explicitly in response to the pleas of Bishop Henry Zdík of Olomouc: "since the church of Olomouc complained with frequent appeals before tribunals of the empire and before councils of Catholics, and since in both places the case was well known and the argument settled, the possession was adjudicated to the church of Olomouc."¹⁴⁹ Most dramatically, the Přemyslid bishop of Prague, Henry, argued so persuasively against the duke, accusing him of abusing church privileges and property, that in 1187 Barbarossa called Frederick to account for himself. Duke Frederick's misguided attempt to argue that the bishop of Prague should be his chaplain and was therefore wrong to oppose him met with strong disapproval from the imperial court, especially from the bishops present.¹⁵⁰ As a result, they decided:

that the bishop of Prague, according to the custom of German bishops, ought to be entirely free from any subjection to the duke and ought to be subject and obliged to the emperor alone, of whose empire he is a prince, whose court he is to visit, and from whom he receives the sceptre and investiture. Concerning which liberty, the bishop sought and received a sacred legal document, namely, a royal privilege, sealed with a golden bull. It obtained fully in the days of that bishop, but later not at all.¹⁵¹

Bishops of Prague and Olomouc, part of a transnational ecclesiastical hierarchy and suffragans of Mainz, already had an advantage and excuse for approaching the emperor. What they gained, and exploited, was new leverage against the duke made possible by the Czech ruler's own appeals to the emperor in times of serious crisis.

Although these determinations in favor of Czech bishops may appear as evidence of imperial control exercised through ecclesiastical channels, such was not the case. The essence of the contradiction is reflected in Gerlach's description of the court of 1187: because a part of the imperial church, the bishop of Prague was entitled to imperial jurisdiction and easily obtained similar rights to those of German bishops; because dukes, himself included, had already conceded responsibility to imperial authority, Frederick was forced to obey Barbarossa's summons and his determination; yet, the privilege and the rights it awarded could not be enforced within the Czech Lands and fell into disuse after the death of Bishop Henry in 1197. The privilege itself does not survive, nor does any record of its contents. A century earlier, Bishop Jaromír was similarly frustrated when, having worked long and hard to secure the suppression of the church of Olomouc finally by imperial charter and papal confirmation, Vratislav appointed a new bishop anyway. Later, in 1180, the canons of Prague appealed to the imperial court in defense of canonical rights of episcopal election but, before any judgment was rendered, capitulated to Elizabeth, Duke Frederick's wife, "lest they expose themselves to certain dangers for an uncertain outcome," that is, in fear of reprisals at home from which no emperor or archbishop could offer protection.¹⁵² Henry Zdík of Olomouc was the only bishop to succeed, but he used the emperor's grant merely for leverage, extracting from Vladislav two years later a ducal charter to the same effect; this second charter, which made no mention of the emperor or his determination, granted the bishop Podivín and minting rights—in other words, the same provisions as Conrad's.¹⁵³ Still, Jaromír and Henry, Přemyslid bishops of Prague almost exactly a century apart, differed less in their goals than their means of carrying them out. In this, again, we see the culmination of decades of interaction and the ramifications of the duke's own political strategies.

Concessions made to imperial authority also obliged the Přemyslids to abide by decisions made in favor of other imperial parties. In 1179, Barbarossa

issued a charter confirming the border between Bohemia and the duchy of Austria. Without doubt, the settlement, which does not appear to have altered the borders previously recognized, and the written confirmation, was probably instigated by Duke Leopold V of Austria after the deposition of Soběslav II in order to resolve his attempt to redefine the long border between their two lands.¹⁵⁴ Twenty years earlier, in 1160, Vladislav II gave a village with all its appurtenances to the church of Meissen as restitution for the damage he, his brothers, and others did to the church, "in order to obtain full remission."¹⁵⁵ The village, "called 'Prezez' located in the region of Bautzen," was not in Bohemia proper. The tenor of the grant was confirmed in a charter, dated five years later than Vladislav's, issued by Barbarossa to the same church.¹⁵⁶ Given the five-year discrepancy between the two dates, probably Vladislav had reneged on his original grant, and the church of Meissen turned for enforcement to the emperor, who responded by taking the matter out of Vladislav's hands and making himself the donor of the village. Not all imperial subjects, however, could rely on the emperor to solve their problems; the monastery of Waldsassen, which had received land from the duke of Bohemia, was forced to return again and again to his court to secure its Bohemian lands and unhindered access to them.¹⁵⁷ Although he could effectively be called to answer to imperial authority in matters pertaining to other of the emperor's subjects, for binding solutions to problems within the Czech Lands the only authority lay with the duke of Bohemia.

It is frequently asserted in the historiography that the relationship between the duke of Bohemia and the emperor was entirely different in the reign of Frederick Barbarossa. In particular, Barbarossa is credited—or blamed—with imposing Soběslav II single-handedly.¹⁵⁸ Yet a reevaluation of the events of 1173/74 reveals not the sudden overwhelming power of Barbarossa in Czech affairs but the very side effects of the construction of an imperial authority just enumerated. Indeed, Barbarossa would show himself to be a more "activist" emperor with regard to Bohemia over the succeeding decade, but we must remember that it was Vladislav who pushed the appeal to imperial authority furthest in his effort to control succession through elevation to kingship. Oldřich, the third son of Soběslav I, had already spent many years in exile at the imperial court and took advantage of Vladislav's abdication to redouble his efforts to obtain his brother Soběslav's release from prison, where he had spent over thirteen years.¹⁵⁹ The emperor summoned "all the Czechs" including Vladislav, Frederick, and Soběslav to his court at Nuremberg in 1174. Vladislav and Frederick sent messengers with excuses and money but "the emperor was not bent by entreaty or reward and ordered that Soběslav be released."¹⁶⁰ Not daring to resist further, they freed Soběslav from Přimda and brought him to Prague.

On his first night of freedom, hearing rumors that his cousin planned to blind him, Soběslav fled to the emperor with his supporters; Frederick followed by another road with his.¹⁶¹

The result of these events was that the contest for succession between Frederick and Soběslav, which was hardly unique or unexpected, took place at the imperial court rather than on a Bohemian battlefield. Frederick had his father's backing and the throne, but little else; Soběslav had the support of the magnates but had been too long in prison to be ready to marshal it. The emperor himself simply acted as mediator rather than sending troops. The sources do not record what transpired at Herndorf—neither the arguments or inducements each side offered the emperor, nor his reasons for rejecting Frederick.¹⁶² According to Gerlach, Barbarossa decided to invest Oldřich, who passed the banners to Soběslav, “both swearing to send an army to the emperor in Lombardy.”¹⁶³ The emperor thus extracted the fee of his choice, and by making clear to both parties whom he would back if it came to arms, gave his aid to Soběslav II.

Vladislav II based his plans for his son on the elevation to kingship he had earlier acquired from the emperor; to refuse his summons to court was, therefore, impossible. Because the question of succession was resolved at the imperial court, instead of a Bohemian battlefield, the role of the emperor may appear to have banished the freemen from the matter entirely.¹⁶⁴ But even before describing these machinations at court, our chronicler states directly:

But Frederick, although he was dear to the emperor (whose relative he was) and proven in many expeditions to Italy, nevertheless experienced what usually happens to an inexperienced helmsman. Whether by the perfidy of the Czechs or his own inertia, we do not know; we only know that in a short time they turned away from him, seeking an excuse by which they would be able to escape him and have another lord. Whispering a long time among themselves, as they were accustomed, what was long hidden proceeded into public in such an order as we will describe.¹⁶⁵

While Frederick seems to have accepted deposition at the emperor's hands, in this case—as in all others—Soběslav obtained the throne because he had the support of the freemen and his inept cousin did not. Soběslav subsequently lost both their support and the emperor's grace in the course of his short reign, during which time his cousin Frederick sat at the imperial court waiting for his opportunity. As usual, the pretender in exile waited for the best opportunity to approach the emperor for support, choosing not only the moment when the emperor would be most likely to acquiesce but when he had backing at home. Thus, Oldřich made his move on behalf of his imprisoned brother as soon as Vladislav II abdicated in favor of his son, Frederick. At Barbarossa's court at

Nuremberg, Soběslav II, through Oldřich, was invested with the banners and Frederick deposed.¹⁶⁶

This reevaluation of the tumultuous events of the last quarter of the twelfth century understands Barbarossa's actions both in terms of the course of Czech politics as described in Chapter 6, and with regard to the nature of the duke's relationship to the German rulers generally. The duke of Bohemia's appeal to imperial authority was a product of his own manipulations rather than the design of any emperor, but it depended entirely upon the German king's willingness to play along. The Czech ruler's plans could easily be thwarted any time the emperor's own interests or inclinations failed to accord with his. An activist emperor too could wreak havoc. This, in fact, constitutes the moral of the Monk of Sazava's story of the events of 1126 culminating in the battle at Chlumec. On that occasion, Lothar ran into the same obstacles Henry III faced nearly a century earlier and their predecessors had in the ninth and tenth centuries: Bohemia was difficult to attack and easy for its inhabitants, once rallied, to defend. Perhaps routinely, through the kind of quiet diplomacy that the sources fail to record, German rulers had often hinted at their views, manipulating dukes and pretenders in their moments of travail. This must especially have been the case once the imperial court had become the favorite refuge of exiled Přemyslids. While often the chroniclers' account indicates otherwise, it seems plain that Barbarossa handled matters differently, from the time of Vladislav's abdication in 1173 to his own death in 1184. And so too did Henry VI, once he decided to back Bishop Henry against Přemysl, who, as a defaulter on monies promised, had proven a fickle ally.

It comes as no surprise then that, at a moment when the emperor's dependence upon the Czech ruler was particularly acute, Přemysl Otakar I moved to prevent the very sort of leverage Barbarossa had managed to exert. The charter issued by Frederick II to Přemysl Ottokar I in 1212, confirming his permanent elevation to the rank of king, proscribes the rudimentary conditions of interaction between these Czech rulers and German emperors in future. In one blow, the Czech king sought to clarify them all for posterity and in writing. In this, the coronation charter of 1212 differs strikingly from Barbarossa's golden bull of 1158. It marks, too, a striking change in relations between the two rulers' involvement, one that corresponded with the host of other social and political transformations that characterized the thirteenth century in both the Czech Lands and the Empire.

In conclusion, it is clear that the Czech Lands occupied a unique position, part but not part of the Empire, like and yet unlike other German duchies. The duke of Bohemia was subject to imperial authority and his subordinate status

entailed certain obligations, but he retained complete practical autonomy. The German king, meanwhile, benefited from continued alliance and involvement with the Czech ruler, especially at times of crisis within the Empire. In fact, by the thirteenth century the long legacy of support for the emperor, beyond the limits of customary obligations and in times of deepest need, propelled the Czech ruler to the prominence that surely led to his inclusion among the seven imperial electors.¹⁶⁷ At the same time, the distance between them was a crucial component of their relationship. The emperor's interests kept him engaged with the Přemyslid duke, but were not such that he regularly expressed a preference or took an active stance with regard to specific dukes or other internal Czech affairs. For the duke's part, it was largely because imperial authority could be invoked in support of his rule without abdicating lordship in any way that it served as a valuable resource against the Czech freemen, at least in theory. The duke's appeals for the emperor's aid and efforts to manipulate his authority, together with the emperor's own needs—more than the legal obligations that bound them—shaped the relationship between the two rulers.

Routine interaction between emperor and duke over two centuries offered the latter a variety of opportunities to exploit an intangible attribute of his power, one pertaining to himself alone and from which the magnates were effectively excluded: his relationship to the emperor. By calling upon the emperor for aid in conflicts over the throne, for the designation of successors, and for coronation, Přemyslid dukes sought to deprive the magnates of the power—exercised willingly and often—to appoint or depose the duke. To achieve their domestic political goals, dukes looked outside the Czech Lands, to an authority that stood beyond the freemen's influence. In their efforts—frequently unsuccessful—to mass imperial troops against rebellious magnates, to control succession through investiture and elevation to kingship, and to draw upon imperial authority as a basis for their own they essentially strove to alter customary norms, whether of election, legitimacy, or broader conceptions of power and authority. Thus, it took a long time and several false starts for the Přemyslids' efforts to finally bear any real fruit. Moreover, the construction of an imperial authority of sufficient influence to be useful to the dukes also left them vulnerable—not to the emperor himself but to his willingness to hear the pleas of others (exiled Přemyslids, Czech bishops, or aggrieved German nobles) and to render judgment against the duke, decisions the Czech ruler could not ignore without serious detriment to his own strategies.

Increasingly frequent interaction—each occasion providing a precedent for the next—and the appeals to imperial justice that often accompanied requests for military support, simultaneously served to clarify and strengthen

the emperor's already recognized superior authority in the Czech Lands. Dukes Vladislav II and Přemysl Otakar I drew upon such authority and exploited the resources they could offer the emperor in his time of need, to secure the rank of king together with its insignia and ritual. Although investiture and other efforts at designation consistently failed, in coronation lay the seeds of success. One of the goals of promotion to kingship, the very reason it was so assiduously sought by Vladislav and Přemysl Otakar, was that the duke acquired from the emperor's hand a measure of the authority he possessed. In becoming a king, the duke retained the position—subordinate to the emperor—he had formerly occupied, while he tried to craft a new abstract understanding of his own authority, vested in the ideals of Christian kingship and free of the customary dependence upon and responsibility to the Czech freemen. Moreover, not only could the Czech duke potentially derive advantages from his subordinate position, he *required* a general acknowledgment of the emperor as an external and higher authority to carry out his plans.

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CONCLUSION

LEADERSHIP AND COMMUNITY

The world of the medieval Czech Lands was one in which, each night, the duke in Prague went to bed knowing he might waken to a challenge to his authority. And each morning, freemen throughout the land knew that on account of widespread discontent, the claims of a Přemyslid pretender, or the simple natural death of the reigning duke, they might be summoned to mount their horses and hasten toward Prague. The duke knew that any threat to his rule inevitably originated in his own actions; the freemen knew that the outcome of any dispute over succession, waged in council or in battle, rested on the choices each of them would make. In this world, power was personal rather than institutionalized. The rules of succession governing its transfer from one duke to the next were highly contested. And yet the Czech Lands, far from being mired in anarchy, constituted a flourishing—and in many ways typically medieval—political community. Its well-being, indeed its very coherence, rested not only on the duke but on the community of his subjects. Power and community, as this book's Introduction suggested, were inseparable—in conception and in practice.

The preceding chapters have traced this interconnection, analyzing the duke's exercise of power and its effect on those he governed, the tense interplay between ruler and subjects, from a number of different angles. Part I demonstrated how a particular dynamic was embedded in and continually reinforced by the structure of power in the Czech Lands, defined by the nature and foundations of ducal lordship and of the society subject to it. Certain fixtures of the system, the duke's monopoly on castles, for instance, or the absence of legally defined or titular ranks among the freemen, both maintained a balance of power between the duke of Bohemia and the Czechs, and strengthened the incentives for engagement between them. These same basic characteristics of Czech society, and the exceptions represented by the church's situation, largely excluded the Christian ecclesiastical hierarchy from these same power

dynamics. In this especially, political life in Bohemia and Moravia was substantially different from that of the Empire. Part II examined the “wild cards” of Czech politics, elements that lay outside the basic system of interdependence but nevertheless, in practice, played a consistently significant role as events unfolded over the 150 years examined here: Václav’s supernatural intercession, dispossessed younger Přemyslids and the Moravian appanages, and the German emperor. By manipulating—or striving to manipulate—these integral but excluded elements, dukes and freemen pursued strategies, each a precedent for the next, that became the chief catalysts for change in Czech political culture.

Strategic action made interdependence more than a static relation between duke and freemen. The dynamism of their relationship also makes it difficult to explain the nature of power in Czech society with reference to the fixed institutional moorings provided by concepts like “state.” This book’s Introduction explained the necessity of dispensing with a state-centered perspective before assessing the history of the eleventh- and twelfth-century Czech Lands. The remainder of this Conclusion, in the same spirit, suggests alternatives to lordship as a way of conceptualizing power. During the entire period treated by this book, Czech society and the Czech polity were becoming increasingly diverse, robust, sophisticated, and expansive. This development manifestly did not derive from ducal dominion alone. So, if the duke’s power in the Czech lands did not consist in lordship or any other institutionalized authority, how, finally, can it be better characterized? And if the Czechs constituted more than merely the objects of the duke’s lordship, how was their community delimited, defined, and imagined?

* * *

Dukes of Bohemia enjoyed vast, incomparable, intrusive lordship, and they wielded power uniformly within clearly defined territorial limits. Yet, at the heart of their power, they were not territorial lords but leaders. This seemingly simple point merits reiteration: the essence of the duke’s power in the Czech Lands consisted neither in lordship nor in some ducal analogue to kingship, but in *leadership*.¹ The rule of the dukes of Bohemia almost certainly originated in the particular form of leadership exercised by warlords. A *dux* led warriors into battle, saw to it that they were victorious, and distributed booty; if nothing else, he organized plunder raids to enrich himself and his followers. By the mid-eleventh century, although we cannot say when or how, the Czech duke had already become leader of more than his own retinue and responsible for more than military leadership. He stood instead at the heart of an entire society. Among the broader obligations that fell to the duke as ruler

of an expanded, diverse community, the provision of justice for all was paramount (although it leaves the faintest trail in the sources). It surely entailed a wider range of activities than modern usage of this term connotes, not only the prosecution of law-breakers and resolution of disputes, but also the maintenance of public infrastructure, defense of the realm and of the church, the provision of coin, and the proverbial protection of widows and orphans. To be sure, cunning and aggressiveness, the signature qualities of a warlord, also remained integral to leadership well into the twelfth century. But attention to justice for all required sensitivity and responsiveness to a much broader range of communal needs and expectations; the demands of good leadership rested upon these qualities, too.

Leadership, in contrast to lordship or kingship, is inherently unstable, always questioned, defended and reasserted in accordance with the prevailing norms of the community. It lacks the permanence of status and must instead be continuously demonstrated in a wide range of ever-changing circumstances. For a duke of Bohemia everything depended upon his skills as a leader: the rights, assets, and obligations of lordship followed from it, so too did the awe and respect accorded him as *dux*. Successful leadership on the part of a duke consisted in a balance of savvy assessment of the men around him, their views, character, and interests; aggressive strong-arm tactics to assure the implementation of his will; and attention to justice for all. Dukes deemed inappropriately violent, inattentive to communal interests, or impolitic in their relations with influential men found their leadership challenged. Such challenges must have occurred routinely and varied considerably in intensity depending upon the duke's own receptivity to correction, whether subtly hinted or forcefully asserted. Deposition and revolt represent only the most extreme responses to inadequate leadership; only those dukes who persisted in misjudgment were forced to defend themselves on the battlefield. No tyrant or imbecile reigned as duke of Bohemia in this period; poor leaders were insufficiently tolerated for them to govern long.

Yet leadership was exhibited in the absence of overt challenges as well; no effective leader could survive with a purely reactive attitude. While a duke like Bořivoj seems to have been a failure on all fronts, the most successful Czech rulers ostentatiously paraded their best qualities and achievements as leaders—as Soběslav I did during the trial of plotters against his life, in 1130. The routine fulfillment of a duke's obligations and the exercise of his various prerogatives—resolving legal disputes, treating with foreign rulers, leading armed expeditions, endowing churches, presiding at feasts—provided opportunities for such display. The test of a duke as leader nevertheless lay in the substance of these occasions rather than their surface. Seeking out, reacting to,

and grounding decisions in counsel, deciding whose advice to ask or privilege: these were weighty, complicated tasks whose execution could make or break a leader.

In 1158, and again in 1198, two ambitious Přemyslid dukes endeavored to craft a stylized leadership through elevation to the rank of king. They hoped, by appropriating the rituals and ideologies of Christian kingship, with their stability and divine locus of legitimacy, to ease the burden inherent in the constant ad hoc exercise of leadership. Vladislav, whose success or failure may be assessed within the chronological framework of this study, would ultimately be disappointed. At the outset even, in 1158, the freemen rejected their duke's coronation as king, together with his unaccustomed plan to lead them to Italy on Barbarossa's behalf. Nothing indicates that Vladislav's novel dignity, or the elevation of the Czech Lands to the status of a kingdom, was viewed as bringing greater glory to the Czechs.² Vladislav was a savvy leader, able to salvage himself in this situation by mobilizing younger men, ambitious for booty, against the elder freemen who objected to his intentions. Yet those young men would, fifteen years later, thwart Vladislav's plans to pass his royal title to Frederick upon his abdication, rejecting Frederick altogether as his successor and choosing Soběslav II as their *dux*. Bohemia was no longer a kingdom. Yet the Latin word for "kingdom," *regnum*, also meant simply "realm," and in this sense it appears routinely in all written sources of Czech provenance. The Czechs thus understood that even without a king per se theirs had long constituted a *regnum*.

The Czech freemen, the duke's very subjects, played a powerful role in his exercise of leadership, as has been amply demonstrated in the preceeding chapters. They, too, were expected to be proactive. Cosmas, in the "Apologia" that prefaces Book III of the *Chronica Boemorum*, excoriates the freemen of his own day, and the duke too, for their failure to treat the business of governance with due seriousness.³ He charges:

Indeed men of this time, nude of virtues, seek to dress themselves only in praises; their greatest madness is to wish to be decorated with favors and not to do what is worthy of favor. But it was not so among ancient men, who, although they were most deserving of praise, nevertheless fled the praise modern men seek, and what was shameful to those men is considered honorable by these. We follow their deeds with the stylus plainly, because some of them were not done with God and undoubtedly we will not escape offending those who are yet living — men who are new men and yes-men, who, at the voice of the duke, have nothing ready in their mouths but 'Yes, lord,' or 'So it is, lord,' or 'Do so, lord.' But once it was not so. For the duke himself especially cultivated him, who set his shield over against iniquity by reason of justice and suppressed with one word of truth bad counsellors and those deviating from the path of equity. Such men are now none or few; and if they exist, while they keep silent, they are as if they

did not exist. For it is the same vice or judgment to have silenced the truth or assented to falsehood.⁴

Cosmas believed that power, justly and effectively wielded, depended not merely upon the duke, but his subjects. Everyone had a role to play, and a responsibility, each in his way, to exercise leadership. In another, less disheartened passage, Cosmas puts it differently. At the enthronement of Břetislav I in 1037, the blind Jaromír announces to the assembled crowd:

Behold your duke! . . . You should obey him as befits a duke and show him the fidelity owed to your prince. And you, son, I admonish, and I will admonish you repeatedly, again and again, worship these men like fathers, love them like brothers, and keep their counsel in all your dealings. To them you commit castles and the rule of the people; through them the realm of Bohemia [*Boemie regnum*] stands, has stood, and will stand forever.⁵

* * *

This book's Introduction asserted that power could in no way be understood outside conceptions of community.⁶ In part, this conclusion emerges directly from Břetislav I's institution of succession by seniority and its consequent empowerment of the Czech freemen. Yet, as this last citation from Cosmas emphasizes, it entailed much more. In Chapter 5 we explored the Canon of Vyšehrad's casual equation of the Czechs with the "household of Saint Václav" as well as the duke's role as both a member of that *familia* and the successor of the martyred duke. Further questions about the relationship between power and community, questions crucially relevant to this book's argument, remain unexamined however. To what extent did the Czech duke's territorial lordship fashion a community? How was Czech identity per se connected to the land? To what degree did the expectations governing the exercise of power reflect those about communal identity, or vice versa? To answer these questions, we need to take one last look at evidence from the sources.

A natural place to begin to understand the Czechs as a community is with the land itself. The territory comprising the Czech Lands was clearly bounded in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Cosmas speaks of the protective circle of mountains and forest circumscribing Bohemia; the terrain must have similarly delimited Moravia to the north and east, while to the south, again as Cosmas records, the river Dýje divided it from the territory that would become Austria. Znojmo, the seat of one of the three Přemyslid vice-dukes in Moravia, stood on the Dýje, serving as a reminder that the natural features of the land had to be reinforced and maintained politically in order to function as the boundaries of a territorial polity. A mid-twelfth-century charter incidentally records that, at

the duke's command, guards patrolled the internal border between Bohemia and Moravia regulating the passage of persons as necessary. Both Bohemia and Moravia were lands with "entrances" and "exits." The duke's lordship was felt not merely at the crossing-points into and out of Bohemia, but throughout the territory encompassed by such boundaries: to penetrate Bohemia was to become subject to his lordship. Escape from it, likewise, could be achieved only through exile, removing oneself physically — or being forcibly ejected — from the land. Territorial unity, particularly within Bohemia itself, was an everyday reality, powerfully felt.

Fittingly perhaps, Cosmas grounds his *Chronica Boemorum* in place well before the Czechs' story becomes anchored in time: "Before we take up the beginning of this narration, we will attempt to lay out briefly the location of this Bohemian land (*terre huius Boemice*) and whence it took its name."⁷ After describing the forests, waters, fruits and fishes of a land he describes as "empty of human habitation," he says that a group of migrants arrived and settled around Mt. Říp. They then named the land *Boemia* after their leader, "Boemus."⁸ Etymology made myth, plainly, the tale nevertheless embodies the presumption that the *Boemii*, the people whose history Cosmas is telling, had themselves no name before their arrival in "Bohemia." Neither the people nor the land possesses an identity before the moment when their fates are joined. As the singular inhabitants of a previously empty land, the Czechs share their history with no one. Moreover, nowhere does Cosmas link Boemus biologically to those first settlers, or to the people who must have been their descendants; he is simply their leader, an elder whom the other migrants followed "like a lord" (*quasi dominum*).⁹ Physical continuity thus defines the relationship between twelfth-century Czechs and the first settlers around Mt. Říp.¹⁰ The land takes priority over everything else.

Cosmas treats the time — some point in the distant past — when land and people come together as the beginning of Czech history.¹¹ So too, both "Bohemia" and "this land" connoted something beyond geography, expressing an affinity between the people and the land, and among the inhabitants themselves. A freeman named Hartmann invokes the land twice in a charter recording the resolution of a property dispute: "Producing witnesses according to the law of this land, I got my right before the king [Vladislav] and all the princes of the land."¹² The "law of this land" (*iure huius terre*) regulated procedure, it seems, and the "princes of the land" (*principibus terre*) saw to its proper observance; together they secured Hartmann's "right" (*ius meum*). References variously phrased to "the leading men of the land," ubiquitous in chronicles and charters alike, emphasize the close connection between the land and the magnates who upheld and participated in its laws, customs, and rituals.¹³ Even

the duke was compelled to manage his property “legitimately,” that is, as one charter states, “by just means according to the judgment of the elder nobles of Bohemia (*nobilium seniorum Boemie*).”¹⁴ At the same time, upon becoming duke, Přemyslid rulers assumed dominion over all of Bohemia (*prefecit dominio totius Boemie*),¹⁵ and it was sometimes even called “their land” (most often when a duke returned from a sojourn abroad). Yet Přemyslids only became dukes when enthroned “according to the rite of this land” (*secundum ritum huius terrae*). “The land” thus represented something more abstract, akin to a word easily substituted for *terra*, namely, “fatherland.” Where Cosmas had used *terra*, Gerlach describes an enthronement performed “according to the custom of the fatherland” (*iuxta morem patriae*).¹⁶ Even the German merchants in Prague, recognized by privilege as a separate community exempt from ordinary military service, were obliged to fight *pro patria*.¹⁷ Something more than a specifically bounded territory is evoked by the word *terra* in these phrases, even as the citations themselves fail to supply a specific, alternative definition.¹⁸ Law, custom, shared rituals, unified lordship, and a bounded territory, all are implied by “terra” or “this land.”

Saints Václav and Adalbert were, in the words of an anonymous twelfth-century bishop of Prague, “the patrons God bestowed upon this little land.”¹⁹ These men were the heavenly advocates of all the Czechs, patrons shared by all who prayed to them for intercession before God. In times of particular travail, they could be appealed to, or themselves miraculously intervene, on behalf of the whole community. Soběslav I, we are told, prayed that they might prevent “the land from falling into the hands of foreigners” (*quia non tradetur terra in manus alienigenarum*) in 1126.²⁰ Sharing such powerful patrons, the Czechs could be construed, as the Canon of Vyšehrad once says, as “the household of Saint Václav” (*familia sancti Wenceslai*).²¹ More important, however, is a subtler elision. Václav and Adalbert are most often called “our” patrons (*nostrī patroni*), especially in the liturgical books used for routine observance. Cosmas writes of the duke and all the Czech commonfolk (*universa plebe Boemorum*) celebrating with great rejoicing the anniversary “of their patron Saint Václav” (*sancte Wenczelai sui patroni*); indeed, in another passage, he describes such festivities as occurring “according to the rite of this land” (*huius terre secundum ritum*).²² At the battle of Chlumec, in the vision described by the Canon of Vyšehrad, Václav appears on his white horse fighting not to defend the land, the *patria*, the Czechs, or his *familia*, but simply “for us” (*pugnantem pro nobis*).²³ Who, then, were “we”?

This is an enormously difficult question, no less so when rendered “who were the *Boemii*”? At the most elemental level, this presents such a pressing problem that this book has consistently avoided it until this moment — for are

we to translate *Boemii* as “Czechs” or as “Bohemians”? In the context of revolt, or of difficulties between dukes and vice-dukes, the chroniclers sometimes contrast “Bohemians” with “Moravians,” especially when one of the contenders for the throne was himself a Moravian vice-duke. Yet elsewhere both *Boemii* and “Bohemia” clearly refer to the two Czech lands as a unity—not least in the duke’s very title (*dux Boemorum*, *dux Boemie*). The sources provide no real means of determining whether separate Bohemian and Moravian identities, or ethnicities, existed in this period or what criteria defined them.²⁴ Indeed, this same terminological problem persists in modern Czech, where *český* means both Bohemian and Czech generally.²⁵ Since it is impossible to account for what unified the Czechs as an ethnic group, even the degree to which such unity existed, it seems even more unwise to speculate on the criteria that might have distinguished them from non-Czechs—from Hungarians, or Poles, or Saxons. For instance, while chroniclers occasionally remark that Czechs spoke “Slavic” (*slavonice*) by contrast with a broad group of “German-speakers” (*teutonici*), nothing indicates that this signified more than simple linguistic difference. The reality of intermarriage, as well as linguistic assimilation, necessarily troubles any assumptions about the fixity of criteria defining the Czechs as a people, or *gens*.²⁶ Gerlach of Milevsko, a Premonstratensian canon born in Saxony, speaks easily of the Czechs as *nostra gens*.²⁷

Leaving aside language and ethnicity as unenlightening, we return to law (*ius huius terrae*) and custom (*morem patriae*). The privilege granted by Soběslav II to a group of Germans living in Prague provides the perfect opportunity to treat these issues in specific terms and contexts. The charter explicitly distinguishes Germans from Czechs by virtue of both “nation” and legal custom: “just as these Germans are a different nation from the Czechs, so also are they divided from the Czechs by their law or custom.”²⁸ Acknowledging this as fundamental, the duke “concede[s] to these Germans [the right] to live according to the law and justice of the Germans.” Rules were laid down to govern disputes and criminal cases that crossed the boundary between Germans and Czechs, as well as those involving Jews and “Romans” (presumably speakers of Romance languages). These parties seems to be distinguished, each in turn, by law, by religion, and by language; they are in any event defined categorically.

Soběslav’s privilege applied, however, not to all Germans in the Czech Lands but to those living in a specific community. The privilege was explicitly granted only to “the Germans who live in the suburb of Prague.” The heart of that space was the church of St. Peter; only there, on the steps of the church, could they be made to swear oaths. Moreover, their “villages” must have had recognized boundaries; the Germans are held blameless should someone be killed who wanders inside their community at night without a torch. In the

privilege, the Prague Germans are even *de facto* recognized as constituting a distinct religious community; although Catholics still subject to the bishop, they are granted the right to elect their own parish priest without his interference. The stipulation here is strikingly analogous to that governing episcopal elections in the Czech Lands as a whole; recognized as a community of faithful, they ought to have a say in the appointment of their “shepherd.” The most significant provision, however, reads as follows: “Whatever immigrant or guest coming from whatever land (*de quacunque terra*) should wish to live in the city with the Germans, he should have the law and custom of the Germans.”²⁹ The “Germans” are distinguished by law and custom, but defined by residence in a single location; their community includes any individual who chooses to live with them there and to abide by their legal custom. “Nation” provides only the starting point for defining this community within a community.

The charter and its provisions are intended for, and themselves define, a specific community of Germans who wished, like Jews, to live according to their own customs and under their own officials, lay and ecclesiastical. The same held for a village of Poles whose inhabitants moved to Bohemia in 1040 and who were granted land and the right live “under the law which they had in Poland,” as well as their own *prefectus* and judge; “they are called, Hedčané, still today,” Cosmas says, “a name derived from their town.”³⁰ Their town, their law, their judge gave these people a name, an identity contiguous with neither Pole nor Czech but unique. They remained, however, part of the larger community, not least by their subjection to the duke. The duke of Bohemia not only authorized the existence of these communities within his realm by his grant of privileges, he remained indisputably their lord. As was presumably the case throughout the Czech Lands, among the Prague Germans the duke retained jurisdiction over the most grievous offenses, theft and homicide. For the Hedčané, the Prague Germans, and probably for the Jews, as indeed for all Czechs, the duke was the highest judge. The duke took these communities “into my grace and protection,” and they, like all his subjects, remained obliged to him.³¹ While the Germans were exempted from the universal military service that otherwise fell to all the duke’s subjects—itself a sign surely of their exceptional status within the majority population—they were nevertheless obligated to fight, as noted above, *pro patria*. And they were expected, too, to defend Prague.

All of this brings us, as it brought the Czechs so often, back to Prague. Land, law, and lordship, a community of faithful Christians who shared a heavenly patron, a people with a common history and customs, *all* these defined the Czechs. And by any of these criteria, Prague stood at the heart of the community. It was the duke’s seat, the locus of the throne that marked his accession

to power. It was also the bishop's seat and the resting place of Saints Václav and Adalbert. It too had a history, grounded in the mythic era and in pagan prophesy, a history inextricably linked with the Czechs: Prague had no history before the Czechs, nor they hardly before its foundation. Situated at the geographic center of Bohemia, on its main river system but far from any border, it was the Czechs' political, economic, and ritual capital, absolutely without compare. Under almost any circumstance, Prague was where the Czechs gathered to decide the fate of their community.

* * *

How, then, can we restyle the dynamic of interdependence more suggestively, as a dialectic between leadership and community? The realm of ecclesiastical affairs points toward an answer. It was the duke's obligation to nurture a Christian community, to intervene in a religious sphere over which he had no formal jurisdiction. The election of bishops was the most direct and important way in which he acted to promote the faith in his realm. Such intervention tested his commitment to justice, even as it compelled him to uphold a common interest transcending his own personal benefit, one greater than the maintenance of his own leadership. A duke was expected to exert decisive influence in the selection of worthy candidates for investiture and consecration in Mainz, but he had no legal, lordly rights of appointment. In 1068, Duke Vratislav faced revolt when he endeavored to appoint Lanzo the next bishop of Prague in place of his own ambitious brother — and not merely because he misjudged the sentiments of the freemen or tried to use trickery and force rather than persuasion to achieve his ends. The leader of the rebels accused him of these offenses, to be sure, but he also charged that Lanzo's election would unjustly force the freemen to violate sworn oaths to support Jaromír and that the election of a foreigner when other qualified Czech candidates were available would be detrimental to the community of Czech faithful.

A duke of Bohemia led not from a position above or outside the community, but as a member of it: he fought *with* his army, adjudicated disputes and tried criminals in the company of respected freemen, elected bishops in *colloquia* of clergy and laymen, and so on. For their part, the Czech freemen shared responsibility for public affairs, literally the *res publica*, a phrase frequently used by chroniclers. In this same spirit, they revolted: "wars more than civil," (again, the language of the chroniclers) were the result of, not a threat to, coherence.³² In uniting or in struggling to determine the occupant of the throne, they reasserted not just their rights but expressed the will of the community. Of course, there were other, less bloody reasons to hasten to Prague: to celebrate Saint Václav's feast, to choose a bishop, to witness donations to

monasteries, to receive foreign dignitaries, to resolve legal disputes, to acclaim a new duke at his enthronement. Acting in concert did not proceed according to the "law of the land"; instead it provided an occasion to come together and reaffirm it. An approach that defines communities according to some external criteria, institutional (for instance, as a kingdom) or cultural (as shaped by myths of origins, say), that mobilized in defense of interests similarly defined has, I would argue, put the proverbial cart before the horse. The Czechs were not a community *in* action, but a community *of* action. They hastened to Prague not just because they were Czechs, but in doing so defined and affirmed their identity as Czechs.

In all this, the Czechs presumed and practiced communal autonomy. The locus of power, of legitimacy, and of community lay in the mutual engagement between the duke and the freemen, the leader and those led. The Czechs' reaction to the threat posed by Lothar and the German army ultimately vanquished at Chlumec was not motivated by a kind of xenophobia but by the perceived breach of that autonomous relationship. The monk of Sázava not only describes Soběslav praying that the "land will not fall into the hands of foreigners," but has him declare by messenger to the German ruler himself: "It is fitting for your discretion, good emperor, to know that the election of the duke of Bohemia, as we know from our ancestors, is never in the judgment of the emperor but always of the princes of Bohemia."³³ A more convincing demonstration of the centrality of this principle emerges in a very different context. When Vladislav II proposed to intervene in a Hungarian succession crisis, Vincent reports: "To some this seemed best, but to others it seemed absurd. Indeed some noble men declared that it was altogether unheard of (*a seculo se non audivisse*) for a king of Bohemia to establish (*constituat*) a king in Hungary, or for a king of Hungary to establish a king in Bohemia."³⁴ Acknowledging the objection, Vladislav reinforced its central assumption: his intention, he said, was not to "establish" a Hungarian king, but to defend one already established against his enemies. Not merely idealizing but routinely practicing communal political autonomy reinforced coherence across the breadth of Czech territory, exactly as ducal lordship did. Here too we achieve a fuller understanding of the resonance of *terra*. We comprehend too what Cosmas meant by the claim that in the Czech magnates stands the *regnum Boemie*.

Medieval leadership meant upholding justice and preserving the peace, protecting both the land and the people from the depredations of outsiders, and supporting Christianity, the faith shared by all but a small community of Jews. These obligations the Czechs entrusted to their ruler, the *dux Boemorum* chosen from among the men of a long-reigning charismatic dynasty and enthroned according to customary rites on a stone throne in Prague. Leadership

was no less dynamic, though, for being oriented toward preservation. And justice was not merely an abstract ideal good leaders worked toward; it was itself constituted through a thousand different acts and decisions in the realm of politics. In an age when so little else, in material and social life, was susceptible to earthly improvement, political leadership, at least, admitted of human control and the hope of human justice. To ensure that the duke upheld his trust or ceded the throne to a more able leader, Czechs of all stations hastened to Prague. For this cause, as Vincent says, “many thousands of warriors rushed to war.”

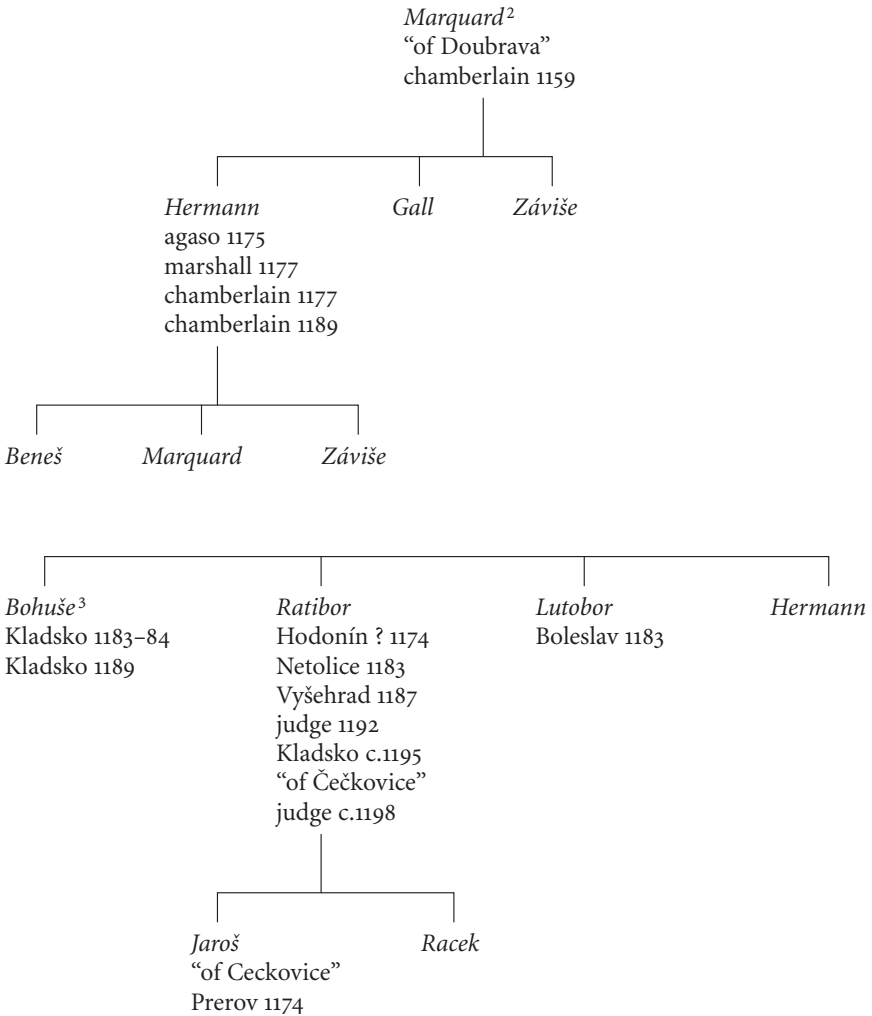
APPENDIX A

SELECTED MAGNATE

GENEALOGIES

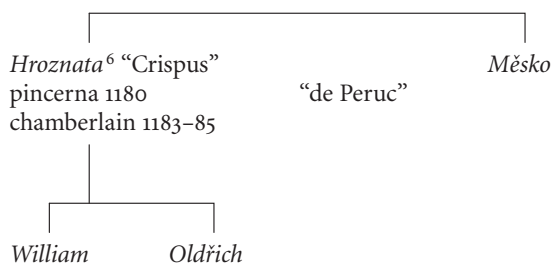
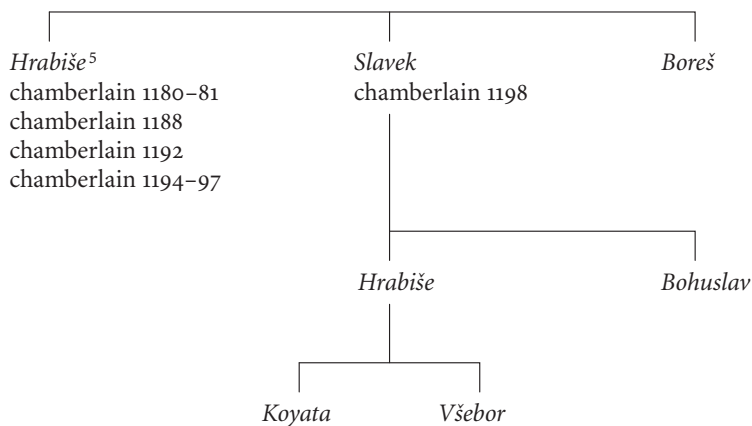
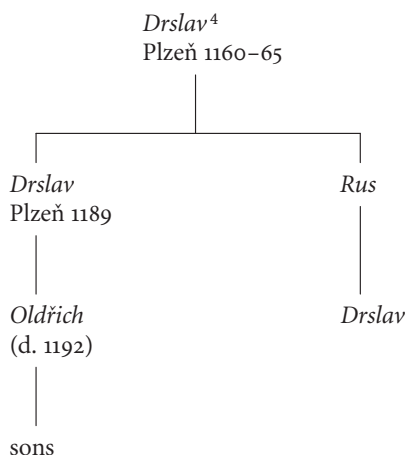
The following genealogical tables trace sanguinal relationships between men whose names are listed in charters from the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. My charts differ from those of František Palacký, who was, to my knowledge, the last to attempt to provide comprehensive genealogical charts for the Czech nobility.¹ Palacký was often overeager to connect men on the basis of naming patterns, and he apparently did not have the full range of documentary evidence available to him that we have today, almost 150 years later. I have been very conservative in the construction of these genealogies. Although in some cases convoluted reasoning was required to sort out men with the same names in the same family who might or might not be from different generations, I have endeavored to include individuals only where the sources actually state or otherwise conclusively indicate a blood relationship. I have not relied on naming patterns alone to determine affinity. For this reason, these charts do not continue far into the early thirteenth century. As a result, there are surely men mentioned in the sources who were indeed related to those listed here but are not included in my charts. Many more charts could have been drawn for father and sons, groups of brothers, or uncle-nephew relationships. Since few of these can accurately be linked together, and their presentation would necessarily be rather chaotic, I have not included them.

1. F. Palacký, *Dějiny národu českého* [History of the Czech nation], vol. 1. Prague, 1861, pp. 674–702.



2. CDB nos. 157, 158, 204, 278, 279, 280, 285, 288, 292, 300, 304, 317, 320, 323, 336, 357, 358; II nos. 90, 187.

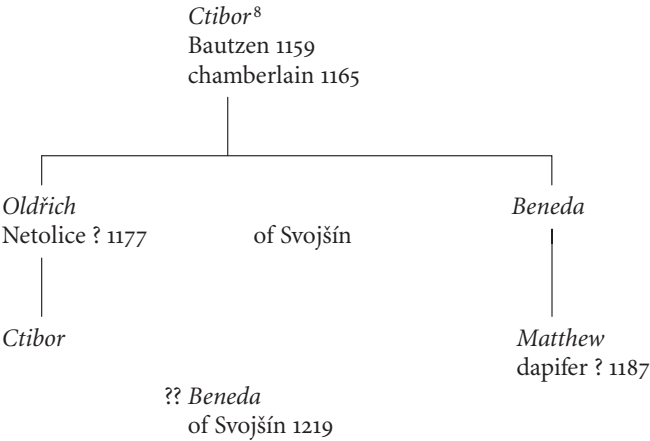
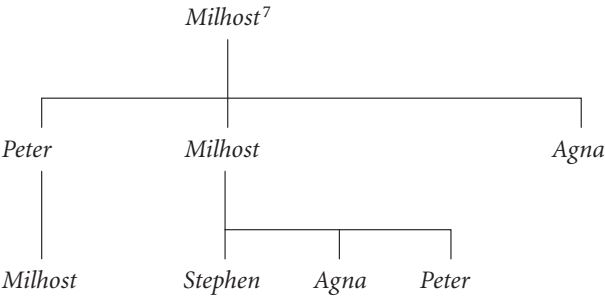
3. CDB nos. 246, 270, 279, 292?, 295?, 296, 300, 301, 304, 109?, 317, 320, 323, 336, 356, 363; II nos. 6, 27.



4. CDB nos. 208, 227, 228, 292, 295, 296, 317, 320, 322, 323, 336, 342, 343.

5. CDB nos. 268, 292, 295, 308?, 320, 336, 342, 348, 349, 355, 356, 357, 358; II nos. 6, 27, 57.

6. CDB nos. 251, 292, 300, 301, 304, 305, 308, 309, 310, 320, 323.



7. CDB nos. 278, 292?, 296, 307, 319, 320, 333, 342, 348, 359, 355, 356; II no. 161.
8. CDB nos. 204, 227, 246? (of Chyse), 278, 279, 280, 292, 308, 317, 336? (of Chýše), 355; II nos. 58, 187.

APPENDIX B

NAMES AND LANGUAGE

A Note on Pronunciation

The Czech language as written reproduces phonetically what is spoken. All consonants are as in English with the exception of *c*, which is pronounced “tz,” *ch*, which is as in German “Ich,” and *j*, which is “y.” (Václav is pronounced “Vatz-lav” rather than “Vaklav,” for instance.) Four additional consonants are created by adding a *haček*, literally a “little hook,” above the letters *c*, *r*, *s*, and *z*. As a result, *č* is equivalent to “ch” in “cheese,” *š* to “sh,” and *ž* to “zh” as in “leisure.” The sound *ř*, distinctive of the Czech language, is considered virtually unpronounceable by foreigners. Something like a combination *r* plus *ž*, it occurs, to give a famous and familiar example, in the name of the composer Antonín Dvořák (usually, “Dvor-zhak”).

Vowels are pure, thus: *a* = “ah,” *e* = “eh,” *i* = “ee,” *o* = “oh,” and *u* = “ooh.” The vowel *ou* is a diphthong of *o* and *u*, and is therefore pronounced “oh-ooh.” *Y* is a vowel and is identical to *i*. The addition of a *haček* to *e* is pronounced almost as if a *j* were inserted between the preceding consonant and *e* (Zdeněk is thus pronounced as if Zdenjek). Diacritical marks over vowels *á*, *é*, *í*, and *ú/ů* do not affect the quality of the vowel, merely its length.

The letters *l* and *r* are treated in Czech as semivowels, and thus may appear sandwiched between consonants in combinations that seem impossible to pronounce. The trick is to insert a *ə* before *r* or *l* and treat it as a syllable (thus, “Bər-no” for Brno; “Vəl-ta-va” for Vltava).

In Czech, stress falls on the first syllable of a word, without exception.

A Note on the Translation of Names

Place-names are given in Czech, with the exception of Prague (Praha). It was considerably more difficult to find a consistent and practical system for personal names than place names. Wherever possible, I have used published Czech

translations of the Latin sources to determine the modern Czech version of Slavic personal names. When I could not find translations, as with many names in the witness lists, I made an educated guess at a modern Czech equivalent. Because the orthography used by medieval scribes in their attempt to commit Slavic names to a Latin text is highly irregular, some standard was necessary. For instance, to make clear that Sdezlaus, Scazzlav, Stazlaus, Scazlâu, Zstizlaus, and Sdislav are all the same name, if not necessarily the same person, I have consistently rendered it, with modern Czech spelling and pronunciation, as Zdeslav. Names of Germanic origin I have given in a standard German translation, such as Theobald or Hermann. Christian names or names with common English equivalents (Peter, John, Henry, Elizabeth, etc.) I translate into English.

I have used this as a guide-rule but not rigidly imposed it as a system. For instance, while names appearing as “Georgius” I have consistently translated into George, I have left the Czech Jurík, though it is the medieval Czech equivalent of George. This feels somehow logical since the monastery of St. George’s and prominent George of Milevsko are always given with the Latin “Georgius,” and men called Jurík are always so named (though, if we could ask him, Jurík would probably tell us he had the same name as the famous saint who slew a dragon). With “Iohannes,” it is too difficult to determine whether the individual named was Czech, German, or from some other ethnic group, so I use the English. Since a court judge, however, appears named as both Iohannes and the Czech name Jan, I have consistently translated Jan as John. Because I cannot be certain whether a name like “Janich” or “Janek” is simply a diminutive from Jan or an independent name, I have retained the Czech. Similarly, Vítek is probably a diminutive of Vít, the Czech for St. Vitus, patron of the cathedral in Prague, but to call the numerous men named Vítek “Vitus” seems inappropriate.

Similarly, I have been consistently inconsistent with German names borne by members of the Přemyslid dynasty. I give Otto with German spelling, as English speakers might not recognize the Czech Ota. Conrad is spelled as in English. With Latin “Odalricus,” a name that enters the dynasty at the beginning of the eleventh century, I have given it as Oldřich, since it occasionally appears with that spelling in the twelfth century. Because there is no English equivalent, and it feels odd to refer to the son of Soběslav I as “Ulrich,” I have only used the German when it seems more or less clear that the individual is, in fact, German.

A few Přemyslids bore two names simultaneously, usually one Czech and one German. When, in the sources, they may be identified with one, the other, or both names (“A, *qui et* B”) I will use both names: Conrad Otto, Vladis-

lav Henry, Přemysl Otakar I and II. The same holds for the non-Přemyslid Moravian bishop, Zdík, who changed his name to Henry upon consecration, and is often designated in medieval materials with the *qui et* construction and in modern historiography as Henry Zdík. Although evidence exists to indicate that Soběslav I also used the name Oldřich, there is no tradition in the medieval sources or historiography for using both names, and he will therefore be listed here only as Soběslav. Czech historiography usually calls the Přemyslid bishop of Prague Henry Břetislav by both names; contemporary sources, with one spurious exception, never use Břetislav, so I will not. The name of the eleventh-century Přemyslid Bishop Jaromír was changed to Gebhard at his consecration, but while Cosmas thereafter calls him Gebhard, letters from Pope Gregory VII refer to Jaromír; in the interest of minimizing the confusing use of double names, I will use only Jaromír.

The sainted second bishop of Prague was named Vojtěch and changed his name to Adalbert upon consecration. In Slavic language historiography, and perhaps medieval practice, the names Vojtěch and Adalbert are treated as if they were translations of one another; in other words, Vojtěch is used to designate the bishop even after his consecration. All medieval Latin sources, however, use Adalbert to refer to the saint, and to anyone who took his name (such as the son of Vladislav II who became archbishop of Salzburg). In non-Slavic countries he is always called Adalbert, and will be so named here.

Finally, we do in English use the Latin "Wenceslaus" for the man the Czechs call Václav. I find Wenceslaus unwieldy, however, and since neither the name nor the saint is really familiar to English speakers, outside the Christmas carol, there seems little to be gained by using it. The Czech original is not a particularly complicated or unpronounceable Slavic name; for a saint so ubiquitous to Czech life, past and present, it seems to me appropriate to use Václav.

List of Place-Names in German

Because the Czech Lands were so long under Habsburg administration, the names of all Bohemian and Moravian towns, however small, have German equivalents. These are often simply the Czech names with German spellings or Germanized pronunciation, sometimes translations, and occasionally dramatically different (for example, Lundenburg for Břeclav). Throughout this book I have used the place-names currently employed in the Czech Republic. Scholars of other periods or familiar with scholarship on Bohemia written in German might, however, recognize the German names. A table of equivalents (including English equivalents if any) is therefore provided here. It does not

include instances where the German name is simply an orthographic variation of the Czech (such as Vyšehrad/Wyschehrad, Strahov/Strahow).

<i>Czech</i>	<i>German</i>	<i>English</i>
<i>Regions</i>		
Čechy	Böhmen	Bohemia
Morava	Mähren	Moravia
<i>Rivers</i>		
Dýje	Thaya	Elbe
Labe	Elbe	
Ohře	Eger	
Morava	March	
Vltava	Moldau	
<i>Castles</i>		
Břeclav	Lundenburg	Prague
Brno	Brünn	
Litoměřice	Leitmeritz	
Mladá Boleslav	Jungbunzlau	
Olomouc	Olmütz	
Plzeň	Pilsen	
Praha	Prag	
Stará Boleslav	Altbunzlau	
Žatec	Saaz	
Znojmo	Znaim	
<i>Monasteries</i>		
Břevnov	Breunau	
Kladruby	Kladrau	
Ostrov	Insel	
Milevsko	Mühlhausen	
Plasy	Plaß	
Rajhrad	Raigern	
Teplá	Tepl	

ABBREVIATIONS

AHO	<i>Letopis Hradišsko-Opatovické</i> . FRB II, pp. 385–400.
ČČH	<i>Český Časopis Historický</i>
CDB	<i>Codex Diplomaticus et Epistolaris Regni Bohemiae</i> , vol. I. Ed. Gustav Friedrich. Prague, 1907.
CDB II	<i>Codex Diplomaticus et Epistolaris Regni Bohemiae</i> , vol. II. Ed. Gustav Friedrich. Prague, 1912.
CF	<i>Crescente fide</i> . Ed. J. Truhlář. FRB I, pp. 183–90.
Cosmas	Cosmas of Prague. <i>Cosmae Pragensis Chronica Boemorum</i> . Ed. Bertold Bretholz. MGH, SS.r.G., n.s. 2. Berlin, 1923.
ČSČH	<i>Československý Časopis Historický</i>
CVyšehrad	<i>Kanovník Vyšehradský</i> . FRB II, pp. 203–37.
FRB I, II	<i>Fontes Rerum Bohemicarum</i> . Vols. I–II. Ed. Josef Emler. Prague, 1873–74.
Gerlach	Gerlach of Milevsko. <i>Letopis Jarlocha</i> . FRB II, pp. 461–516.
Gumpold	Gumpold of Mantua. <i>Passio Sancti Wenceslai martyris</i> . FRB I, pp. 146–66.
Kristián	<i>Kristiánova legenda</i> . Ed. Jaroslav Ludvíkovský. Prague, 1978.
MGH	<i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica</i>
DD	<i>Diplomata, Die Urkunden der deutschen Könige und Kaiser</i>
SS	<i>Scriptores</i>
SS.r.G.	<i>Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum separatim editi</i>
SS.r.G., n.s.	<i>Scriptores rerum Germanicarum, nova series</i>
MSázava	<i>Mnich Sázavský</i> . FRB II, pp. 238–69.
Vincent	Vincent of Prague. <i>Letopis Vincenciův</i> . FRB II, pp. 407–60.

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NOTES

INTRODUCTION

1. When speaking in the abstract of the overlord of the vast territory stretching from Saxony to central Italy, from Utrecht to Vienna, I refer throughout this work to “the emperor.” This is not to efface the distinction between the “king of the Germans” and an “emperor” duly crowned in Rome—of which medieval Czechs were as conscious as their neighbors—merely to employ the term as a kind of shorthand when not referring to specific individual rulers.

2. Cf. Susan Reynolds, *Kingdoms and Communities in Western Europe, 900–1300* (Oxford, 1984). For further discussion of the divergence between my and Reynolds’s views of medieval political communities, see the Conclusion below.

3. On the *vitae*, see Chapter 5. A comprehensive guide to Czech pennies from the mid-tenth through the thirteenth century is provided by František Cach: *Nejstarší české mince* [The oldest Czech coins], 3 vols. (Prague, 1970/1972/1974). The older catalogue by Eduard Fiala includes more detailed information about inscription variants: *České denáry* [Czech denáry] (Prague, 1897).

4. The text has been critically edited by Bertold Bretholz, MGH, SS.r.G., n.s. 2 (Berlin, 1923).

5. Cosmas, Preface to Book I, pp. 3–4; Proemium to Book II, p. 81; III: 59, p. 237.

6. A colophon appears after the final chapter to record the author’s death (p. 241).

7. An edition of both works, not critical but with manuscript variants, was published by J. Emler, FRB II (Prague, 1874), pp. 203–37, 238–69, respectively. This includes items added to Cosmas’s text, which Bretholz edits either as variants or appendices.

8. FRB II, pp. 385–400.

9. Both Vincent’s and Gerlach’s texts survive in a single damaged manuscript, preserved at Strahov monastery in Prague, as well as handwritten eighteenth-century copies made before pages were lost; these have been edited by J. Emler, FRB II, pp. 407–60 and 461–516, respectively.

10. All documentary materials, whether charters, letters, or passing references in various documents from outside Bohemia or Moravia, have been expertly edited by Gustav Friedrich and published in his *Codex Diplomaticus et Epistolaris Regni Bohemiae* [CDB], the first volume of which concerns the period to 1198 (Prague, 1907). Friedrich’s work represents the culmination of earlier nineteenth-century collections and has not been superseded. Besides a critical edition of each text, he provides an opening comment about the number of surviving medieval copies, previous editions, and scholarly debate about the document. Friedrich has also assigned rough dates, explained obscure names, and given modern equivalents of place names. His classifica-

tion of forgeries, complete with explanation of previous scholarly opinion and his own, groups spurious documents separately (beginning with CDB no. 365); in no instance have I any reason to disagree with his assessment. These materials are cited throughout by their CDB number, unless specifically pertinent to the original, when archive and call numbers are given. Forgeries are likewise identified by number, with an “f.” appended to remind readers of their status.

11. The list of charters pertaining to Moravia includes CDB nos. 79 and 80 (1078); 110 (ca. 1126); 115 and 116 (ca. 1131); 138 (1144) and 157 (ca. 1146); 158 (ca. 1146); 208 (1160); 247 (1169); 270 (1174); 292 (ca. 1174); 294 (ca. 1178); 326 (1190); 353 and 354 (1195/96). Items linked together in this list have the same subject matter.

12. A number of narrative surveys were written from the mid-nineteenth to early twentieth centuries, from František Palacký, *Dějiny národu českého* [History of the Czech nation], vol. 1, 2nd ed. (Prague, 1861; originally published in German, 1848) to Bertold Bretholz, *Geschichte Böhmens und Mährens bis zum Aussterben der Přemysliden* (Munich/Leipzig, 1912). Václav Novotný’s massive volumes represent the culmination: *České dějiny* [Czech history], vol. 1, parts 1–2 (Prague, 1912, 1913). More recent surveys of this sort include: Z. Fiala, *Přemyslovské Čechy: Český stát a společnost v letech 995–1310* [Přemyslid Bohemia: Czech state and society in the years 995–1310] (Prague, 1965); Friedrich Prinz, *Böhmen im mittelalterlichen Europa* (Munich, 1984); Josef Žemlička, *Čechy v knížecí době* [Bohemia in the princely era] (Prague, 1997).

13. The catchword for this school is *zřízení*, meaning domination, oversight, administration. See, for instance, Vaněček’s “Vnitřní organisace Čech a Moravy v době přemyslovské (Historickoprávní řešení problému století 9.–13.) [The internal organization of Bohemia and Moravia in the Přemyslid era (A legal-historical solution to the problem of the ninth–thirteenth centuries)],” *Věstník českého akademie věd umění* 51 (1942): 13–40. For a clear exposition of Vaněček’s views expressed elsewhere and of others of this approach, see Ferdinand Seibt, “Land und Herrschaft in Böhmen,” *Historische Zeitschrift* 200 (1965): 284–315. Seibt, using Otto Brunner’s concepts of land and lordship, endeavors to reinterpret these legal-administrative methods and their conclusions outside the teleology of state-building—with, I think, limited success.

14. *Protoparlamentarizm Czech do počátku XV wieku* [Protoparlamentarism in Bohemia before the beginning of the fifteenth century] (Warsaw, 1983).

15. *Přemyslovský stát v 11. a 12. století* [The Přemyslid state in the eleventh and twelfth centuries] (Prague, 1972).

16. Josef Žemlička’s recent book, a blend of narrative and analysis, effortlessly fuses all but the most overtly Marxist approaches (*Čechy v době knížecí*).

17. František Graus (*Die Nationenbildung der Westslawen im Mittelalter* [Sigmaringen, 1980]) offers an alternative, Weberian teleology specifically focused on the development of “national consciousness” among the Bohemians as a “community of destiny.” It should be noted, also, that a whole school of historians and archeologists posit the formation of the state around the turn of the eleventh century, whether the culmination is taken to be the massacre of the Slavníks in 997, the expulsion of the Poles in 1004, or the conquest of Moravia ca. 1030, while still others hold that it occurred even earlier in the tenth century. See, for instance, Jiří Sláma, “Boiohaemum-Čechy,” in *Bohemia in History*, ed. Mikuláš Teich (Cambridge, 1998), pp. 23–38; also, in the same collection, Zdeněk Měřinský and Jaroslav Mezník, “The Making of the

Czech State: Bohemia and Moravia from the Tenth to the Fourteenth Centuries,” pp. 39–58.

18. Georges Duby, *La société au XIe et XIIe siècles dans la région mâconnaise*, 2nd ed. (Paris, 1982).

19. Eleanor Searle, *Predatory Kinship and the Creation of Norman Power, 840–1066* (Berkeley/Los Angeles, 1988); William Ian Miller, *Bloodtaking and Peacemaking: Feud, Law, and Society in Saga Iceland* (Chicago, 1990).

20. Such an introduction is badly needed in English, especially if it were to cover the tenth through the fifteenth centuries. The available literature is limited to surveys of Eastern Europe or of the Slavs. See, most recently: Jean Sedlar, *East Central Europe in the Middle Ages, 1000–1500* (Seattle, 1994), which is unreliable with regard to some Czech matters and depends on the standard literature with which this book disagrees. For the early period: Francis Dvornik, *The Slavs: Their Early History and Civilization* (Boston, 1956); and A. P. Vlasto, *The Entry of the Slavs into Christendom* (Cambridge, 1970). On the Czech Lands specifically, medievalists are also well served for bibliography by the *Handbuch der Geschichte der böhmischen Länder*, ed. Karl Bosl, vol. 1 (Stuttgart, 1967).

CHAPTER 1. DUCAL LORDSHIP

1. Cosmas I: 5, p. 14. This passage must be compared with 1 Kings 8; it surely represents Czech oral tradition shaped by Cosmas’s own views and language, partly framed in terms of the biblical passage. The basic premise, that the people wish a king in place of a judge and that they should be told of the vast rights the king they appoint will enjoy, is similar. However, remarkably little of the Latin is drawn directly from the Kings passage: “constituet sibi tribunos et centuriones,” “fabros armorum,” and “messores segetum.” Cosmas’s report that Libuše was a just and wise judge, unlike Samuel’s sons, and that the citizens objected to a woman as judge differs from 1 Kings. Note also that in the Czech story there is no mention of tithes, but obvious stress on rights of judgment and punishment; nor do the Czechs compare themselves with other peoples. The reference to the frogs and the serpent probably reflects an oral fabulous tradition.

2. I would similarly argue for a different approach from those amply described, and conditionally applied, by Ferdinand Seibt’s in his review essay, “Land und Herrschaft in Böhmen” (*Historische Zeitschrift* 200 [1965]: 284–315).

3. Cf. Barbara Sasse, *Die Sozialstruktur Böhmens in der Frühzeit: Historisch-archäologische Untersuchungen zum 9.–12. Jahrhundert*, Berliner historische Studien 7 (Germania Slavica IV), (Berlin, 1982), esp. pp. 225–306, which consists in a quantitative, rather than contextual, analysis of terminology concerning both land and individuals (*terra ad aratra, curia, ancilla, piscatores, primates, milites*, and so forth). The study of the peasantry by František Graus employs a similar approach: *Dějiny venkovského lidu* [History of country people] (Prague, 1953).

4. For *hereditas* see CDB nos. 155 (ca. 1142–48), 210, 308, 313, 318, 344; *patrimonium* nos. 124 (ca. 1125–40), 156, 268, 285, 289, 292, 335.

5. *Tenere* only appears in a charter from 1197, nearly the last of this period (CDB no. 357): “Milites mei, qui a me predia mea tenent” (see Chapter 2). The only other

occurrence comes in cases where land deeded to a monastery was leased back to the donor for his lifetime, e.g., CDB no. 323 (1189): “et tertiam Breznez, ut in vita sua sine censu cum prelibatis possessionibus suis eas teneat.”

6. The phrase *perpetuo possidendam* appears in CDB nos. 80 (1078), 102, 158, 295, 317, 322; *in perpetuum* nos. 251 (ca. 1170), 317, 323, 326; *iure perpetuo* nos. 111 (1130), 289, 307, 310, 313, 336, 342, 348, 349, 357; *propriario iure* nos. 270 (1175), 279; *iure hereditario* nos. 204 (1159), 280, 305, 308, 318, 323, 335, 342, 349, 353, 354, 355, 363.

7. CDB no. 363 (ca. 22 June–6 Dec. 1197): “Sdzlav hereditatem Bdenewiz, quam habuit secundum hereditarium ius, Cladrubensi cenobio legitimo iure vendidit . . .”

8. CDB no. 308 (1185): “iuxta modum bone ordinationis hereditario iure possidendos sibi et filiis suis vel in alium transferre, in quem sibi placuit.”

9. CDB nos. 79 (1078), 100 (ca. 1100–1107), 155 (ca. 1142–48); nos. 310 (1186) and 323 (1189); nos. 357 and 358 (1197).

10. See below.

11. On questions of personal status, free and unfree, see Chapter 2.

12. CDB no. 246: “assignavi quasdam villas meas, quas vel pecunia mea iuste emi vel iustis cambitionibus mutuavi vel aliis iustis modis secundum iudicium nobilium seniorum Boemie legitime acquisivi . . .”

13. CDB no. 342 (1193): “et quartam nomine Zrubni, hereditario iure a Drazilao meo proprio argento redempta, quas Cuno, maritus meus, ante nostram coniunctionem sibi vendiderat, . . .” It is not clear whether the plural *quas* indicates that the three other villages had been sold to Drslav as well, or whether this is a grammatical slip by the scribe, as seems more likely. Other documents, either recording sales or in which the donated villages are noted to have been acquired by sale, include: CDB nos. 115 (ca. 1131), 124 (ca. 1125–40), 245 (ca. 1158–69), 296 (ca. 1180–82), 304 (1184), 318 (ante 1188), 335 (ca. 1184–92), and 349 (1194).

14. CDB no. 278 (1175): “quod et feci tradens eis predium nomine Ogiezd pro suo, quod dicitur Zussan, ex parte eorum additis, ut concambium equi existimatione constaret, octo talentis.” Similarly, CDB no. 285 (ca. 1176–78). A papal letter concerning the heated dispute between the Prague Hospitallers and the family of Peter values their damages in marks; CDB no. 319 (12 Oct. 1188): “usque ad estimationem ducentarum quinquaginta marcarum eos damnificare presumpsit.”

15. CDB no. 335 (ca. 1184–92): “nos de patrimonio nostro villa Mrachniz ad curiam nostra Massoviz pertinentem cum omnibus suis attinentiis sine omni diminutione sive exceptione dilecto fideli nostro Mechtfrido de Zlavchavez prompti ac devoti servicii ipsius intuitu pro XV marcis puri argenti, quas pro necessitate ecclesie nostre expendendas tunc temporis nostra expetebat indigentia, possessivo et hereditario iure possidendam sine omni contradictione contulimus.”

16. This reading argues against the prevailing assumption that ecclesiastical institutions did not directly control their lands in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, but rather that the church’s founders or local castellans did so. The view originated with V. Vaněček, *Základy právního postavení klášteru a klášterního velkostatku ve starém českém státě* [The foundations of the legal position of monasteries and monastic estates in the old Czech state], vol. 1 (Prague: 1933). See Chapter 4.

17. CDB no. 309 (1185): “Inde est, quod nos fidem Hadmari de Chunringen et sinceram eius circa nos devotionem considerantes, eum nobis fidelitatis debito astrin-

gere curavimus et partem terre nostre Austria adiacentem, . . . sibi iure beneficii concessimus et sine contradictione infeudavimus.” CDB no. 38of. (“in feudum traditum”) is another exception but it is a patently false document from the fourteenth century.

18. Cosmas’s usage of the term is routinely cited in the historiography as evidence of feudal tenure: e.g., F. Graus, “Počátky českého státu a vývoj ‘státní’ ideologie [The origins of the Czech state and the development of ‘state’ ideology],” *Slavia occidentalis* 22 (1962): 150.

19. Cosmas I: 40, p. 75: “unusquisque, sive potens sive dives sive pauper, tantum qui de suo pheodo vel allodio araturam haberet, . . .”; Cosmas II: 21, p. 113: “prius tamen multorum sub testimonio huiusmodi deliberato pheodo et allodio sive concambio, scilicet ut Pragensis presul XII villas . . .” Cosmas relates that the bishop of Olomouc was given the 12 best villages from the bishop of Prague’s holdings, 100 marks of silver annually from the duke’s *camera*, the court at Sekyrkostel with its appurtenances, and the village Slivnice with the market and castle Podivín.

20. CDB no. 296 (ca. 1180–1182): “villas meas Bicow et Wilcecov et meum circuitum . . . contradidi . . . Eundem autem circuitum gloriosus dux Fridericus primo ducatus sui anno servitii mei memor mihi contulit.” Another document from the same time employs similar language: “Predictus H. partem ville sue in Szheschin pro fidelitate servitii sui sibi collatam fratribus predictis tradidit . . .” (CDB no. 304 [1184]).

21. CDB no. 124 (ca. 1125–1140): “[agri] que a fratre emi in patrimonium.”

22. CDB no. 156 (ca. 1143–48): “dedit patrimonium suum totum, quod habuit in villa Lochinich, et quod ibidem emit a cognatis suis nomine Misten et filiis suis et ab aliis cognatis . . .”

23. For instance, in Hroznata’s foundation of Teplá (CDB no. 357 [1197]).

24. CDB no. 79 (1078).

25. The Hradiště charter notes: “agris, pascuis, pratis, silvis, aratoribus, vinitoribus, bobus, ovibus, porcis, iumentis et ceteris subsequentibus necessariis” (CDB no. 79 [1078]). Another, a ducal grant to Vyšehrad, lists: “reditum quendam, Senascin nomine dictum, cum tribus aratris et omnibus appendiciis, scilicet hospitibus, edificiis, terris cultis et incultis, viis et inviis, pratis, pascuis, silvis aridis et vinentibus, venacionibus, molendinis, piscacionibus et cum omni utilitate . . .” (CDB no. 111 [1130]). Also, more succinctly: “Cozarovicici cum omnibus circuicionibus silvarum sive et rivulorum aut agrorum . . . terram cum silva et pomerio et transitu, que est super fluvium Msee ad villam que vocatur Radotin” (CDB no. 245 [ca. 1158–69]). A grant from 1181 describes: “Igitur quendam ambitum vgiez boemice appellatum, teuthonice Meringe cum omnibus appendiciis suis, silvis, pratis, pascuis, molendinis, aquis, aquarum decursibus, cultis et incultis seu quibuslibet utilitatibus” (CDB no. 295).

26. CDB nos. 111 (1130): “terram in villa, que dicitur Kbel, ad unum aratrum sufficientem”; 115 (ca. 1131): “Nemilaz terra sufficiens uno aratro”; 154 (ca. 1140–48): “terram Pocatycych ad aratrum sufficientem.” On the comparable use in Poland of *aratrum* as a unit of measurement, see R. Hoffmann, *Land, Liberties, and Lordship in a Late Medieval Countryside: Agrarian Structures and Change in the Duchy of Wrocław* (Philadelphia, 1989), p. 47.

27. CDB no. 97 (ca. 1092): “de terra plus quam ad quadraginta aratra.”

28. CDB no. 115, e.g.: “He vero ad Prerovensensem ecclesiam pertinent: Dilgonici tota, Tucapi I, Vgezdci tota, Moscenica tota, Tersaleh IIII, Pecetulceh tota, Zagno-

souich I, Probicih I, Rosceni I, Kostelci I, Na telmacoue I, Cetisouicih I, Otrocouicih I, Turouicih I, Cladorubeh I, Pacezlaucih I, Vbreza I, Parisouicih I, Cuncouicih I, Glupcicih I, Bicouicih II, Lutincih I, Roscuticih, Cerncine II, Nezebicih tota, Glubocaz II, Zetbcih I.” See Chapter 4.

29. CDB nos. 304 (1184), 322 (1189), and 325 (1190). A similar example is CDB no. 245 (ca. 1158–69): “Grusovan, cuius partem dominus Conradus Martino dederat, et alteram ab aliis militibus pecunia et concambio adquisierant.”

30. The methodology here is quite different from that of R. Nový, who approaches the subject of ducal landholding by way of castles and administrative districts (*Přemyslovský stát*, pp. 96ff).

31. CDB no. 246 (1169): “Et hee sunt ville, quas dedi . . . et sic iacentem usque ad dictum fluvium Lubuhce, ubi sumpsit incium.”

32. Cosmas II: 2, p. 84: “dat eis partem silve, que vocatur Crinin, non modicam.”

33. CDB nos. 246 (1169), 287 (1178), 307 (1185); also Zbyhněv’s foundation at Unětice (no. 124 [ca. 1125–40]) and Marcant’s exchange (no. 308 [1185]).

34. “. . . addo et confirmo possessiones, que fuerunt Heinrici filii Hartmanni, et mihi eas dedit post decessum uxoris iure perpetuo possidendas, quando se mihi commisit in patrem coram multis nobilibus Boemis.” *Possessionem* is the reading given by Friedrich in the CDB edition. The autograph very clearly reads *patrem*. (Prague, Státní Ústřední Archiv, ŘM #952)

35. CDB no. 245 (ca. 1158–69).

36. A similar example, also relating to capital punishment, occurs in another charter (CDB no. 318 [ca. ante 1188]): “terram scilicet duorum suspensorum.”

37. CDB no. 317 (2 May 1187): “Si quis vero ex hominibus ecclesie supplicio capitis dampnatus fuerit, possessio quidem eius ecclesie, caput cedat laqueo.”

38. Cosmas III: 4, p. 165 and III: 32, p. 203. See Chapter 3.

39. Cosmas III: 23–24, pp. 190–93.

40. Cosmas III: 23, p. 192: “Qui autem Bosey et eius filium interficiet, centuplum accipiet et hereditatem illorum possidebit.”

41. See Chapters 2 and 5.

42. CDB no. 100 (ca. 1100–1107): “omnem substantiam meam post mortem meam, scilicet V villas Cernuc, Vrascov, Hraberci, Scrisin, Libin, totam familiam, et quicquid habeo, . . .”

43. CDB no. 111. See Chapter 4.

44. CDB no. 387f.

45. Cosmas I: 5, p. 15: “Huius in territorio est novale unum in longitudine et in latitudine XII passuum, quod mirum in modum, cum sit inter tot agros in medio positum, ad nullum tamen pertinet agrum. Ibi dux vester duobus variis bubus arat.”

46. The most important works on medieval Czech coinage of this period, which posit this view, include G. Skalský, “K dějinám mincovnictví českého a moravského do počátku XIII století [On the history of Bohemian and Moravian minting to the beginning of the thirteenth century],” *Časopis Matice moravské* 48 (1924), pp. 1–48, and the many articles by P. Radoměský, most importantly, “Peníze Kosmova věku [Money of Cosmas’s era],” *Numismatický časopis československý* 21 (1952): 7–138.

47. Here I disagree with T. Kučerovská, who argues that payments were generally made in kind, a claim she bases largely on forged charters: “Platby poddaného obyvatelstva v období raného a počátcích vrcholného feudalismu [Payments of the subject

population in the period of early and the beginnings of high feudalism],” *Archeologia historica* 2 (1977): 291–98.

48. The basic guides to the coins themselves, including a chronology and drawings for each type, are E. Fiala, *České denáry* (Prague, 1897) and F. Cach, *Nejstarší české mince* (Prague, 1972), vol. 2. Both Fiala and Cach include lists of hoards; the most complete catalogue of all finds of coin in the Czech Lands is: E. Nohejlová-Prátová, ed., *Nálezy mincí v Čechách, na Moravě, a ve Slezsku* (Prague, 1955–58), 4 vols. (for the *denár* period, vol. 2, ed. P. Radoměřský). No comprehensive catalogue of photographs exists for these coins.

49. See Chapter 5.

50. CDB no. 318 (before 1188): “XII marcas argenti solvendas de argentaria super Mzea amplius singulis annis . . .”

51. CDB no. 79 (3 Feb. 1078): “Datus est etiam de Olsava sextus denarius et de ponte Bratislavie civitatis sextus denarius, de via vero, que ducit ad Poloniam iuxta civitatem Gradecz, sextus denarius et de moneta decimus denarius.” The text also appears verbatim in CDB no 208 (6 June 1160).

52. CDB no. 55 (ca. 1057): “De parva navicula XV denarios, cuiuscunque sit, servi vel liberi, precepit dari. . . . Hospitum autem naves naviculasque sic ordinavit, ut de maxima nave II mensuras magnas, de mediocri unam, de parva, quot mesure sint, tot denarios persolverent. Rusticos vero de ipsa civitate XII, de Belina totidem ordinavit.”

53. CDB no. 52 (ca. 1037–55): “Domaslicyh civitate eciam ebdomadarn thelonei.”

54. CDB no. 358 (1197): “et theloneo tam fori quam porte, id est exitus terre . . .”

55. CDB no. 111 (1130): “Camenci decimum nummum in venditionibus, ut antiqutis est institutum, habent habeantque.”

56. CDB no. 55 (ca. 1057): “Ex his ergo, que prediximus, videlicet vendicionibus hospitum et de tributis de viis et apiariis, immo cunctis quecunque huic ecclesie data sunt, tertia pars sine offensione fratribus deceat est.”

57. CDB nos. 111 (1057): “In ipsa vero civitate, qua prefata collocata est ecclesia [Litoměřice], quicunque huius patrie incole sal vel alia quelibet per aquam advehunt, II partes preposito, terciam vero fratribus acomodavit . . . De magna autem II mensuras, preter illos, qui sal duci debent . . .”; and 301 (ca. 1183): “Habebant enim teloneum salis in Decin a patre meo ipsis condonatum . . .” Though perhaps not exclusively, salt obviously traveled up the Elbe.

58. Cosmas II: 4, p. 87. CDB no. 290 (ca. 1174–78): “Si taberna occulta fuerit in domo Theutonicis inventa, ipse dominus domus capitatur . . .” In an early thirteenth-century document the monastery of Kladruby is given the right to taverns in that town: “Cladrubiensi cenobio tabernas in villa eiusdem nominis” (CDB II no. 58 [ca. 1202–7]).

59. I do not mean to imply, however, that the duke regulated brewers or innkeepers in the same way that scholars have argued concerning “service organization.” Dušan Třeštík and Barbara Krzemińska believe that near his castles the duke established and controlled whole villages devoted to specific trades: “Služebná organizace v raně středověkých Čechách [Service organization in early medieval Bohemia],” *ČSČH* 12 (1964): 637–67; partially translated, with a transcript of a lengthy discussion, in: “Zur Problematik der Dienstleute in frühmittelalterlichen Böhmen,” *Siedlung und Verfassung*, pp. 70–103; also, “Přemyslovská hradiště a služebná organizace přemyslovského státu [Přemyslid castles and the service organization of the Přemyslid state],” *Archeologické rozhledy* 17 (1965): 624–55. Though Libuše’s speech, cited at the beginning

of this chapter, might imply such control over individuals' occupations, Třeštík and Krzemińska's conclusions, based largely on the evidence of place names and mistaken assumptions about the duke's need for and control of resources, seem to me untenable.

60. CDB no. 111 (1130): "decimam marcam de annuo tributo idem fratres in his civitatibus habeant, . . . addo eis in tribus his provinciis . . . eciam decimam marcam annui tributii."

61. CDB no. 287 (1178): "ad meliorandam prebendam fratrum do circuitum in suburbio Pragensi, . . . quia tantum a tempore patris mei fuit eis inminuta prebenda de tributo pacis, et nunc unus quisque C denarios, raro plures, sepe vero pauciores accipiat, qui tempore patris mei mille et DCC accipiebant. Et de tributo sicut solebant, semper accipiant."

62. CDB no. 317 (2 May 1187): "Venditio seu collecta generalis, si quando fuerit super homines ecclesie, fratribus et preposito sit nunc et in sempiternum."

63. CDB no. 208 (16 June 1160): "cum tributo beato Stephano decimas solvant." At the turn of the thirteenth century, when Přemysl Otakar confirmed this privilege, it was referred to as the *censum annualem* (CDB II no. 21 [1201]).

64. CDB no. 358 (1197): "collectam etiam denariorum, que per Boemiam collegi solet . . . de omnibus hominibus eorum perpetuo indulsumus."

65. See Chapter 7.

66. Cf. V. Vaněček, *Prameny k dějinám státu a práva* [Sources for the history of the state and law], vol. 1 (Prague, 1966). Overviews, likewise aimed at a general audience, include also: V. Vaněček, *Dějiny státu a práva v Československu do r. 1945* [History of the state and law in Czechoslovakia to 1945] (Prague, 1975), and K. Malý and F. Šivák, *Dějiny státu a práva v českých zemích a na Slovensku do r. 1918* [History of the state and law in the Czech Lands and Slovakia to 1918] (Prague, 1992). These works are far more concerned with the "state" and assumptions about its administration, than with law itself, and their usefulness is therefore limited. The same holds for the older work by O. Peterka, *Rechtsgeschichte der böhmischen Länder*, vol. 1 (Prague, 1923).

67. The "Statutes" come down to us in a charter issued by Přemysl Otakar I in 1222 (CDB II no. 234). Because the document refers to earlier decrees by Conrad Otto, who was duke of Bohemia briefly from 1189–91, they are usually dated to 1189. This attribution is partly compounded by the witness list to a charter of that time, which concludes: "and many other abbots, clergy, monks, and warriors, both from Moravia and Bohemia, who gathered in Sadská to hear the statutes of Duke Otto" (CDB no. 323 [1189]: "et alii multi abbates, clerici, monachi, milites tam de Moravia, quam de Boemia, qui convenerant in Sazka ad audienda statuta ducis Ottonis.") *Statuta* is indeed a rare word, so we have no way of determining what "hearing the statutes" may have indicated. Even if it were feasible to assume that this was closer to a proclamation of law than to handling the ordinary business of a duke, there is no reason to assume that all or part of the provisions listed by Přemysl Otakar were promulgated by Conrad Otto. Both the language of the text and the social circumstances described, however, clearly fit the thirteenth century. The document, treated as a legal text, is usually cited by "articles." Cf. V. Vaněček, "Glossy k t. zv. Statutům Konrádovým [Glosses on the so-called Statutes of Conrad]," *Sborník věd právních a státních* 41 (1941): 105–59, and P. Horák, "K statutům Konráda Oty [On the Statutes of Conrad Otto]," *Sborník Matice moravské* 80 (1961): 267–80.

68. CDB no. 290. The text comes down to us in a fourteenth-century confirma-

tion of a thirteenth-century confirmation of the Germans' privileges. Most scholars consider it to be genuine, though it is possible that some text, if only the penalty clause and witness lists, is missing from the end. The text has been the subject of numerous articles: Z. Kristen, "Privilegium Němců pražských [The privilege of the Prague Germans]," *ČCH* 28 (1922): 157–65; V. Vojtíšek, "O privilegii knížete Soběslava pro pražské Němce a jeho konfirmacích [On Prince Soběslav's privilege for the Prague Germans and its confirmations]," in *Výbor rozprav a studií* (Prague, 1935), pp. 311–22; W. Weizsäcker, "Die älteste Urkunde der Prager Deutschen: Zur Kritik des Sobieslawschen Privilegs," *Zeitschrift für Sudetendeutsche Geschichte* 1 (1937): 161–82; M. Rejnuš, "K interpolaci o rychtáři v Soběslavově privilegii pro pražské Němce [On the interpolation concerning the judge in Soběslav's privilege for the Prague Germans]," *Sborník prací filosofické fakulty brněnské university* 9 C (1960): 49–58; J. Kejř, "K privilegii knížete Soběslava II. pro pražské Němce [On the privilege of Prince Soběslav II for the Prague Germans]," *Pravnehistorické studie* 14 (1969): 241–58. This last includes an edition of both extant copies of the confirmation issued by King John in 1319.

69. Whether Spitihněv indeed ejected all the Germans from Bohemia has been the subject of significant disagreement among scholars; cf. J. Žemlička, *Čechy*, p. 81.

70. Cosmas II: 2, p. 84: "constituens eis unum ex ipsis prefectum et iudicem et decernit, ut sub lege, quam in Polonia habuerant, tam ipsi quam eorum posteri in sempiternum vivant, . . ."

71. See above, nn. 35 and 36.

72. Cosmas II: 17, p. 109.

73. Gerlach, p. 468: "Tradunt de eo, qui eum noverunt, quod optimus fuerit iudex, . . . Curae sibi fuit semper liberare pauperem a potente et inopem, cui non erat adiutor, faciens iudicium omnibus iniuriam patientibus, omnique populo terrae sine personarum acceptione. Quibus defendendis ita tradiderat cor suum, ut propter pauperes non vereretur offendere nobiles, et appellabatur vulgo princeps rusticorum." The edition of this text is not a critical one, and the original manuscript folios for this passage are lost. The phrase "appellabatur vulgo princeps rusticorum" is as likely to have read "apelaretur vulgo princeps magis rusticorum, quam suppanorum," as Zdeněk Fiala has demonstrated ("Princeps rusticorum," *Zápisky katedry československých dějin a archivního studia* 5 [1961]: 31–42; esp. pp. 32–36). In either case, there is no reason to doubt Gerlach's general characterization of Soběslav II, even as he draws liberally on Biblical parallels. Fiala, moreover, correctly points out that *rusticorum* is a very vague term and indicates the broader population of people of lesser standing than the magnates (whom he defines more rigidly: as ducal officers, castellans, members of the duke's *družina*, "feudal" lords generally).

74. CDB no. 251 (ca. 1170): "Zwezt iudex curie regis Bohemorum." A *iudex* or *iudex curie* also appears in CDB nos. 270 (1174), 278 (1175), 279 (1175), 280 (1177), 285 (ca. 1175–78), 292 (1180), 296 (ca. 1180–82), 300 (1183), 301 (ca. 1183), 304 (1184), 308 (1185), 311 (1186), 317 (1187), 322 (1189), 336 (1192), and 357 (1197).

75. CDB no. 288 (ca. 1174–78): "Privilegio enim infra conscripto coram nobis et totius nostre consessu curie recitato . . ."

76. CVyšehrad, pp. 209–10. For a detailed description and analysis of this case, see Chapter 5.

77. CDB no. 268 (ca. 1158–73): "Sed ego ex iure huius terre testes producens ius meum coram rege et omnibus principibus terre obtinui."

78. This designation is quite frequent, e.g.: CDB nos. 115 (post 1131): “cum omnibus terre primatibus consilio”; 294 (ca. 1178–81): “principe presente terreque nobilibus”; 305 (ca. 1184–5): “in presentia quoque amicorum et nobilium Boemorum terre nostre”; 343 (1193): “ceteris primatibus terre”; and likewise for princes *Boemie*.

79. According to Cosmas, the Czechs became prosperous and disputes arose among them, necessitating appeal to wise persons who were recognized as judges (Cosmas I: 3, pp. 8–9).

80. J. Sláma, *Střední Čechy v raném středověku*, vol. 3: *Archeologie o počátcích přemyslovského státu* [Archeology about the origins of the Přemyslid state], (Praehistorica XIV) (Prague, 1988), pp. 80 ff.

81. J. Sláma, *Střední Čechy v raném středověku*, vol. 2: *Hradiště, příspěvky k jejich dějinám a významu* [Central Bohemia in the early Middle Ages: Walled sites, perspectives on their history and significance], (Praehistorica XI) (Prague, 1986), pp. 61–97, including location, note on archeological and written evidence, and bibliography for each entry. For a similar list and analysis, see M. Štěpanek, *Opěvněna sídliště 8.–12. století ve střední Evropě* [Fortified settlements of the eighth–twelfth centuries in central Europe] (Prague, 1965). By contrast, Zdeněk Váňa has persuasively studied three castles of northwestern Bohemia in relation to each other: “Vlastislav, Zabrušany, Bílina,” *Časopis Národního musea* 124 (1955): 121–37.

82. See above, n. 80.

83. Cosmas I: 3, p. 9: “Crocco, ex cuius vocabulo castrum iam arboribus obsitum in silva que adiacet pago Ztibecne.”

84. Cosmas says, in recounting the legend of Durink, that the new castle Drahuš was by his day the monastery of Postoloprty: “novam urbem in plano loco construens nomine Dragus super ripam fluvii Ogre iuxta pagum Postoloprith, ubi nunc cernitur sancte Marie cenobium, . . .” (Cosmas I: 13, p. 29). Archeological research confirms the existence of earlier fortifications on the sites of Ostrov and Rajhrad: M. Richter, *Hradiš'ko u Davle—městečko ostrovského kláštera* [Hradiš'ko near Davle—the little town of Ostrov monastery] (Prague, 1952); Č. Staňa, “Zjišťovací výzkum na slovanském hradišti v Rajhradě [Investigatory research on the Slavonic walled-site at Rajhrad],” *Přehled výzkum 1960* (Brno, 1961), pp. 92–93. For Hradiště near Olomouc the situation is more confusing because archeology shows no sign of old Slavonic fortifications on the site before the monastery was established: B. Novotný, “K otázce osídlení olomouckého kopce a Kláštera-hradiška ve střední a pozdní době hradištní [On the question of the settlement of Olomouc hill and Klášter-Hradiško in the middle and late castle period],” *Památky archeologické* 55 (1964): 402–04. Yet, for both Hradiště at Olomouc and Mnichovo Hradiště, and Rajhrad as well, their very names indicate a castle (*hrad* or *hradiště*). None but Drahuš is listed in Sláma's catalogue.

85. There are no castellans of Mělník listed in the late twelfth-century witness lists, though one is named by Vincent (p. 432: “Zvezet, castellanus Melnicensis, interficitur”). The many references to the castle or province of “Boleslav” are generally taken to refer to Mladá Boleslav, rather than Stará Boleslav. Of course, the regular appearance of the provosts of Mělník and Boleslav in such lists does not per se argue against the existence of both castellan and chapter, as was the case at Litoměřice.

86. In addition to the catalogue, Sláma provides a description of Bohemian castles, their Latin terminology, variety of layouts, and many functions, of much the sort given here but in far greater detail (pp. 9–60). My objection remains, however,

that materials from the ninth to thirteenth centuries, including forged charters, are being read indiscriminately.

87. Listed here roughly with the most common first and rare terms last.

88. For instance, CVyšehrad uses two of the rarer terms in a single entry for 1126: “Deinde transactis tribus mensibus Bracizlaus in arce Jaromir retrusus est. Eodem tempore quasdam munitiones Bohemi reaedificaverunt, quae slavice Przimda, Yzcorelik, Tachow appellantur” (p. 205). When Břetislav was moved to Děčín in 1128: “Brecizlaus ductus est in castellum Daczin” (p. 206). For the following year: “Kladsko castrum renovatum est atque firmatum a Sobieslao” (p. 206). Kladsko is later called again *castrum* (p. 207) but, in another note about the construction of Tachov and Zhorelec, for 1131, they too are *castra* (p. 212). For an alternate view, cf. A. Hejna, “*Curia, curtis, castrum, castellum*: Ein Beitrag zur Frage der Differenzierung der selbstständigen Herrensitze im 10.-13. Jahrhundert,” in *Siedlung, Burg und Stadt in der Gesellschaft*, ed. K.-H. Otto and J. Herrmann (Berlin, 1969), pp. 210–18; Nový, *Přemyslovský stát*, p. 98ff; M. Bláhová, “Terminologie sídlišť ve vyprávěcích pramenech první čtvrtiny 12. století [Terminology for settlements in narrative sources of the first quarter of the twelfth century],” *ČSCH* 26 (1978): 245–78.

89. Cosmas II: 9, p. 95; Gerlach, p. 472.

90. Among others, Vincent, p. 419: “filium Zobezlai in castrum Primda firmissime custodiendum transmittit.” On Tachov, see below; also, R. Turek, “Kde leželo tachovské hradisko? [Where was Tachov castle located?],” *Sborník Muzea Českého lesa v Tachově* (1968): 26–27.

91. Cosmas III: 34, p. 205.

92. Attested, for instance, by the incomes granted the collegiate chapter noted above (CDB no. 55 [ca. 1057]), as well as archeological research by Zapotocký (“Slovan-ské osídlení na Litoměřicku,” p. 282). For Žatec: J. Bubeník, “K počátkům města Žatce [On the beginnings of the town of Žatec],” *Památky archeologické* 68 (1977): 193–218.

93. As for Litoměřice and Žatec, references to Plzeň and Kladsko in both the chronicles and witness lists to charters are too numerous to list.

94. Castellans are named in witness lists for Doudleby: CDB nos. 278 (1175), 291 (1179), and 311 (1186); for Netolice: 280 (1177), 300 (1183), and 317 (1187); and for Pracheň: 304 (1184).

95. Castellans of Čáslav and Kouřim each appear once in twelfth-century witness lists: CDB nos. 278 (1175) and 280 (1177), respectively.

96. CDB no. 111 (1130).

97. In documentary sources, *provincia* appears as a locational designation in CDB nos. 38 (993), 97 (1092), 111 (1130), 158 (ca. 1146–48), 204 (1159), 210 (1160), 227 (1165), 305 (ca. 1184–85), 312 (1186), and 356 (1197). In the chronicles: Cosmas I:10, II:35, III:1, III:41; CVyšehrad, p. 203; Gerlach, p. 472, 506. *Provincia* also appears with a meaning equivalent to *terra*, clearly indicating Bohemia itself.

98. There is a small body of historiography devoted to the supposed medieval division of Bohemia into administrative units, which presumes a distinction between mere castles and “castellanies” or castle-centered districts with administrative functions. The existence of “castellans” is held to indicate “castellanies.” Yet every castle, however small, must have had someone in charge, who could only be called a “castellan.” The historiography seems to presuppose that the entire territory was first subdivided, and then castles built to administer each sector, whereas it is far more likely

that individual castles were constructed in particular locations as strategic or economic circumstances required, without any overall plan. As those circumstances changed, so did the role and relative significance of the castle. A very old castle such as Mělník, which was probably most important as the northernmost defensive point on the Elbe for the ninth-century Přemysls based at Levý Hradec and Prague, must have become quite insignificant once the duke's territory had expanded. The castle remained and was manned, since there was no reason to destroy it, but there is little evidence to assume it served as the center of an administrative region simply because we have evidence of its continued existence. The *provincia* designations perhaps were used to describe the general area around castles—as the most important political landmarks—which became fixed when castles were near one another; the fact that the names of regions, both in the twelfth century and the twentieth, are formed by merely adding a suffix (*-sko*) to a castle or town name probably reflects this. See F. Kavka, “K počátkům správní organizace na území dnešního středočeského kraje [On the beginnings of administrative organization on the territory of today's central-Bohemian region],” *Památky středních Čech* 3 (1988): 90–101. The classic work is by A. Sedláček, *O starém rozdělení Čech na kraje* [On the old division of Bohemia into regions] (Prague, 1921). Some archeologists have quarreled with these same assumptions: Zapotocký (1965), p. 279; Z. Váňa, “Bílina a staré Bělsko [Bílina and the old Bělsko],” *Památky archeologické* 68 (1977): 418.

99. Both are equally rare in witness lists: CDB nos. 204 (1159), 208 (1160), 278 (1175), 280 (1177), and 317 (1187). The difference is more striking in the chroniclers, in which castellans of Vyšehrad like Fabian (Cosmas III: 28–29, pp. 197–99) and Velislav (Vincent, p. 414) play prominent political roles, while no castellan of Prague is ever mentioned.

100. Cosmas III: 48, p. 220: “Eodem anno [1121] quidam ex Teutonicis infra terminos Boemorum in silva, ad quam itur per villam Bela, in prurupta rupe edificant castrum. Quod audiens dux Wladizlaus acceptis tribus scaris ex electis militibus repente ex inproviso irruens obtinuit castrum, . . .” This unnamed place is usually taken to be Tachov.

101. CVyšehrad, p. 206.

102. Cosmas III: 9, p. 169.

103. Cosmas II: 21, p. 113.

104. The purported grant of a castle called Hrádek to Ostrov monastery appears in a charter that is a patent forgery of the fourteenth century (CDB no. 380f.).

105. CDB no. 157 (ca. 1146–48): “Iura quoque antique institutionis super eodem castro reformare intendentes, monetam ut primo fuit inibi fieri statuimus.” An imperial grant of 1144, one of the few concerning internal Bohemian affairs, makes the same grant under the same conditions (CDB no. 138), including: “in eodem castro percussuram monete publice tibi concedimus et confirmamus.” That this grant should have been followed by the ducal one, which makes no reference to the imperial charter, shows that the second grant was considered binding. For a more detailed discussion of these two charters, and imperial rights and interventions in the Czech Lands, see Chapter 7.

106. Cach tentatively attributes coin-types #510–27, otherwise described as “uncertain Moravian issues,” to the mint at Podivín. In effect, however, no specific pennies may be identified as episcopal issues from Podivín.

107. CDB no. 287: “De theloneo sub Podivin do eis II denarios.” The meagerness of this sum is emphasized by the fact that the sentence immediately follows a grant of four thousand *denáry* annually: “Addo eciam eis in villa Slivniz IIIIor milia denariorum singulis annis.” This grant also indicates that, while Cosmas had explicitly linked Slivnice with Podivín in his description of the original endowment of the bishopric of Olomouc, the two remained distinctly separate; Cosmas II: 21, p. 113: “similiter et villam Slivnicam cum foro atque castrum ibidem situm in media aqua Svartka nomine, Podivin dictum.” Cf. V. Richter, “Podivín, Zekirkostel, a Slivnice,” *Sborník práci Filosofické fakulty Brněnské university* F 7 (1958): 68–87.

108. CDB nos. 270 and 247 (1169), respectively.

109. Cosmas II: 11, pp. 98–99: “Item relatum est duci Bracizlao de Prikos comite, qui pefuit Belin in urbe, quod corruptus Saxonum pecunia non stetisset ex adverso munitionis in custodia, sed ubi sunt nemora hostibus pervia, ibi posuisset presidia.”

110. CDB nos. 289 (ca. 1174–78): “terram autem ad castrum Strachotin pertinentem . . . princeps Conradus addidit”; and 292 (1180): “et quicquid ibidem terre fuit ad aliquod castrum pertinens.” Note the use of impersonal constructions: the lands belong to no individual but “pertain” to a castle.

111. Gerlach, pp. 467–68.

112. At the time of the incident with Vratislav’s wife, whose name is never given, Mstíš was apparently castellan of “a certain very well-fortified castle named Lštěn” (Cosmas II: 15, p. 106: “in quoddam castrum munitissimum nomine Lescen”).

113. Cosmas II: 19, p. 111: “Ego veniam, civitatem letificabo meam et, quod res et iusticia postulat, faciam” (cf. Ps. 45:5).

114. Cosmas II: 19, p. 111: “Et inter prandendum venit nuncius, qui diceret in aure comiti: ‘Ablata est tibi urbis prefectura et data est Koyate, filio Wseboris,’ qui tunc temporis primus erat in palatio ducis. Ad hec comes respondit: ‘Dux est et dominus, de civitate sua faciat, quod sibi placet . . .’”

115. Cosmas III: 29, p. 199. In the previous chapter (p. 197), he was described: “Fabianus comes, qui habuit in urbe Wissegrad prefecturam—hii quia ceteros sicut dignitate, ita et sapientia preminebant . . .”

116. See Chapter 3.

117. E.g., Cosmas III: 12, p. 172.

118. Gerlach, p. 475: “Interea Zobežlaus, sicut supra tetigimus, amissa Praga, per-dita Bohemia, in sola se Zkala refovebat, quam deinde Fridericus per totam obsidens aestatem, tandem in fine huius anni recepit.” In the few instances when castles were the specific objects of attack, they occurred in Moravia and as part of dynastic struggles. For example, Soběslav seized Olomouc in 1161 or 1162 but was easily persuaded to give himself up, under a false promise of peace, and immediately imprisoned (MSázava, p. 268; Vincent, p. 452).

119. Cosmas II: 2, p. 83.

120. Cosmas II: 2, p. 83. There is no evidence concerning this event or any other to support Josef Volf’s assertion that “Břetislav’s summon was valid only for lords, [and] only those settled on princely estates” (“Účast českých panovníků při říšských výpravách [Participation of Czech rulers in imperial campaigns],” *Časopis českého musea* 81 [1907]: 227 [trans. mine]).

121. The only comment on organization indicates that the allocation of troops to leaders was determined by the duke (Cosmas II: 11, p. 99, concerning the unfaith-

ful castellan of Břlína in 1040): “Hunc enim dux prefecerat tote cohorti, que fuit de Moravia, et tribus legionibus que fuerant misse in auxilium de Ungaria.”

122. Cosmas II: 47, p. 154: “Sed illum par etas iuvenum et maior pars procerum, manu quidem promptiores et bello forciores, comitabantur, istum vero episcopus Cosmas et prepositi ecclesiarum omnesque terre magnates, etate proveciores et consilio utiliores, cum omni militia plebis favebant et nimio affectu venerabantur.”

123. Vincent, p. 428: “In eorum cantibus et in eorum sermonibus Mediolani resonat obsessio, arma undique preparantur et reparantur arma, et non solum nobilium iuventus, sed et de populo plerique ruris opera reicientes manus suas plus ligonibus et vomeri aptas scutis, lanceis et ceteris aptant armis militaribus.” Since such a crowd would have proved unwieldy on a campaign of this sort, Vladislav later selected those men who would actually proceed to Milan.

124. Gerlach, p. 468: “Quotiescunque immineret ei expeditio, cum primates sui essent hi in curribus et hi in equis, non confidebat, nisi et pauperes populi secum videret, alios super equis, alios pedestres, prout cuiusque facultas fuisset.”

125. Vincent, p. 427: “qui me in hoc negotio iuvare intendit, hunc honore debito et pecunia ad hec necessaria, ut decet, exorno; qui vero negligit, mulierum ludis contentus et ocio, mea pace securus propria sedeat in domo.”

126. Vincent, p. 455.

127. CDB no. 157 (ca. 1146–48): “ut predictae Olomucensis ecclesie homines, sive sint liberi sive servi cuiuscumque conditionis, cuiuscumque etatis aut sexus, . . . nullis tributorum, vectigalium ceterorumque huiusmodi exactionibus gravari debeant, ab omni infestatione et vexatione principum terre illius liberi permaneant. Nullus eos pro castrorum, que in terra illa sita sunt, reedificatione, nullus pro ingruenti aliqua expeditione inquietare audeat.” In a charter clearly drafted at the same time (CDB no. 158), the same privilege is extended to the bishop’s holdings in Bohemia.

128. CDB no. 208 (1160): “Nakel ea conditione, ut qui eam inhabitare deliberant, tributo beato Stephano decimas solvant, ceteris vero ad imperium ducis bella exercitibus, sive urbem aut pontem reparantibus, seu sub qualibet necessitate laborantibus, non aliud, quam quod prefatus pater cenobii iusserit, faciant.”

129. CDB no. 289 (ca. 1174–78): “Ad nullam expeditionem pergere debent, nisi sit pugnandum pro patria. Si dux est extra Boemiam in expeditione, tunc debent Teutonici Pragm custodire cum duodecim scutis.”

130. Cosmas I: 19, pp. 38–40. “In the Roman manner” is generally interpreted to mean “of stone.”

131. Cosmas I: 19, p. 39. Logically, this should be Mladá (Young) Boleslav since the city seems to have been founded from nothing and since Stará (Old) Boleslav is recorded as the site of the murder of St. Václav. However, it is Stará Boleslav that lies on the Elbe, while Mladá Boleslav is on the Jezera, a tributary of the Elbe which branches north just beyond Stará Boleslav. The two towns are approximately 30 km apart.

132. CVýšehrad, p. 205. Note that the first and last of these are located along the border in western Bohemia, while Zhořelec lies outside Bohemia proper, near Bautzen (Budýšin).

133. CDB no. 279 (1177): “Omnes homines eiusdem ecclesie sancte Marie absolve a succisione silve, excepto illo loco, ubi ipsi solent succidere, . . .” Thirteenth-century charters granting similar liberties, in which both the Latin expression and the Czech term appear, clarify that *succisio silve* here indicates the *přeseka*; CDB II no. 227 (1222)

provides a definition, “ad succidendum silvam, quod preseca dicitur,” and again links it with building castles and digging ditches. See also, P. Choc, “Obrana raně feudálních Čech [The defense of early feudal Bohemia],” *Historie a vojenství* 4 (1953): 585–88, and on their construction by south Bohemian “tribes” already in the ninth century, “Doudlebská přesečka [The přesečka of Doudleby],” *Jihočeský sborník historický* 35 (1966): 1–7.

134. CVyšehrad, p. 218.

135. See Chapter 7.

136. Cosmas I: 12, p. 26.

137. Cosmas I: 12, p. 26: “Quid facerent membra sine capite aut milites in prelio sine duce?”

138. Gerlach, p. 474.

139. Gerlach, p. 476: “domna Elisabeth, quae publicam rem Bohemiae plus quam vir regebat.” In this instance, the duchess convened a colloquium of clergy and magnates to determine the next bishop of Prague.

140. Cosmas II: 48, p. 155: “quia sicut miles sine armis suo officio caret, sic dux sine militibus nec nomen ducis habet . . .”

CHAPTER 2 . THE FREEMEN

1. Pavel Choc has attempted to calculate the Czech population before the influx of German colonists circa 1250, but his results necessarily remain hypothetical: “Osídlení Čech před účastí cizích kolonistů [The settlement of Bohemia before the participation of foreign colonists],” *Demografie* 5 (1963): 38–52, 126–37, 235–44, 331–40; 6 (1964): 21–28.

2. In fact, many of the most prominent noble families in later centuries can trace their earliest forebears to this period. The Rosenbergs, the largest landowners in Bohemia at the turn of the seventeenth century, trace their origins back to the so-called Vítkovci, for example. See below, n. 22.

3. To the role of freemen more generally in twelfth-century society, František Graus devotes only a paragraph and says little other than that the sources are generally mute, but there is no reason to assume freemen did not exist (*Dějiny venkovského lidu*, vol. 1, p. 147).

4. The term may be roughly translated as “retinue,” equivalent to *comitatus* or *amicitia* in a Carolingian sense (the etymology is similar), and usually rendered into German as *Gefolgsheer*. The word appears in Old Church Slavonic legends about Saint Václav with clear reference to small personal and household retinues.

5. This is true even of works which purport to describe the origin and nature of the *družina* itself: S. Zhaněl, *Jak vznikla staročeská šlechta* [How the old Czech nobility arose] (Prague, 1930); V. Vaněček, “Les ‘družiny’ (gardes) princières dans les débuts de l’état tchèque,” *Czasopismo prawnohistoryczne* 2 (1949): 427–47; and F. Graus, “Raně středověké družiny a jejich význam při vzniku státu ve střední Evropě [Early medieval *družiny* and their significance for the rise of the state in central Europe],” *ČSČH* 12 (1965): 1–18.

6. Notable examples, proposing different developmental trajectories on the basis of similar assumptions, include: F. Graus, “Origines de l’état et de la noblesse en

Moravie et en Bohême,” *Revue des Études slaves* 39 (1961): 43–58; D. Třeštík and M. Polívka, “Nástin vývoje české šlechty do konce 15. století [An outline of the development of the Czech nobility to the end of the fifteenth century],” in *Struktura feudální společnosti na území Českoslovenka a Polska do přelomu 15. a 16. století* (Prague, 1984), pp. 99–133; V. Vaníček, “Šlechta a český stát za vlády Přemyslovců (K formování ideologie české šlechty od 11. do počátku 14. století) [The nobility and the Czech state during the rule of the Přemyslids (On the formation of an ideology of Czech nobility from the eleventh to the beginning of the fourteenth century)],” *Folia Historica Bohemica* 12 (1988): 65–107; J. Žemlička, “Ke zrodu vrcholně feudální ‘pozemkové’ šlechty ve státě Přemyslovců [On the birth of the high-feudal ‘landed’ nobility in the Přemyslid state],” *Časopis Matice moravské* 109 (1990): 17–38.

7. CDB no. 290 (ca. 1174–78): “Noveritis, quod Theutonici liberi homines sunt.”

8. CDB no. 55 (1057), e.g.: “Vineas quoque duas cum vinitoribus, quanti sufficerent ad excellendas eas, dedit. Puellas operatrices XXX.” and no. 79 (1078), e.g.: “duo molentes, duo pistoris, duo coqui, duo stubarum calefactores, duo fabri, duo sutores, duo scutellarum et cyphorum artifices, duo figuli, duo operarii.”

9. CDB no. 79: “. . . Et hoc sciendum est, quia ex hiis, quos enumeravimus, alii servi, alii sunt precio introducendi. Quatuor piscatores, septem aratra cum aratoribus; hiis omnino introducendi sunt precio, et pro capite singulorum dandum est precium trecentorum denariorum ea condicione, ut, si aliquando velit aliquis eorum de servitute exire, reddat precium, quod datum est pro se, et alius ex eo precio introducatur eodem ordine.”

10. CDB no. 100 (ca. 1100–may 1107): “Hec est autem familia, que perpetue libertati donata est: Tutana, Bogumila, Radohna, Bratrohna, Wratena, Vbicest, Decana.” The individuals here appear to be female since the same names Radohna and Ubicest are both listed in the forged Vyšehrad foundation charter with explicit reference to women; see below. They may even have been Němoj’s concubines, although there is no way to know.

11. CDB nos. 55 (1057): “De parva navicula IV denarios, cuiuscunque sit, servi vel liberi, precepit dari,” and 157 (ca. 1146–1148): “Olomucensis ecclesie homines, sive sint liberi sive servi cuiuscunque conditionis, cuiuscunque etatis aut sexus, . . .”

12. CDB nos. 157 and 158 (ca. 1146–48), 208 (1160), and 279 (1177). In the latter charter, Kladruby gained exemption only from *přesecka* obligations and from *caniductores* (“Omnes homines eiusdem ecclesie sancte Marie absolve a succisione silve, excepto illo loco, ubi ipsi solent succidere, et a caniductoribus eos liberos esse volo”).

13. See J. Žemlička, “Spor Přemysla Otakara I. s pražským biskupem Ondřejem [Přemysl Otakar I’s argument with Bishop Andrew of Prague],” *ČSČH* 29 (1981): 704–30.

14. There is no reason to presume categories of status were fixed and stable throughout the Middle Ages; Paul Freedman has, in fact, dramatically shown the contrary to be true for Catalonia: *The Origins of Peasant Servitude in Medieval Catalonia* (Cambridge, 1991).

15. Although dukes’ wives are styled *ductrix* or, as appropriate, *regina*, the only time I have ever seen *comitissa* is the necrology from the monastery at Ostrov, now in the Library of the Prague Metropolitan Chapter (Prague, MetCap, A 57/1, f. 3v.); the hand may date to any time in the twelfth or thirteenth centuries.

16. There is a single case in which a magnate is named as *comes* of a place that is

patently a village; CDB no. 296 (ca. 1180–2): “ego Cezc comes de Zeleznice . . .” According to Hejna, this is Železnice near Plasy (“Příspěvek k poznání nejstarších panských sídel v Čechách [Comment on knowing the oldest lordly seats in Bohemia],” in *Vznik a počátky Slovanů II* (Prague, 1958), p. 297). It seems to argue for the use even of “comes de” as a status title rather than one exclusively associated with castellanies.

17. Compare CDB nos. 278 (1175) and 279 (1177). Among the witnesses are listed, respectively: “Jarognev prefectus de Sathec, Zezema prefectus de Plizen”; and “Jarogneo castellano de Sathec, Zezema castellano de Pilzen.” In another pair, CDB nos. 300 (1183) and 305 (ca. end 1184–beg. 1185): “Bleg castellanus de Lutmeriz . . . Stazlaus castellanus de Sathesc”; and “Scazlau comes Sacensis, Plego comes Lutmericensis.” With but a few exceptions, use of these terms is consistent within the document, so that all castellans are described either as *prefecti* or *castellani* or *comites* exclusively; a *comes*, a *castellanus* and a *prefectus* rarely appear together.

18. Nový, in fact, argues that this group of appointed court officers and castellans constituted a social strata for which the only criteria was holding office by virtue of the duke’s favor, to which, in turn, there was no barrier (*Přemyslovský stát*, p. 45).

19. Cosmas II: 44, p. 150: “ita prosiliunt ilico ex agmine ardentis et armati iuvenes, . . . et tertius Borsa, filius Olen, . . .”; and III: 48, p. 220: “vulnerati sunt, non tamen ad mortem, duo milites ducis, Odalricus filius Wacemil et Olen filius Borsa.”

20. A man named Olen is, however, listed among the witnesses to CDB no. 157/158 (ca. 1146–48), cited below.

21. While we may have reason to connect Hroznata, founder of Teplá in 1197, with Hroznata and Měsko of Peruc, and in spite of the fact that he mentions as relatives Blah, Zdeslav, and Hrděbor, it is neither accurate nor meaningful to describe Blah, castellan of Litoměřice in the 1180s, as among the “Hroznatovci” as is sometimes the case in the historiography. It is not entirely clear whether they are so named from Hroznata of Peruc or Hroznata of Teplá, but some amorphous kin-group encompassing both is probably intended, since the latter is needed to prove the relationship and the former to locate the lineage near Litoměřice. Cf., J. Žemlička, “Litoměřice kastelanie a její postavení v raně středověkých Čechách [The castellany of Litoměřice and its position in early medieval Bohemia],” *Litoměřicko* 15 (1979): 44–46.

22. L. Domečka, “O původu Vítkovců [On the origins of the Vítkovci],” *Sborník historický* 4 (1886): 206–16, 284–93, 342–52; R. Cikhart, “Původ a rozrod Vítkovců [Origin and expansion of the Vítkovci],” *Jihočeský sborník historický* 4 (1931): 84–88; V. Vaníček, “Vzestup rodu Vítkovců v letech 1169–1269 [Rise of the Vítkovci lineage in the years 1169–1269],” *Folia historica bohemica* 1 (1979): 93–108; V. Vaníček, “Vítkovci a český stát v letech 1169–1278 [The Vítkovci and the Czech state in the year 1169–1278],” *ČSČH* 29 (1981): 89–110; J. Žemlička, “K počátkům a rozrodu Hrabišiců [On the origins and expansion of the Hrabišici],” *Folia historica bohemica* 13 (1990): 7–41; and, on the “Milhostici,” Tomáš Velímský, “Ke vzniku mašťovského územního a majetkového celku [On the origin of Mašťov’s territorial and property unit],” *Muzejní a vlastivědná práce 30/Časopis Společnosti přátel starožitností* 100 (1992), esp. p. 165.

23. That is, with specific reference to historical figures. Such forms are not found among Czech surnames, nor are patronymics a feature of modern Czech (unlike Russian). Note too that a preponderance of Czech place names, which end in *-ice*, were formed like the plural patronymics discussed here but are, grammatically, feminine plural.

24. CDB no. 317 (1187). Such patronymics occur elsewhere in witness lists, apparently according to the whim of the scribe, although some documents are not internally consistent. We can be sure that they are patronymics because they are applied to men who are elsewhere designated in Latin as, for instance, Hermann *filius Marquardi*.

25. Gerlach, FRB II, p. 461: “Qui Theobaldus moriens reliquit post se magnae indolis puerum, nomine Theobaldum, patrem istorum, qui nunc sunt Dipoltici, . . .”

26. See Chapter 6.

27. We cannot assume a certain relationship, much less identification, with the Marquard *Teutonicus* Cosmas mentions on a diplomatic mission to the empire in 1068 or with Marquard, the father of Pavlík killed in battle in 1100 (Cosmas II: 25, p. 118 and III: 12, p. 173).

28. Little specific scholarly attention has been devoted to the Vršovici or these events. The exception is considerably out-of-date: H. Jireček, “Vrševici,” in *Spisy zázavné a rozpravné*, II.1 (Prague, 1878), pp. 470–92. See also Chapter 6.

29. These men include: Božej, son of Cák, and his son Borut; Mutina, son of Božej, and his uncle Němoj; Domasa; Vnislav; John, son of Csta; and, earlier, Kohan.

30. Cosmas III: 4, p. 165 and III: 14, p. 176. Again, see Chapter 6.

31. On Němoj as Mutina’s uncle, see Cosmas III: 23, p. 191 (*cum patruo suo*). In the grant to Vyšehrad, both Božej and Mutina are named as “present” (CDB no. 100).

32. Nor may any other suspected group be deemed comparable—including especially the so-called Slavníkids, another modern designation that effectively refers to one man and his several sons, among them Saint Adalbert. The literature on the Slavníkids, which significantly overlaps with that on the late tenth century generally, is too extensive to be listed here.

33. It is sometimes argued that they, like the Slavníkids, were “old tribal princes”; their elimination in 1108 is therefore understood as the last step in the consolidation of Přemyslid power (D. Třeštík and M. Polívka, “Nástin vývoj,” p. 106).

34. We have slightly better information about German-born clergy. See Chapter 4.

35. Cosmas III: 58, p. 234: “Omnes quidem Boemii primi et secundi ordinis eum diligebant et eius parti favebant, . . .” For instance, Vratislav Vaníček in passing calls those he describes as the “better” men of the družina in the 1180s *milites primi ordinis* (sic) (“Šlechta a český stát,” p. 74). Cf. also Třeštík and Polívka, “Nástin vývoj,” p. 106.

36. CDB no. 155 (ca. 1142–48). The identification of Miroslav in the Sedlec foundation document has been misinterpreted to indicate that the document was not issued by him, though this is to misunderstand the nature of written records at this time.

37. CDB no. 357 (1197).

38. Plzeň, Státní oblastní archiv, Klášter Teplá, no. L1. Hroznata’s is the last of three seals originally attached to the charter; it hangs from the far right corner and bears the impression of antlers distinctly (although much else is obscured).

39. Cosmas II: 15, p. 106: “misit in quoddam castrum munitissimum nomine Lescen committens eam ad custodiedum comiti nomine Mztis;” and II: 19, p. 111: “Mztis comes urbis Beline, filius Boris, vir magne audacie, maioris eloquentie nec minoris prudentie, . . .”

40. Cosmas II: 19, p. 111: “Ablata est tibi urbis prefectura et data est Koyate, filio Wseboris; qui tunc temporis primus erat in palatio ducis.”

41. Cosmas II: 23, p. 115: “Tunc Koyata, filius Wsebor, palatinus comes, hoc nimis

inpatienter ferens, sicut erat verax in sermone et simplex in verbo, stans a dextris Ottonis fratris ducis . . .”

42. Cosmas II: 43, p. 149: “Zderad villicus, sicut erat homo versipellis.” Word of Zderad’s murder was brought to Vratislav by another man, *Comes* Drsimír (Cosmas II: 44) .

43. Cosmas II: 40, p. 144: “Et astanti camerario, qui solus erat cum eo, homo peior pessimo, Vito Seliboric . . .”

44. Cosmas III: 4, p. 165: “suum collateralem et secretarium”; and Cosmas III: 14, cited above.

45. During Vratislav’s reign others are named: *Comites* Alexius, Severus, and Marquard *Teutonicus*, who accompanied Bishop-Elect Jaromír to Mainz for confirmation in 1068 (Cosmas II: 25, p. 118); William, the warrior whom Bishop Jaromír pushed into the Rhine on the day of his consecration (ibid); *Comes* Preda, sent to by Vratislav to Rome to appeal on behalf of the bishop of Olomouc in 1072–73 (Cosmas II: 29, p. 123) and also listed as a witness to Hradiště’s foundation in 1078 (CDB nos. 79 and 80); Smil, Milota, and Božepor, listed with Preda there (CDB no. 79); Kukata, the first to aid Vratislav when attacked by Beneda in 1088 (Cosmas II: 40, p. 145) and perhaps the same as a “certain hunter” who shared Břetislav II’s table a dozen years later (Cosmas II: 13, p. 173: “ad quendam venatorem, qui non longe ab eo ad quartam sedebat mensam”).

46. Cosmas I: 35, p. 63: “sub mola rusticana natus.”

47. Cosmas I: 35, p. 63.

48. Cosmas III: 17, p. 181.

49. Cosmas III: 22, p. 189.

50. Cosmas III: 27, pp. 196–97.

51. Cosmas III: 30, p. 199. These events took place Christmas week, and by the end Otto seems to have resumed his position as vice-duke of Olomouc and been recognized by Vladislav.

52. Cosmas III: 32, p. 203.

53. Cosmas III: 34, p. 205.

54. Cosmas III: 37, p. 209.

55. Cosmas III: 39, p. 211. Soběslav fled again into exile. With Vacek dead, Otto was released from prison.

56. Cosmas III: 57, pp. 231–32: “Iacobi Apelle . . . sceleratissimus homo post ducem vicedomini fungeretur officio . . .”

57. CVyšehrad, p. 232: “Omnis tamen ille conventus solum Naczerath intendebant, ut cuicumque ipse faveret, huic omnes pariter unanimiter subiacerent.”

58. CVyšehrad, p. 235: “maiores belli ductores Naczerath, Smil, Ben et alii quam plures ex utraque parte cederunt.”

59. Vincent, p. 410. See Chapter 6.

60. MSázava, p. 255: “Praemittit interim dux Sobezlaus legatos Nazcerat, Miroslauum, Zmilonem et alios ex primatibus suis ad regem . . .”

61. MSázava, p. 255; CVyšehrad, p. 235; and Vincent, p. 412: “Et quantam fidem erga ducem dominum suum comes Velizlaus habuerit et comes Casta et Comes Smilo cum filiis suis et Ben[essius] ceterique nobiles, alii morte, alii autem sanguinis effusione pugnando pro patria ostenderunt.”

62. Vincent, p. 412: “comite Velizlao, qui ei a puericia sua fidelis extiterat”; and

Vincent, p. 414: “Eodem anno Welizlaus comes, Trojanum filium habens unicum optimae indolis, a duce Wladizlao Wissegradensi donatur castro, quod usque ad finem vitae suae obtinuit.”

63. CDB nos. 157 and 158; both documents pertain to the church of Olomouc, have identical witness lists, and were undoubtedly issued on the same occasion.

64. The next charter with a witness list is CDB no. 204 (1159); thereafter, nearly all charters include witnesses.

65. CDB no. 204.

66. CDB no. 208; on Němoj as chamberlain in 1160, see also CDB no. 210.

67. CDB nos. 204 (1159): “Henricus castellanus Sathensis”; 208 (16 June 1160): “Jarognevi prefecti Satcensis”; and 227 (28 June 1165): “Iarogneu castellanus Satcensis.” In the latter, Jarohněv was present “with all his brothers,” though their names are not given.

68. CDB no. 278.

69. Rivin is listed as *dapifer* in an undated document of Soběslav II, in which Zdeslav is chamberlain, but nowhere else; Jarohněv likewise appears in another of Soběslav’s undated charters (CDB no. 288).

70. CDB no. 227, compare to CDB no. 204.

71. CDB nos. 246 and 247 (1169), as well as 251 (ca. 1170).

72. CDB nos. 278 (1175) and 279 (February 1177), Zdeslav; 280 (March 1177), Hermann; and 285 (ca. 1175–78), Zdeslav.

73. CDB nos. 292 (1180) and 295 (1181), Hrabiše; 300 (1183), 301 (ca. 1183), and 304 (1184), Hroznata; 317 (1187), Lothar; and 320 (1188), Hrabiše.

74. CDB no. 323.

75. CDB nos. 336 (1192), 348 and 349 (1194), 355 and 356 (1196), 357 and 358 (1197).

76. Cosmas II: 40, p. 144; see above.

77. E.g., Cosmas II: 20, p. 113: “centum marcas argenti annuatim de camera ducis accipiat;” and III: 13, p. 174, cited in Chapter 1.

78. CDB no. 251 (ca. 1170): “Zwest iudex curie regis Boemorum.”

79. Vincent, p. 418: “Bartholomeus autem, predicti ducis cancellarius, cum plurimis aliis a Turcis captus est, de quo nichil plus certi scire potuimus.” The duke’s chancellor was traditionally the provost of the chapter at Vyšehrad.

80. Vincent, p. 458: “per comitem Zezemmam, domnae nostrae summum camerarium, virum nobilem, vita et moribus honestum . . .”; he is listed as *camerarius reginae* in CDB 251 (ca. 1170).

81. For instance, in a series of documents from Duke Frederick in the 1180s, the chamberlain Hroznata is thrice listed third after Bohuše, castellan of Kladsko, and Blah, castellan of Litoměřice (CDB nos. 296, 300, 301). In another, he is named fourth after Bohuše and two other castellans (CDB no. 304). In CDB no. 305, however, he precedes Blah, who is still castellan of Litoměřice, and is fourth in the list. In CDB no. 309, Hroznata is first while Bohuše, whose title is not given, is third.

82. Rarely is a place given in the charter; though it is tempting to assume so, it remains uncertain that even the duke’s charters were issued “at court” or that a “court” was assembled for the event.

83. With one exception, CDB nos. 157 and 158 (ca. 1146–48), in which the lists are entirely identical and must have been either drafted at the same time or one copied from the other. Both documents pertain to the church of Olomouc.

84. This accounting is *extremely* impressionistic. I classified as “new” only those names I could be certain I had never seen before. I did not count names if irregular orthography could be blamed for their novelty. Names which could be, even very tentatively, connected with previous individuals were not included, although this means that common names—a group which itself cannot be classified—leave a large margin for error in favor of more “old” men.

85. Fiala argues that Soběslav II was generally distrustful of the magnates because he knew that they did not elect him and that they resented his selection, effected single-handedly by Barbarossa, and were lying in wait for an opportunity to oust him (“*Princeps rusticorum*,” pp. 39–41). His contention is not, however, supported by witness lists, such as those cited here, which exhibit no difference in those pertaining to Soběslav, his rival Frederick, or any other duke.

86. This model of development is laid out by F. Graus (“*Raněstředověké družiny*”).

87. Cosmas I: 34, pp. 62–63.

88. See Chapter 3.

89. The exception appears in Hroznata’s foundation charter for Teplá, which notes that his sister married a Pole; unfortunately, the Czech sources give no indication how common marriage to foreigners was among the magnates, though the issue is an important one. The other, presumably younger, sister was apparently unmarried in 1197 and perhaps expected to remain so.

90. These new affinities were undoubtedly reflected in naming patterns, although beyond our ability to trace. The absence of information about women and marriage patterns provides one more reason to distrust naming patterns for the construction of blood or affinal relationships between lay magnates.

91. CDB nos. 296 (ca. 1180–1182) and 304 (1184).

92. Again, this argues against the notion of a *družina*. Here I also disagree with J. Kliment (“*Pojem věrnost, léno a stav ve starém právu českém* [The concept of faith, fief, and estate in old Czech law],” in *Miscellanea historico-iuridica: Festschrift für Jan Kapras* [Prague, 1940], pp. 142–49) and with S. Russocki, who argues also, in a similar vein, that Cosmas uses *comites* as equivalent to *clientes* (“*Le rôle de la ‘fidelitas’ et du ‘beneficium’ dans la formation des états slaves*,” *Acta Poloniae Historica* 26 [1972]: 181ff.).

93. A magnate named Krása, in the only such instance known, accused Božej, of the Vršovici, of murdering his relative Thomas (Cosmas III: 24, p. 192).

94. In several instances, the resentful party is a prominent Přemyslid without territory (i.e., in Moravia). See Cosmas III: 43–44 for Břetislav’s (II) murder of his father’s chief counselor Zderad in 1091; or Gerlach, p. 463 about king Vladislav’s son Svatopluk killing Vojslav, whom his father had favored above all others, in 1170.

95. CVyšehrad, pp. 208–12. See also Chapter 6.

96. CVyšehrad, p. 210: “*Nonne, charissime fili, patre tuo in hac provincia nullus nobilior nullusque sapientior fuit? Tu autem inter alios huius terrae primates pro minimo habetis, insuper et germanum tuum tamdiu in vinculis pro nihilo multa mala perferre pateris? Ergo melius est, ut hoc duce superbissimo perempto, talem inthronizemus, a quo sine dubio cuncta, quae nobis placuerint, habere poterimus.*”

97. CVyšehrad, p. 211: “*Praesul Meynhardus ob hanc causam, ut nos in hoc negotio constantes haberet, duos digitos super reliquias sanctorum posuit, et verba*

huiusmodi mecum habuit: ‘Si vitam ducis perdideris, inter ista quinque scilicet Zatecz, Liutomirzicz et inter cameram et mensam et agazoniam, quodcunque elegeris, me promittente duceque Bracizlao donante, sine dubio cum honore possidebis.’”

98. CDB no. 296 (ca. 1180–March 25, 1182).

99. CDB no. 304 (1184). A later two-part charter documents Přemysl Otakar’s grant to Slavek “in recompense for faithful service” and his exchange with Abbot Gerlach of Milevsko two years later (CDB II no. 75 [1205/1207]).

100. CDB no. 303: “invenimus agros episcopales agris Georii in Myleuzc permixtos and hinc inde dispersos, et convenit inter nos et eundem Georium, quo sibi de nostris cederemus et condignam ab eo commutationem reciperemus, quatuor videlicet villas, quarum una dicitur Ztrana, altera Bratreo, tertia Sbudco, quarta Chrazna, facientes hoc concambium ex mutuo beneplacito, nulla nostra vel sua necessitate, nisi quod nostrum ei adiacebat et nobis minus utile erat, suum vero a curia nostra Rudenitz non longe aberat.” This exchange was confirmed again later by Bishop Daniel II (CDB II no. 17 [ca. 1198–1201]). It is not stipulated clearly in the document who received which of the four villages listed; most likely the first two, located in southern Bohemia nearer Milevsko, were ceded to George, while the latter, closer to Roudnice, were held by the bishop.

101. CDB no. 301 (ca. 1183).

102. CDB nos. 336 (1192) and 343 (1193). It is my belief that Oldřich is neither the same as Oldřich of Žinkovy nor the brother of Drslav and Rus, as Palacký believed, but rather the same Oldřich known to be Drslav’s son.

103. CDB nos. 304 (1184), 322 (15 June 1189), and 325 (1 Oct. 1190). On Map 4 Čechín is marked by a triangle.

104. CDB no. 278 (1175).

105. Cf. Constance Brittain Bouchard, *Holy Entrepreneurs: Cistercians, Knights, and Economic Exchange in Twelfth-Century Burgundy* (Ithaca, N.J., 1991), esp. p. 53ff.

106. CDB no. 308 (1185).

107. An early thirteenth-century charter calls such a grant of future tithe *more teutonico* (CDB II no. 28 [post 1201]); whatever else it indicates, this demonstrates clearly the novelty of such an arrangement.

108. For historico-geographical analysis of such colonization, see Z. Boháč, “The Development of Feudalism,” pp. 93–129. I refer here to what Boháč terms “internal colonization,” that is, expansion into previously unsettled forest by the local Czech population. This wave of colonization should not be confused with the massive German colonization of Bohemia, and other parts of Eastern Europe, in the thirteenth century.

109. CDB no. 204 (1159)/no. 227 (1165). The word first appears already in the Hradiště charter of 1078 and several villages so named are listed in Zdík’s confirmation of episcopal holdings (CDB nos. 79, 115).

110. Boháč, “Development of Feudalism,” with map, p. 109, fig. 5. A similar map, with chronological distinctions, is provided in J. Sláma, “Příspěvek k vnitřní kolonizaci,” p. 439. In a later phase of colonization, the characteristic village name would be Lhota.

111. CDB no. 357 (1198): “De villis autem, quas in silvis tenuerunt, nichil solvat ecclesia.”

112. The same is true also of monasteries; on colonization initiated by Plasy, see

K. Charvátová, “Kolonizace plašského kláštera 1145–1250 [Colonization of Plasy monastery],” *Musejní a vlastivědná práce* 30/*Časopis Společnosti přátel starožitností* 100 (1992): 73–83, with map. She argues that the Cisterians at Plasy were not themselves an agent of colonization, but simply part of the widespread activity in the region.

113. CDB no. 355 (1196) and nos. 320 (1188) and 323 (1189). My maps follow Friedrich’s identification of place names, according to which three villages are located in southern Bohemia at considerable distance from Mašt’ov. Some of these places, including the *forum* at Pátek, are identified otherwise by Velímský (pp. 157–59, with map). Velímský similarly notes the consolidated nature of this land and attributes it to colonization activity (though not of the “usual” type with forests since the area lies within the region of “old settlement”) (p. 161).

114. Given that there were many men named Hroznata prominent in the later twelfth century, the designation here *de Peruc* seems to function like the cognomen *Crispus* (curly-haired), applied to this same man; it served more to identify one Hroznata among many than to designate the “seat” of a noble lineage. See below.

115. That three of Hroznata’s villages lay interspersed with the lands which Hroznata of Peruc gave the Hospital is probably not coincidence; the two men must have been somehow related, and these villages may have passed to Hroznata (of Teplá) through the quirks of inheritance rights. There is no direct evidence to link them together, however, or to other men named Hroznata (see above). The convergence of similar names and the intermingled landholdings, nevertheless, seems too remarkable to be entirely insignificant. Since the Teplá charter was clearly structured to buy off those relatives who might have claimed the lands Hroznata used to endow the monastery, and neither Hroznata of Peruc nor his brother Měsko is listed, we may assume either that the two Hroznatas were not closely related or that Měsko and Hroznata of Peruc were already dead by 1197.

116. Modern place-names and locations are provided by Hejna (pp. 296–97), who, however, provides information only for the first CDB volume.

117. Some men, who seem always to be designated by place, such as George of Milevsko, John of Netunice, and Oldřich of Žinkovy, possess common or Christian names; if they are included in lists without these designations we cannot recognize them, and probably medieval people expected to have similar problems. Three different men named Stephen were listed in three separate documents circa 1215: *de Veverin*, *de Tuklek*, and *de Lukoviz*. (CDB II nos. 109/110 [1213] Stephen *de Veverin*; 112 [c.1204–14] Stephen *de Tuklek*; and 125 [1216] Stephen *de Lukoviz*.)

118. Hroznata “the Bald” is listed in CDB nos. 300 (1183), 305 (c.1184–85), 307 (1185). In the second charter, Hroznata “of Peruc” is named as chamberlain; he is called Hroznata “the curly-haired” in CDB nos. 323. The same is true of patronymics, in either Latin or Czech; some of the earliest and most frequent references distinguish Hermann, son of Marquard, from Hermann, son of William. Hermann, son of William, appears in CDB nos. 300 (1183), 301 (c.1183), 336 (1192), 343 (1193), 356 (c. 1195–97), always so named. Hermann, son of Marquard, is listed with his father’s name in CDB nos. 300, 317 (1187), 320 (1188), 336, 358 (1197); he appears elsewhere without the patronymic, but may be certainly identified by his brothers or his office.

119. CDB no. 305 (ca. 1184–85).

120. CDB nos. 157/158 (with identical witness lists).

121. CDB nos. 279 (1177) and 363 (1197).

122. In rare instances, as for Blah, designated “of Trebušín,” there is a correspondence between the villages by which a man was designated and the castellanies to which he was appointed; Trebušín is just north of Litoměřice, where Blah served several times as castellan. Blah is listed “of Trebušín” in CDB no. 246 (1169), as castellan of Litoměřice CDB nos. 279 (1177), 280 (1177), 285 (c.1175–78), 300 (1183), and 305 (c.1184–85). Ultimately, he appears as Blah “Magnus” in CDB II no. 6 (c. 1198–99). His name is given in many other witness lists with no designation at all. For others, there is no correlation, however, as we have already seen with regard to Ratibor. This lack of correspondence continues over generations: though also designated “of Čekovice,” a village near Tachov, Ratibor’s son Jaroš was castellan of Bílina in 1220. The grandsons of Marquard “of Doubrava,” located in the region of Plzeň, served as castellans of Děčín and Bautzen, in the far north, in 1220. The region traditionally associated with the lineage designated “Markvartici” is northeastern Bohemia, although this is only attested much later.

123. CDB no. 323: “quod Groznata Crispus . . . dedit hospitali Ierosolimitano omnes suas possessiones, exceptis duabus villis, Peruce et Vlacicz, quas alibi dederat, post decessum suum sueque uxoris . . .” According to Friedrich, the identification and location of the second village, Vlačice, is unknown (although why it cannot be linked to Vlačice near Časlav is unclear to me). Not only is Peruc specifically referred to as a “village,” nothing is noted to distinguish it from other ordinary villages in Hroznata’s possession; it was not, for instance, a *curia*. Hejna assumes that these were small castles (*hradky*) and cites archeological evidence of moats (“Příspěvek,” pp. 295, 300–302). Since the question which frames the article is the origin of such castles throughout Bohemia and the archeological data, especially regarding dates, is unspecific, his thesis remains unconvincing.

124. A similar pattern, though based on broader parameters, is noted by Hejna (“Příspěvek,” p. 298–300, no map).

125. The opposite is often the contention of the historiography, e.g., Žemlička, “Ke zrodu,” pp. 23–9; Žemlička, “Litoměřická kastelanie,” p. 43.

126. CDB no. 357: “Milites mei qui a me predia mea tenent . . .” Concerning the document or, more correctly, Hroznata himself and the foundation of the monastery, cf., K. Haubertová, *O nejstarších tepelských listinách* [On the oldest Teplá charters] (Plzeň, 1981), pp. 2–12. The author unfortunately does little more than summarize the contents of the charter and reiterate many of the usual assumptions about the circumstances it ostensibly reflects.

127. Gerlach, pp. 471 and 472–73.

128. Gerlach, p. 468: “Quotienscunque immineret ei expeditio, cum primates sui essent hi in curribus et hi in equis, non confidebat, nisi et pauperes populi secum videret, alios super equis, alios pedestres, prout cuiusque facultas fuisset,” see Chapter 3.

129. Vincent, p. 428: “ad eligendam contra Mediolanum militiam curia Prage Boemis indicitur, ad hoc idonei eliguntur milites.”

130. It is also unlikely that these men were free warriors in Hroznata’s household, who had been settled out on lands. We have no indication that magnates maintained household knights; *familia* seems always to designate unfree people, who must have been peasants and servants.

131. CDB no. 295 (1181): “cuius partem quidam invasores iniuste usurpaverant, sed

suam iniuriam recognoscentes male usurpata ei in pace reddiderunt . . .” Other documents pertaining to Waldsassen’s Bohemian holdings reflect the many problems they had administering these lands; the duke was apparently their chief hope for restitution and protection.

132. CDB no. 357 (1197).

133. CDB no. 344 (ca. 1192–June 1193): “Clusene cum fratre suo Baviar, Dluhemil et Patrus miles eorum.”

134. CDB no. 355 (20 June 1196): “Hageno et Petrus filii Milgozti, Conradus et Sifridus milites eius.”

135. Velímský refers, in a misleading fashion, to these men as members of Mil-host’s *družina* (p. 159).

136. Although the laymen given in witness lists are not listed with rigid regard to rank, the fact that these warriors of other men should be listed last in both instances is probably not mere coincidence.

137. We have no concrete idea about population density at this time. Since small-scale colonization was possible and undoubtedly occurred throughout the eleventh and twelfth centuries, there is no reason to assume that the “core areas” in Bohemia or Moravia were cramped. It is possible to imagine a population increase that coincided with, or even provided the impetus for, colonization efforts. A glance at a map of the heavily forested parts of the Czech Lands, however, discourages the notion that population could have kept pace with colonization.

138. CDB no. 156 (ca. 1143–48). The names all appear to be those of men; presumably their entire families are indicated.

139. Long lists of names of peasants and artisans appear in CDB nos. 382f., 390f., and 405f.

140. CDB no. 387f., version A, B¹, B², and C. The originals are in Prague, Státní Ústřední Archiv, KVš #1–4. Of these the B and C versions appear to have been written in the same hand. The C version is a neat copy, with minor variations from other versions; the A and B versions contain numerous erasures, changes, and insertions. Although the charter is undated, it is attributed to Vratislav II, as *princeps et monarcha*, a deliberate blurring of the titles of duke and king. (Probably the monks themselves were uncertain of the exact date of the chapter’s foundation and preferred to remain ambivalent as to whether it was before or after Vratislav was crowned king in 1086.) Still another version is included in a genuine confirmation issued by Přemysl Otakar I in 1222 (CDB II no. 229/SÚA, KVš #13); the text follows the B versions, leaving out the specific names of the peasants. Mostly likely, these forged versions were drafted in preparation for requesting the confirmation, and so date to the end of the twelfth and beginning of the thirteenth century. (Friedrich has dated the A text to the mid-twelfth century, the B versions to before the end of the century, and the C version to the mid-thirteenth century. He does not explain the reasons for these dates, except that none of the versions can antedate 1144. With the latter I agree, but can see no sure evidence for more specific dating than to place A chronologically first, C last and assume they were all drafted in the last half of the twelfth century or the beginning of the thirteenth.)

141. CDB no. 387f. This addition is not included in the C version, although several ruled blank lines are left at the bottom.

142. CDB no. 55; Friedrich has edited them as versions A and B.

143. CDB no. 55: “Pocraticih Dalese vinitor cum terra, Cecen vinitor cum terra,

Dras vinitor cum terra. Sitinichih Bachuha vinitor cum terra. Naboschi Mach carpentarius cum terra. Trebutichich rustici duo: Rozroy et frater eius Ostas cum terra. Terras novas terra fabri nomine Cis.”

144. CDB no. 55: “Preter hos sutores, pellifices albi et nigri, fabri, carpentarii, calefactores stube. Sunt etiam in eadem villa hospites quam plures.”

145. CDB no. 55, with Friedrich’s notes: 1) “*De villa Desecrīpi satus est quidam homo nomine Zlaton cum filiis et fratre ad legem eiusdem ecclesie. Quod testificantur Blag comes . . .*”; 2) “Nomina rusticorum, qui sunt de ista civitate: Gosten, Idzenik, Otassa, Maur, Mali, Dobrac cum fratre Bozen, Bic, Sud”; 3) “Hec autem Christo volente addita sunt: [. . .] dedit bonum patrimonium, Groznata circuitum Czealav, Lagovicih Henricus dux terram, quam Sdeszlaus dederat ei. Guclinus Bocudicih dedit terram. Pavel dal gest Ploscovicih zemu. Wlah dal gest Dolas zemu bogu i sviatemu Scepanu se duema dusnicoma Boguscea a Sedlatu.”

146. Gerlach, pp. 468: “Curae sibi fuit semper liberare pauperem a potente et inopem, cui non erat adiutor, faciens iudicium omnibus iniuriarum patientibus, omnique populo terrae sine personarum acceptione. Quibus defendendis ita tradiderat cor suum, ut propter pauperes non vereretur offendere nobiles, et appellabatur vulgo princeps rusticorum . . . Quid multis immoror, omnis eius intentio, tota mens erat tueri pauperes et conservare terrae suae iura.”

147. Gerlach, p. 479: “Porro pauperibus defendendis ita tradiderat cor suum, ut pro eorum defensione non vereretur incurrere offensam primatum terrae, abterrens eos ab huiusmodi ausibus, . . . Dux Theobaldus, patruelis et ipse tam episcopi quam Friderici ducis, de cuius gracia per quartam partem principabatur, sic laxaverat lora villicis suis, quibus licebat, quidquid libebat. . . . Similiter et dux Fridericus cum ducissa Elisabeth per officiales suos similia, imo peiora praesumebat in ecclesia dei, . . .”

148. See Chapters 4 and 7.

149. This vast subject, the object of much research and debate, cannot be engaged in the space allotted here.

150. CDB no. 308 (1185): “Huius rei testes fuerunt ibidem: Groznata camerarius, Vitek comes, . . . heredes de Goztiwar, heredes de Hodow et Roztil et Strasnic, Prowod aurifex et filius eius Janis de Michel, . . .”

151. Marcant appears in no witness list or other source.

CHAPTER 3. INTERDEPENDENCE

1. Cosmas III: 27, p. 196.

2. Cosmas III: 27, p. 196–7: “Mane autem facto venit rex, ut lugeret super comatre suo et astantibus universis Boemis concessit, ut quemcumque voluissent suorum ex filiis principum sibi in ducem eligerent. Tunc Wacko, sicut erat lugubris, rogat obortis lacrimis, ut fratrem interfecti principis Ottonem decernat eis ducem. Quem ilico rex collaudat, et populus insipiens per castra ter Kyrieleyson clamat.”

3. Cosmas III: 27, p. 197: “Nec mora, paucis scientibus filius Busa nomine Detrišek currit curriculo atque quarta die summo diliculo adducit Pragam Ottonem, quem Wacek et universi qui erant de Moravia, satagebant principalis sedis provehere ad fastigia. Quod quia sine consensu Boemorum et episcopi efficere conabantur, frustratur eorum temeritas, et sacramenta olim exhibita in medio concilio recitantur. Nam cum

Svatoplík ducem intronizarent, cuncti Boemi sacramentis confirmaverant, ut post eius obitum Wladislavs, si superstes esset, proveheretur ad solium.”

4. See Chapters 5 and 7.

5. Cosmas III: 28, p. 197: “Hos inter tantos populi motus Hermannus presul et Fabianus comes, qui habuit in urbe Wissegrad prefecturum — hii quia ceteros sicut dignitate ita et sapientia preminebant — consilio prevaluerunt et toto annisu effecerunt, ut et sacramenta fierent inviolata et Wladizlaus iura principatus iure adoptata omnibus assentientibus obtineret.”

6. Gerlach, p. 475: “Interea Zobežlaus, sicut supra tetigimus, amissa Praga, per-dita Bohemia, in sola se Zkala refovebat, . . .”

7. On the distinction between the castle and the town as indicated by references to “Prague” in narrative and diplomatic sources, see Z. Fiala, “Die Anfänge Prags: Eine Quellenanalyse zur Ortsterminologie,” *Osteuropastudien der Hochschulen des Landes Hessen* I, 40 (Wiesbaden, 1967).

8. The presence of Jews, in the same location presumably as the Jewish quarter has remained over the centuries, is first attested in 1096, when a band of Crusaders forcibly baptized the Prague community (Cosmas II: 4, p. 164). A community of Germans living near the Church of St. Peter may have been in place at roughly the same time—at least this is the impression given in Soběslav II’s charter (CDB no. 279; see Chapter 1).

9. B. Lewis, *The Muslim Discovery of Europe* (New York, 1982), p. 145. Only half of the description of Prague is cited here.

10. Cosmas II: 45, p. 152.

11. Cosmas II: 30, p. 125; CDB no. 135; Gerlach, p. 511.

12. Vincent, p. 443. Similarly, see Vincent, p. 419 (Vladislav II returns from the Second Crusade) and p. 452 (his son Frederick returns after fighting in Italy).

13. MSázava, p. 257.

14. For a military historian’s account of these battles and analysis of Prague’s fortifications through the fifteenth century: P. Choc, *Boje o Prahu za feudalismu* [Battles for Prague during the era of feudalism] (Prague, 1957).

15. Gerlach, p. 473: “tendit recto itinere Pragam.”

16. Cosmas II: 24, p. 117. Also, Cosmas III: 30, p. 200; CVyšehrad, p. 235 and Vincent, p. 412; and Gerlach, p. 474–5.

17. On Soběslav I waiting for his brother Vladislav I to die: Cosmas III: 58, p. 233. On Přemysl during Henry’s final illness: Gerlach, p. 512.

18. Cosmas III: 29, p. 199.

19. For a list of other festal assemblies, especially those which appear to have been regular, cf., J. Žemlička, “‘Politický kalendář’ přemyslovských Čech [The ‘political calendar’ of Přemyslid Bohemia],” *ČČH* 89 (1991): 31–47.”

20. This is not to argue, however, that summoning *colloquia* or heeding the advice of their participants was legally required of dukes, much less that they represented either the residue of older tribal practices or the precursors for later parliamentary development. On the whole, the evidence is insufficient to draw conclusions about the nature of these assemblies. Cf., K. Malý, “Počátky českého sněmovnictví (do konce 14. století) [The beginnings of Czech parliamentarism (to the end of the fourteenth century)],” in *Česká národní rada—sněm českého lidu*, ed. V. Vaněček (Prague, 1970), pp. 75–90; Z. Šimeček, “K charakteristice středověkých kolokvií v Čechách [On the char-

acteristics of medieval colloquia in Bohemia],” ČSČH 18 (1970): 593–601; J. Žemlička, “‘Politický kalendář’” and “*Te ducem, te iudicem, te rectorem* (Sněmovní shromáždění v časně středověkých Čechách — Kontinuita či diskontinuita) [(Parliamentary gatherings in early medieval Bohemia — continuity or discontinuity)],” ČČH 91 (1993): 369–84.

21. CVyšehrad, p. 221.

22. Vincent, pp. 427 and 455. Before the Milan expedition, the freemen were also summoned for the final selection of participants to be made (p. 428).

23. CDB no. 323 (1189): “et alii multi abbates, clerici, monachi, milites tam de Moravia, quam de Boemia, qui convenerat in Sazka ad audienda statuta ducis Ottonis.”

24. Beyond the myth, little about its origins is known. The question of Prague’s origins has been the subject of a series of studies, by both historians and archeologists, including: F.M. Bartoš, “Kníže Bořivoj na Moravě a založení Prahy [Prince Bořivoj in Moravia and the foundation of Prague],” in *Josef Dobrovský, 1753–1953* (Prague, 1953), pp. 430–40; I. Borkovský, “Der altböhmische Přemysliden-Fürstensitz Praha,” *Historica* 3 (1961): 57–74; *Pražský hrad v době přemyslovských knížat* [Prague castle in the period of Přemyslid princes] (Prague, 1969); B. Nechvátal, “Vyšehrad a počátky Prahy [Vyšehrad and the beginnings of Prague],” *Folia Historica Bohemica* 2 (1980): 39–59; Z. Zušky, “Ke vzniku Prahy [On the origin of Prague],” *ibid.*, pp. 319–334; D. Třeštík, “Počátky Prahy a českého státu [The beginnings of Prague and the Czech state],” *Folia Historica Bohemica* 5 (1983): 7–37.

25. Kristián, p. 18: “Tandem pestilencie cladibus attriti, quendam phitonissam, ut fama fertur, adeunt, postulantes spiritum consilii responsumque divinationis. Quo accepto civitatem statuunt, nomenque inponunt Pragam. Post hinc invento quodam sagacissimo atque prudentissimo viro, cui tantum agriculture officium erat, responsione phitonisse principem seu gubernatorem sibi statuunt, vocitatum cognomine Premizl, iuncta ei in matrimonio supramemorata phitonissa virgine.”

26. Cosmas I: 9, pp. 18–19.

27. Vincent, p. 412: “cum quibusdam militibus valde bellicosis pro tuenda civitate et principali throno, quodam saxo, quod etiam nunc in medio civitatis [est], pro quo non solum nunc, sed etiam ab antiquo multa millia militum bello currerunt.”

28. Cosmas III: 22, p. 189.

29. Cosmas I: 4, p. 14.

30. Cosmas II: 48, p. 155: “Plus enim eius amicitias timemus quam inimicitias.” For a detailed description of these events, see Chapter 6.

31. Gerlach, p. 470, concerning 1174: “Redditi vero suis delitescebant, ubi poterant, nec usquam audebant apparere curiae, quamdiu Zobeizlaus dominabatur Boemie. . . . Hec autem sunt nomina nobilium, qui clam duce suo taliter, sicut dictum est, redierunt: Zobeizla, Zbrazla, Michal, Dirsata, Orazza, Spera, Jetsubor et alii multi.” Although writing at fifty years remove, Gerlach remembered these men by name. They may be tentatively traced in later witness lists. Zbraslav appears in a charter issued by Frederick in 1180 and Jesutbor circa 1183 (CDB nos. 292, 301). A Zbraslav *de Turic* is listed also in 1194 (CDB no. 349). There is a Michael named in Přemysl’s charter from 1193, but with Christian names identification is always unreliable (CDB no. 342). Drsata and Oraz, listed together, first appear in a charter of Bishop/Duke Henry from ca. 1195–97 (CDB no. 356).

32. William Ian Miller, *Humiliation* (Ithaca, 1993), p. 63: “much of violence involves the fear of violence, the universe of threat and danger. We feel that the fear of violence is restrictive. Perhaps a way of getting at the quantity of violence and the consequences of its varying styles would be to consider how the fear of violence works to restrict the freedom of the anxious person.”

33. Cosmas III: 32, p. 203.

34. Here again, Miller’s analysis is fitting: “The truth is that a new threat inheres in every action taken as a consequence of an original threat of violence. The logic of violence in this scene is not the logic of blows, pain, and death, but the logic of threat, nervousness, apprehension, and shame.” (*Humiliation*, p. 86.)

35. Cosmas II: 11, p. 97–98: “Quem statim dux iratus erutis oculis, manibus et pedibus abscisis iussit precipitari in abyssum fluminis.” Gerlach, pp. 467–68: “Nam Sturmonem, castellanum de Primberg, memor, quod eum in vinculis durius tractasset, sed immemor fidei, qua ei postea gratiam suam et securitatem promiserat, capi fecit et Pragam deduci, dein manibus truncatum crudeli morte necavit. Pro quo excessu public postea poenituit et nudatus pedes laneis indutus carenam exegit.”

36. Cosmas II: 14, p. 103: “nam quotquot inventi sunt de gente Teutonica, sive dives sive pauper sive peregrinus, omnes simul in tribus diebus iussit eliminari de terra Boemia, . . .” Cosmas II: 15, pp. 105–6; see Chapter 5. Concerning the Vršovci, see below, as well as Chapters 2 and 5. CVyšehrad, p. 206: “Eodem anno multi principes Bohemorum capti et catenati atque inclusi sunt in custodia a duce Sobieslao.” Also, Vincent, p. 234 (see above).

37. Cosmas II: 24, p. 117: “At vero Zmil et Koyata quamvis inter principes conconati sint vera et iusta, tamen, nisi noctu elapsi delituisent fuga, sine omni audientia dux eos ut hostes rei publice punisset.”

38. Cosmas II: 40, pp. 144–45: “Nescio qua de re tunc offenso quoque rege Wratizlao fugiens in Poloniam.”

39. Cosmas III: 34, p. 205: “Cui cum sui consiliarii instarent, ut eum lumine privaret: ‘Nequaquam,’ inquit, ‘assimilabor duci Poloniensi Bolezlao, qui fratrem suum Izbigneu sub fidei sacramentis advocavit dolis et eum tercia die privavit oculis.’”

40. Cosmas III: 23, p. 191: “sic Zvatopluk intrans stubam sedit in medio super truncum fornacis plus succensus ira quam fornax, . . . Fit murmur confusum, et ardentem ira ducis animum magis magisque ut ardeat per suum succendunt assensum. Tunc dux astanti et conscio sui conatus lictori ex obliquo innuen exiit foras. Qui statim super Mutinam nihil tale metuentem irrui. . . . Ad duos ictus sedit immobilis, ad tertium vero cum surgere conatur, capite plectitur.”

41. Cosmas III: 22, p. 190: “ter ab amicis suis Mutine, quod, nisi aufugeret, procul dubio aut vitam aut oculos amitteret.”

42. Vincent, p. 409: “dux Uvaladizlaus exulum experimento, quam res sit amara, non inmemor, cognatum suum principem Ottonem, qui post occisionem patris principis Ottonis in prelio Hilmec inter regem Lotharium et ducem Zobeclaum habito usque ad annos iuveniles in Ruzia exulando pervenerat, fraterna pietate commotus, maxime rogatu domni Henrici, Moraviensis episcopi, qui alio nomine Sdico fuit dictus, et aliorum principum de exilio revocat et Olomucensis provinciae ducatu, quem pater suus male perdiderat, investit.” AHO gives the year of Otto’s return as 1140 (p. 396).

43. Cosmas II: 40, p. 144: “iamque duobus annis evolutis remeans de Polonia

adiit Wigbertus vir erat in rebus valde discretus, nolens, ut in aliquo socerum suum offenderet, dat ei consilium monens, ut interim apud Misnensem episcopum nomine Bennonem tucius maneret et eum sibi similiter intercessorem pararet.”

44. CDB no. 95 (ca. 1085–92). The text was preserved in a manuscript from St. Emmeram’s at Regensburg, but is now lost. The Latin of the letter, which includes four lines of verse as the salutation and one as closure, together with the provenance of the text, seems to indicate a clerical author.

45. CVyšehrad, p. 234: “Hoc anno in quadragesima per totam regionem Bohemiae multi suspensi sunt in patibulo, praecipui autem in monte Sibenica, ex quibus plures evaserunt et fugam inierunt.”

46. A point made by Cosmas himself (I: 2, p. 5): “est locus latus nimis diffusus, cinctus undique montibus per girum, qui mirum in modum extenduntur tocus terre per circuitum, ut in aspectu oculorum quasi unus et continuus mons totam illam terram circueat et muniat.”

47. Again, as Cosmas notes in reference to border skirmishes in 1082 (II: 35, p. 131): “Cum enim utrarumque provinciarum terminos non silva, non montes, non aliqua obstacula dirimant, sed rivulus, nomine Dia, fluens per plana loca vix eas determinat, semper noctibus mali homines alternatim latrocinantes, pecora diripientes, villas vastantes ex utroque populo predam sibi faciebant.”

48. Cosmas, for example, describes the emperor’s attempt to bring an army against the duke from the direction of Regensburg (II: 9, p. 95): “cum admoveret aquilas silve, que dirimit Bawariam atque Boemiam, ut cognovit, quod obstruerent Boemii vias per silvas.”

49. For instance, CVyšehrad, p. 410: “in introitu terrae suae in media silva;” Vincent, p. 410: “in introitu Boemie Lutomysl;” *ibid.*, p. 452: “iam ad exitum terre suae;” Gerlach, p. 474: “in ipso introitu terrae.” These may refer to borders between Bohemia and Moravia, or between Bohemia and neighboring lands.

50. Cosmas II: 9, p. 95: “Alter via, qua itur per Zribiam et est exitus de silva in istam terram per castrum Hlumec . . .”

51. Gerlach, p. 472: “preocupat introitum terrae cum tanta multitudine militum et rusticorum . . .”

52. CDB no. 311 (1186): “infra portam provincie nostre;” and CDB no. 358 (1197): “theloneo tam fori quam porte, id est exitus terre.” The toll at Domažlice, at the border on the road from Prague to Regensburg via Plzeň, was probably situated at such a “gate”; CDB no. 52 (ca. 1037–55): “Domaslicyh civitate eciam ebdomadam thelonei.”

53. CDB no. 158 (ca. 1146–48): “in silva, que interiacet inter Cazlawensem ac Brinensem provinciam, in cuius parte habitabant homines, quo vulgo ztras appellantur quorum erat officium quandam viam custodire, ne cui per eam sine speciali mandato principis pateret transitus terram Boemie ingrediendo vel exeundo . . .”

54. Cf. Miller’s definition of violence: “Violence is force, but force characterized variously by suddenness, uncertain warrant, the capacity to induce terror” (*Humiliation*, p. 60).

55. Vincent, pp. 428.

56. Miller, *Humiliation*, p. 86: “Threat bears an intimate connection to violence, but is hardly coterminous with it, covering a wider conceptual terrain. Nevertheless, it helps us understand just why violence can inhere in words or in any sign capable

of threatening, and not just in physical impingement. Threats are words, postures, or actions intended to coerce or influence someone else's behavior by emphasizing the costs to the other of not conceding the threatener's position *and* by suggesting that the threatener will somehow be involved in bringing those costs to bear."

57. Cosmas I: 15, p. 34: "successit paternum in principatum Zpitigneu; post cuius obitum obtinuit Wratislau ducatum . . ." Gerlach, p. 512, concerning Bishop/Duke Henry: "presumpsit ipse ducatum pariter cum episcopatum."

58. Thus such usages: "anno sui ducatus VI anno" (Cosmas II: 17, p. 109).

59. Cosmas I: 9–10, p. 21.

60. For a similar range of expressions, see MSázava, pp. 253ff.

61. Vincent, p. 410: "dicunt se male eligisse sibi dominum, qui tanti ducatus gubernacula regere non posset. . . in ducem eligunt."

62. See, for instance, the first OCS Life of Václav, ed. J. Kolař, FRB I (Prague, 1873), p. 127.

63. As for instance, when Cosmas addresses his audience, "O moderni principes" (II: 17, p. 109) or as Vincent says of Vladislav's summons to announce the Milan campaign (p. 417): "ad eius principes et primates pervenisset."

64. To give just one of many examples from the charters: CDB no. 156 (ca. 1143–48), in which Soběslav is referred to as "duce Boemorum," and his successor Vladislav first as "inclitus princeps Wladizlaus sedem paterni principatus . . . susceperunt" and twice later *dux*. From the chroniclers, see the Canon of Vyšehrad's account of the trial of 1130 (pp. 207–12), where the author refers to Soběslav as "duke," "prince," and "lord" apparently according to his whim.

65. Although Cach is more reliable for chronology, Eduard Fiala provides the best guide to the coins' inscriptions, spelling out variants in detail. Nearly to the end of the eleventh century, these inscriptions are routinely garbled, in the tenth century badly so. Nevertheless, most are somehow recognizeable. While they displayed a title only rarely, already Boleslav I and II issued pennies with the word *dux* or some approximation thereof on the obverse; the reverse inscription often reads "Praga" (*České denáry*, p. 224ff.).

66. Cosmas II: 13, p. 102. Also CDB no. 111 (1130): "ego Sobezlavs, dei gratia Boemorum monarcha . . . sub christianissimo duce Sobezlao, filio regis Wratislai, nonodecimo monarcha Boemorum;" and, also of Soběslav I, CVyšehrad, p. 209 (*monarcha Boemorum*). Its meaning contrasts with *diarcha* and *tetrarcha* each used once in reference to vice-dukes, i.e., rulers of a half or of a quarter; see Chapter 6. Similarly, the Monk of Sázava says of Duke Spitihněv (p. 246): "Zpitigneus monarchiae gubernacula suscepit"; and of King Vratislav (p. 247): "Boemiensis monarchiae arcem regebat."

67. For instance, the reference to the Christian conversion in 845 of fourteen "ex ducibus Boemorum" and for 872 to "duces quinque his nominibus: Sventislan, Vitislan, Heriman, Spoitimar, Moyslan, [Goriwei]" — both in the *Annales Fuldenses*, MGH, SS.r.G. 7, ed. G. H. Pertz and F. Kurze (Hanover, 1878), pp. 35 and 76.

68. See my "From Duke to King: Transforming the Iconography of Rulership," *Majestas* 7 (1998): 51–77.

69. Cf., each with different photographs, O. Votoček, "Přemyslovská rotunda svaté Kateřiny ve Znojmě," *Zprávy památkové péče* 9 (1949): 101–27; J. Mašín, *Ro-manská nástěnná malba v Čechách a na Moravě* (Prague, 1954), pp. 17–24; A. Friedl,

Přemyslovci ve Znojmě (Prague, 1966); A. Merhautová-Livorová, “Ikografie znojemského přemyslovského cyklu,” *Úmení* 31 (1983): 18–26; and A. Merhautová and D. Třeštík, *Romanské umění v Čechách a na Moravě* (Prague, 1984), esp. pp. 117–19.

70. The number of dukes depicted exactly corresponds to the information provided by Cosmas in the *Chronica Boemorum* concerning mythic and historic dukes from Přemysl to King Vratislav. There are, however, too many vice-dukes, and, curiously, though the chapel was constructed in 1134, the last duke of Bohemia shown is Břetislav II, assassinated in 1100.

71. See Chapters 5 and 7.

72. Cosmas I: 7, p. 17: “Post hec indutus veste principali et calciatus calciamento regali acrem ascendit equum arator; tamen sue sortis non inmemor tollit secum suos coturnos ex omni parte subere consutos, quos fecit servari in posterum; et servantur Wisegrad in camera ducis usque hodie et in sempiternum.”

73. With the exception of one Moravian vice-duke, who wears a helmet.

74. The coins present difficulties because of their small size. Occasionally a duke appears to have a band in or hat on a head of curly hair, but whether this was intended as a helmet or a kind of ceremonial headress is impossible to tell. Enough instances occur, however, to rule out a die maker’s error. For description of Vratislav’s crown and various other head ornaments in eleventh-century Czech coins and illustrations, and with other crowns on later coins see, respectively: J. Hásková and M. Vitanovský, “Osobnost krále Vratislava I. (1061–92) na mincích [The likeness of Vratislav I on coins],” *Sborník Národního muzea v Praze, řada A—Historie* 37 (1984): 169–220; and P. Radoměský, “800. Výročí českého království ve světle numismatických památek,” *Časopis Národního muzea, společ. věd* 127 (1958): 43–67.

75. Cosmas II: 23, p. 115: “Ventum erat ad custodie portam, qua itur in Poloniam, et in loco, qui dicitur Dobenina, dux convocat populum et proceres in cetum et fratribus suis a dextris et a sinistris assistantibus, clericis vero et comitibus per longum gyrum considentibus et post eos cunctis militibus astantibus vocat Lanczonem et stantem in medio laudat et commendat eum populo, . . .” From his own position, standing to the right of Vice-duke Otto, Kojata was able to jab him in the ribs: “Tunc Koyata, filius Wsebor, palatinus comes . . . stans a dextris Ottonis fratris ducis fortiter impingit latus eius dicens . . .”

76. The single instance in which non-Přemyslids are made to speak in a contrary vein comes in Cosmas’s story, itself apparently apocryphal, of the Vršovici attack on Duke Jaromír in 999 (Cosmas I: 34, p. 62): “‘Quis iste est,’ inquiunt, ‘homuncio alga vilior, qui super nos debeat esse maior et dominus vocari? An non invenitur inter nos melior, qui et dignior sit dominari?’” It is hard not to wonder whether Cosmas’s attribution of such insubordinate interrogatives to the Vršovici he reviled does not itself demonstrate how unquestioningly the Přemyslids dominated the throne.

77. To give but one example, see CDB no. 313 (ca. 1186) where the youngest brother of Vladislav II, Henry, is called *dux* and his wife, Margaret, *ducissa*.

78. See, for instance, CDB nos. 157/158 (ca. 1146–48), where even ignominious members of the dynasty accorded apparent prestige.

79. The last Přemyslid known to have taken a Czech wife was Duke Oldřich, although the names of Spitihněv’s wife and Vratislav’s first wife are unrecorded. This seems to have meant that the marriages of nonruling Přemyslids had to be arranged, and probably approved, by the duke himself.

80. See also R. Schmidt, “Die Einsetzung der böhmischen Herzöge auf den Thron zu Prag,” in H. Beumann and W. Schröder, eds., *Aspekte der Nationenbildung im Mittelalter, Ergebnisse der Marburger Rundgespräche 1972–1975* (Marburg, 1978), pp. 439–63.

81. Cosmas II: 14: “Prima die qua inthronizatus est”; II: 18: “omnibus Boemiis faventibus sublimatur in solio”; II: 46: “obtineat solium ac Boemie ducatum”; III: 27: “cum Zvatoplik ducem intronizarent”; III: 28: “elevatus est autem in solium”; colophon: “eodem anno, quo ducem Zobeclaum constat intronizatum fuisse”; MSázava, p. 253: “glorioso duce Sobeslao in solium paternae gloriae cum omnium Boemiae principum exultatione sublimato . . . intronizari consentiant”; CVyšehrad, p. 232: “illi illum et illi illum eligere in inthronizare contendebant”; p. 235: “intronizato autem principe Bohemorum Wladislao”; Vincent, p. 409: “paterna sede intronizatus collocatur”; Gerlach, p. 464: “Tam filium suum Fridericum solempniter intronizatum prefecit dominio totius Boemie”; and p. 467: “iuxta morem patriae solempniter inthronizatur.” AHO likewise refers to the installation of vice-dukes; p. 393: “Wacezlaus dux intronizatus est”; p. 395: “Lupoldus dux intronizatus est in Moraviam”; p. 396: “intronizavit eum in patria sua, scilicet in Moravia.”

82. Cosmas II: 46, p. 153: “obtineat solium ac Boemie ducatum”; Gerlach, p. 464: “solempniter intronizatum prefecit dominio totius Boemie.”

83. The duke of Carinthia was similarly enthroned on a stone throne, which survives into modern times; cf. H. Dopsch, “. . . in sedem Karinthani ducatus intronizavi. . . . Zum älteste gesicherten Nachweis der Herzogseinsetzung in Kärnten,” in L. Kolmer and P. Segl, eds., *Regensburg, Bayern und Europa: Festschrift Kurt Reindel* (Regensburg, 1995), pp. 103–36.

84. Gerlach, p. 467: “Zobeclaum paterno insignitus ducatu Pragam petit, ubi tam a clero, quam a populo magnifice susceptus iuxta morem patriae solempniter inthronizatur, ac deinceps regnat feliciter.”

85. Cosmas II: 42, p. 78–79: “Post expletis rite funebriis exequiis accipit Bracizlaum fratrualem et ducit eum ad sedem principalem; et sicut semper in electione ducis faciunt, per superioris aule cancellos decem milia nummorum aut plus per populum spargunt, ne ducem in solio compriment, sed potius sparsos nummos rapiant. Mox duce locato in solio et facto silentio tenens dextram sui fratruelis Iaromir dixit ad populum: ‘Ecce dux vester!’ At illi succlamant ter: ‘Krlessu,’ quod est Kyrieleison. Et iterum Iaromir ad populum: ‘Accedant,’ inquit, ‘de gente Muncia! accedant de gente Těpca!’ et vocat eos nominatim, quos norat armis potentiores, fide meliores, milicia fortiores et divitiis eminentiores.” The circumstances of Břetislav I’s designation must have been exceptional—at least as far as subsequent practice. Jaromír was the elder Přemyslid but ineligible for the throne by virtue of his blindness, and in any event his role seems both to mark his own release from prison and his public renunciation of a claim to the throne.

86. Cosmas III: 27, p. 197: “Quem ilico rex collaudat, et populus insipiens per castra ter Kyrieleison clamat.” ‘Kyrie’ is also mentioned at the enthronement of Spitišněv in 1055 (Cosmas II: 14, p. 103: “cantantes kyrieleyson, cantilenam dulcem.”) A similar acclamation seems to have accompanied the selection of bishops, that is, at the public ceremony held in the Czech Lands to mark their status as bishop-elect before beginning the journey to Mainz for investiture and consecration.

87. Cosmas II: 50, p. 157–58: “Ipse autem Cosmas episcopus cum clero et magnifica processione suscipiens eum in porta civitatis ante templum sancte Marie deducit

ad solium, et secundum ritum huius terre ab universis comitibus et satrapis est intronizatus dux iunior Bracizlaus.”

88. This is not to invoke something like “the duke’s two bodies,” along the lines famously described by Ernst Kantorowicz (*The King’s Two Bodies: A Study on Medieval Political Theology* [Princeton, 1957]). No notions of the duke’s “never dying” seems to have existed, for instance, nor did abstractions of “duke,” analogous to those for “king.” Rather, the *ducatus* and the *solium* were at issue.

89. CDB nos. 245 (ca. 1158–69) and 246 (1169); cited at length in Ch. 1.

90. See Chapter 7.

91. CDB nos. 289 (ca. 1174–1178): “Terram autem ad castrum Strachotin pertinentem”; and 292 (1180): “et quicquid ibidem terre fuit ad aliquod castrum pertinens.” It is used also in conjunction with what appear to be administrative divisions of the holdings of the church of Prague, oriented around *curiae*: “de patrimonio nostro villam Mrachniz ad curiam nostram Massoviz pertinentem” (CDB no. 335 [ca. 1184–92]).

92. CDB no. 115 (ca. 1131): “He sunt ville ad Olomucensem ecclesiam pertinentes . . . He vero ad Prerovensensem ecclesiam pertinent. . . . He ville ad Spitigneensem ecclesiam pertinent. . . . Hee ville ad Bracizlavensem ecclesiam pertinent . . . Hee ville ad Znoymensem ecclesiam pertinent . . .” The same charter also refers to “theloneo, quod ad pontem pertinet” as well as “He ville Cromesirensi curie adiacent.” With regard to the provostship of Saint Václav: “He ville subiecte sunt prepositure sancti Wenczelai . . .” See Chapter 4.

93. From this remark (cited inaccurately as “Corona Bohemiae”), František Graus argues for the appearance of an abstract notion of the state “around 1165” (“Origines de l’état et de la noblesse en Moravie et en Bohême,” *Revue des Études Slaves* 39 [1961]: 58).

94. Cosmas III: 13, p. 174.

95. Gerlach, p. 464: “Nam filium suum Fridericum solempniter intronizatum prefecit dominio totius Boemie, solum Budim et alia nonnulla reservans sibi ad usum vitae.”

96. Gerlach, p. 466.

97. Gerlach, p. 466: “Et Fridericus quidem quatuor integris annis, . . . modo in Ungaria, modo in curia imperatoris, sive ubicunque potuit, soleto exercebatur exilio.”

98. Cosmas, III: 43, pp. 217–18: “Bořivoj autem non inmemor accepti beneficii dat fratri suo dimidiam sui ducatus partem, . . .”

99. CVyšehrad, p. 224: “congregato exercitui Wladizlaw paulo ante de exilio reductum praefecit, cumque donativum militibus erogaret, Wladislao nongentas marcas denariorum tradidit, quibus ille acceptis cum suis complicitibus fugam latenter iniit.”

100. CDB no. 279 (Feb. 1177): “quod quando divina clementia me liberavit de carceris angustia, facultates non habui, sicut honorem principalem deceret, et tamen pro pecunia premere populum non volui, qui longa expectatione dominationem meam desiderabiliter expectaverunt, sed quasdam res ecclesie sancte Marie in Claderub ad necessitatem meam, non tamen sine voluntate abbatis et fratrum, accepi.”

101. CDB no. 246: “Ad petitionem autem fratris mei Heinrichi addo eis villam nomine Levin et silvam . . .” Later Henry, bishop of Prague, donated property apparently inherited from his father, this same Henry (CDB no. 313 [ca. 1186]: “do villam de

patrio iure michi derelictam nomine Nalevine ob redemptionem peccatorum meorum et prefati patris mei, . . .”). Vladislav treated his loyal younger brothers quite differently than had been the norm among the Přemyslids, explicitly as part of his efforts to restructure the dynasty; see Chapter 6.

102. CDB no. 270 (1174 [ante Sept. 8]); the charter makes clear that Oldřich made his grant as *dux* of Olomouc and in anticipation of his departure for Italy.

103. Cosmas III: 51, p. 224: “Nam dux Wladizlaus inmani motus ira contra fratrem suum Zobeizlaum mense marcio movit arma et eum cum suis omnibus expulit de Moravia et reddidit Conrado filio Lutoldi hereditatem suam.”

104. CVyšehrad, p. 203: “Sobeslaus dictus venit in Moraviam, et ablata Ottoni provincia Dedalrici, restituit filium eius Vratizlaum in paternum sedem.” The application of the adjective “paternal” to the seats or territories of the vice-dukes is ubiquitous throughout the twelfth-century chronicles after Cosmas.

105. Cosmas II: 13, p. 102.

106. E.g., Vincent, p. 418: “fratrem suum patruelem” of Vladislav II and Spitihněv, the eldest son of Bořivoj; also CDB no. 312 (ca. 1186), where Frederick refers to Bishop Henry as “frater meus Heinricus Pragensis episcopus.”

107. Jaroslav Boubín provides a straightforward account of this early period but neglects to treat the eleventh and twelfth centuries systematically, discussing primarily the first decades of the twelfth century and the 1140s rather than the overall pattern of succession (“Počátky zástupnických vlád v Čechách [On the origins of the rule of succession in Bohemia],” *Folia Historica Bohemica* 10 [1986]: 75–105).

108. This account of succession and of the relationships between these early tenth century dukes appears, for instance, in Gumpold’s tenth-century *vita* (FRB I, p. 148), the Second Church Slavonic Life of Václav (Kantor, *Origins of Christianity*, pp. 71–72), and the Life of Ludmila beginning *Fuit in provincia* (FRB I, p. 144). *Crescente Fide* puts it similarly, though noting that Václav was chosen at a *colloquium* (FRB I, p. 183): “Interea convenerunt omnes populi religionis illius, et elegerunt beatum Vendeizlavum ducem pro patre suo, et sedere eum fecerunt in throno ipsius.”

109. See Chapter 7.

110. Cosmas III: 15, p. 176. On such investiture, again see Chapter 7.

111. Cosmas III: 15, p. 176: “Tunc Odalricus mittens legatum valde disertum virum, Neusse nomine, filium Dobremil, arguit fratrem suum Borivoy, increpat comites et minatur eis, iactat se esse etate maiorem et secundum patrie morem debitum, sibi iniuste sublatum per fratrem iuniorem poscit principalis sedis honorem. Qui quamvis iustam causam habeat, tamen frustra caudam captas, cum cornua amittas. Sic Odalricus fratrum suum Bořivoj iam confirmatum in solio tarde nititur pellere de regno.”

112. Cosmas III: 15, p. 178: “Qui postquam animadverterunt unanimem esse cum duce Borivoy constantiam Boemorum . . .”

113. Cosmas III: 19, pp. 184–85.

114. CVyšehrad, p. 210: “Insuper et germanum tuum tamdiu in vinculis pro nihilo multa mala perferre pateris?”

115. *Rule and Conflict in an Early Medieval Society: Ottonian Saxony* (Oxford, 1979), pp. 27–31.

116. See the Conclusion.

CHAPTER 4. THE CHURCH

1. See, for example, Jiří Kejř: “Er blieb dem Herrscher untergeordnet und nahm eigentlich nur die Stellung eines herzoglichen Kaplans ein.” (“Böhmen zur Zeit Friedrich Barbarossas,” in E. Engel and B. Töpfer, eds., *Kaiser Friedrich Barbarossa: Landesbau—Aspekte seiner Politik—Wirkung* [Weimar, 1994], p. 105).

2. E.g., Zdeněk Fiala: “Entsprechend den Fundatorenrechten betrachteten sie die Prager Bischöfe als ihre Kapläne . . .” (“Die Organisation der Kirche,” p. 134); alternatively, František Graus: “Schon durch die Lage seines Besitzes war der Prager Bischof dem Herzog ausgeliefert; er wurde tatsächlich zu seinem ‘capellanus.’” (“Böhmen zwischen Bayern und Sachsen: Zur böhmischen Kirchengeschichte des 10. Jahrhunderts,” *Historica* 17 [1969]: 29; similarly p. 6.)

3. The approach here differs from that of František Hrubý, whose 1916 study constitutes the most thorough examination of the institutional church in the Czech Lands: “Církevní zřízení v Čechách a na Moravě od X. do XIII. století a jeho poměr ke státu [Ecclesiastical administration in Bohemia and Moravia from the tenth to the thirteenth centuries and its relationship to the state],” *ČČH* 22 (1916): 17–53, 257–87, 385–421; (1917): 38–73. Beginning with internal diocesan administrative structures (archpresbyters, archdiaconates, and parishes), concluding with tithes, and drawing heavily on comparative evidence throughout, he treats a comprehensive range of issues even though his analysis, unfortunately, relies on some of the same mistaken assumptions (e.g., about founder’s rights, ducal influence on the bishop, and control of church property) prevalent elsewhere in the literature.

4. Cosmas II: 26, p. 119: “XXV fratres ordinavit, dans eis religionis habitum et secundum regulam equalem cibi et potus mensuram.” The witness list to CDB no. 296 (ca. 1080–82) includes twenty-five men who may logically be identified as canons of Prague. Comparing this list of Prague and Vyšehrad with the canons named in CDB no. 308 (1185), an exchange made with the Vyšehrad chapter, yields totals of fourteen and eleven canons at Vyšehrad respectively.

5. The earliest evidence concerning the Jewish community in Prague appears in Cosmas II: 45 and III: 4; the latter concerns the year 1096 when French and German crusaders passed through Prague, forcing the Jews there to convert or be killed. The synagogue itself is first attested in Cosmas III: 56.

6. See below.

7. Demonstrated by the appointment of monks from one house as abbot of another, as noted by the Monk of Sázava or the Benedictine compiler(s) of the *Annals of Hradiště-Opatovice*.

8. Evidenced throughout Gerlach’s chronicle.

9. See Chapter 1, n. 98.

10. The palace chapel was dedicated in 1185, as noted in CDB no. 308: “ad dedicationem capelle ducis infra muros in Praga, que est in honore omnium sanctorum.”

11. Either a handful of the highest-ranking canons or a longer, fuller list appears in a large number of charters, from the first to include a witness list to the last of this period.

12. Outside Lanzo, the chaplain whom Vratislav attempted to appoint bishop of Prague in place of his brother Jaromír, chaplains are chiefly mentioned in witness lists,

and only a few are associated with the duke or his wife (CDB nos. 288, 307, 309, 317, 320, 344, 348).

13. CDB nos. 208 (1160), 228 (1165), 246 (1169), 270 (1174), 279 (1177), 304 (1184), 320 (1188), 323 (1189), 335 (ca. 1184–92), 363 (1197). I have excluded a few documents where the only abbot listed as a witness is a party to the document.

14. Compare, for instance, CDB nos. 228, 335, and 363, where only one abbot appears and none is the same, with CDB nos. 208 and 323, where groups of ten and of seven abbots are listed. In CDB nos. 246, 270, 279, 304, and 320, the abbots appear in smaller groups of four, two, three, four, and three, respectively, but there is little repetition—and certainly no pattern—of abbots or monasteries.

15. Gerlach describes, to note but two examples, the Czech clergy—and prominent laymen too—gathering to celebrate the dedication of the high altar at Strahov (p. 482) and for the funeral of Abbot Gottschalk of Želiv (p. 505).

16. To fully engage the matter is beyond the scope of this chapter; cf. A. P. Vlasto, *The Entry of the Slavs into Christendom* (Cambridge, 1970), pp. 86–90.

17. See Chapter 5.

18. Cosmas I: 22, pp. 42–44. For a lucid introduction to the main issues governing the literature on ecclesiastical and imperial politics in tenth-century Bohemia, see Graus, “Böhmen zwischen Bayern und Sachsen.”

19. *Othlonis vita sancti Wolfgangi episcopi*, MGH, SS 4, ed. G. Waitz (Hanover, 1841), p. 538: “Sed quoniam Poemia provincia sub Ratisponensis ecclesiae parrochia extitit, . . .” The absence of source material renders any definitive conclusion problematic, but the appearance as “new” of most of the “building blocks” of Christianity at various times in later decades reinforces an impression of relative inactivity on the part of the church of Regensburg—or from elsewhere—throughout much of the ninth and tenth centuries.

20. Cosmas makes it sound like an accident (I: 23, p. 45): “Tunc imperator, sicut erat divine legis amator, consilio ducum et principum, sed precipue presulum, consulens saluti et novitati christiane plebis iussit Magontinum archiepiscopum, qui tunc preerat curti, et eum ordinaret in episcopum.” Again, see Graus, “Böhmen zwischen Bayern und Sachsen.”

21. Cosmas reports them in strict, legalistic language quite unlike his usual prose. That Cosmas had access to written materials, now lost, concerning Czech ecclesiastical matters, is demonstrated by explicit references early in his chronicle (I: 15, p. 35): “quia iam ab aliis scripta legimus: quedam in privilegio Moraviensis ecclesie, quedam in epilogo eiusdem terre atque Boemie, quedam in vita vel passione sanctissimi nostri patroni et martyris Wenczelai.” The first two of these are unidentified and presumed not to have survived the Middle Ages. For some text of the “Decrees,” officially redacted or not, to have existed in Cosmas’s day is therefore possible. The detailed stipulations about procedure similarly argue the likelihood of their implementation. Incidentally, a thirteenth-century manuscript preserved in the metropolitan library in Olomouc includes a stand-alone copy of the “Decrees” excerpted from Cosmas: Olomouc, Zemský Archiv, CO 230, ff. 109v.–158r.

22. E.g., Cosmas II: 4, p. 86: “Similiter et de his, qui homicidiis infamantur, archipresbiter comiti illius civitatis nomina eorum ascribat, et comes eos conveniat”; and p. 88: “Similiter et qui in agris sive in silvis suos sepeliunt mortuos, huius rei presumptores archidiacono bovem et CCC in fiscum ducis solvant nummos.”

23. Cosmas II: 17, p. 108.

24. Cosmas describes Jaromír's study in terms that seem clearly to indicate his living outside Bohemia ("reddit de studio"), and notes of himself that he studied "grammar" under Magister Franco in Liège (Cosmas II: 18, p. 110; and III: 59, p. 237).

25. Cosmas II: 21, p. 112–13.

26. CDB no. 155 (ca. 1142–48). See Chapter 2.

27. The Premonstratensians made provisions for women soon after their arrival in Bohemia, beginning at Doksany (Gerlach, p. 496). The first Benedictine house for women in nearly two centuries was established by Duchess Judith at Teplice (Vincent, p. 408).

28. On foundations by freemen, see Chapter 2. The prevalence of the new orders, Cistercian and Premonstratensian, may reflect broader trends in monasticism in Europe and the Czech Lands, as much as the concerns or preferences of specific magnates, but too little is known about religious culture in Bohemia and Moravia to speculate with confidence. Concerning monasteries and monastic life in the Czech Lands, and the poorly-documented houses particularly, the scholarship is spotty and out-of-date, besides a few archeological and art historical studies. The only treatments of religious orders consist mostly of narrative entries on each house and its abbots: D. K. Čermák, *Premonstráti v Čechách a na Moravě* [Premonstratensians in Bohemia and Moravia] (Prague, 1877) and H. Altrichter, *Die Zisterzienser in Mähren bis zu Karl IV* (Brno/Munich/Vienna, 1943). These, and similar pamphlet-style books on specific monasteries, seem to be based on modern in-house histories, whose accuracy seems dubious.

29. For instance, Gerlach, p. 477: "abbas Gotschalkus in Franciam ad capitulum Praemonstratense . . ."

30. CDB no. 147 (ca. 1146), where he is identified only as "D. prepositum."

31. See below.

32. CDB nos. 40, 46, 52, 56, 83, 91, 97, 98, 102, 154, and 179. These items survive in a confirmation charter falsely dated 1205 (CDB II no. 359f.).

33. CDB nos. 375f. (Břevnov), 381f. (Rajhrad), 382f. (Stará Boleslav), 383f. (Litoměřice), 386f. (Opatovice), 387f. (Vyšehrad), 390f. (Kladruby), 396f. (Plasy), and 399f. (Litomyšl). Often the list of holdings was reiterated in new charters of confirmation issued in the thirteenth century. For a thorough discussion of one of the forged foundation charters for Vyšehrad, see Chapter 2.

34. The contrary is the usual practice in the Czech literature.

35. AHO, p. 394.

36. CDB no. 115: "in huius scripti nostri serie, que vel predecessorum nostrorum vel nostris sunt acquisita temporibus, cuncta, que in villis vel possessionibus ad eandem pertinent ecclesiam, denotari volumus."

37. Olomouc, Zemský archiv, MCO #1 and 2. Although Friedrich dates these documents ca. 1131, Jan Bistrický has persuasively argued that they were issued between July 1141 and early 1142: "Studien zum Urkunden-, Brief- und Handschriftenwesen des Bischofs Heinrich Zdík von Olmütz," *Archiv für Diplomatik* 26 (1980): 135–257.

38. CDB no. 115: "Cromesir cum tabernariis et theloneo, quod ad pontem pertinent"; Cosmas II: 21, p. 113: "insuper et centum marcas argenti annuatim de camera ducis accipiat."

39. Friedrich and others identify the *prepositura sancti Wenceslai* with the castle

of Podivín. There are several reasons why this is unlikely, and others to indicate that the provost of the cathedral is meant. First, while the villages are not strictly organized geographically, those pertaining to Znojmo, Brno, Břeclav, and Spítihněv are indeed in the south and relatively nearby those churches, whereas those allotted to the provost are centrally located, overlapping with the villages of the bishop, Přerov and Kroměříž. Second, the endowment for the *prepositura* is quite large. Third, and most significantly, in 1141 the bishop was not in possession of Podivín, since the castle remained in dispute with, and presumably in possession of, the bishop of Prague until Zdík secured its grant from Vladislav II circa 1146–48 (CDB no. 157); in fact, the castle, its appurtenances, and mint are not listed by name in this charter of “everything” the bishop owns. On the other hand, Cosmas’s description of the Prague chapter’s income and evidence from charters for Vyšehrad indicate that the provost’s income was often accounted separate from the church and that he was responsible for seeing that the appropriate monies were dispensed to the canons. The diocesan divisions are listed geographically, moreover, and the *prepositura* appears immediately after the “church of Olomouc.” Finally, since the Olomouc chapter was reorganized and enlarged at the time of the church’s translation and since the new cathedral was itself dedicated to Saint Václav, identification with the provost of the chapter, rather than Podivín, seems the most direct reading.

40. For this analysis, I have relied upon the modern Czech place-names given by Friedrich in the footnotes to the charter.

41. The pattern of distribution should be qualified, since the areas northeast of Olomouc, between Olomouc and Litomyšl, in a broad swath along the boundary between Bohemia and Moravia, and on the border with Hungary were heavily forested and/or mountainous, and unsettled.

42. CVyšehrad, pp. 223–24: “episcopus Olomucensis Heinricus in villa, quae Blansko vocatur, ecclesiam constructurus erat; haec enim villa multo ante tempore sub potestate praedecessorum eius fuerat; Wratislaus autem, unus de ducibus Moravie, bonum propositum boni pontificis, ut cognovit, curiose pertractare coepit, qualiter hoc propositum destruere posset.” On the nature and progress of Zdík’s struggles with the vice-dukes, see below and Chapter 6.

43. Cosmas II: 26, p. 119: “dividit, ita ut unusquisque frater annuatim XXX modios tritici et totidem avenae, insuper et IIII denarios ad septimanam pro carne sine intermissione haberet.”

44. CDB no. 280. Approximately seven years earlier, Zdeslav was already archdeacon of Plzeň, though Dethleb served in that capacity at Bechyně and Domaslav was archdeacon of Prague; Slavon and Hermann are listed simply as canons of Prague (CDB no. 251 [ca. 1170]).

45. CDB no. 285 (ca. end 1175–beg. 1178. In a charter issued only few years later, these same four are identified as archdeacons but no place names are given (CDB no. 296 [ca. 1180–82]).

46. Cosmas III: 32, p. 202: “ad curtem episcopi in villa Rokican.”

47. CDB no. 303 (1184).

48. CDB no. 349 (1194): “predium quoddam, cuius media pars erat ipsorum, Rowni nomine, et alteram medietatem argento suo comparaverunt, scilicet quadraginta et quinque marcis examini argenti, quia propter sui vicinitatem valde necessarium erat episcopali curie, quae dicitur Rudnice, ab eis accepti in perpetuam epis-

coporum Pragensium possessionem.” The charter goes on to record the complaints of the Hospitallers concerning the collection of tithes on their property and the bishop’s reaffirmation of their rights.

49. CDB no. 136 (11 April 1144).

50. CDB no. 111 (1130).

51. CDB no. 387f.; see Chapter 2.

52. CDB no. 111: “aut predecessorum meorum incuria, aut, quod magis est credibile, prepositorum eiusdem loci negligencia, redactum, illud inquam monasterium summa vigilancia curavi emendare et xeniis, quantis debui quantisque potui, exornare.”

53. CDB nos. 288 (ca. 1174–78) and 287 (1178), respectively.

54. CDB no. 287: “quia tantum a tempore patris mei fuit eis inminuta prebenda de tributo pacis, ut nunc unus quisque C denarios, raro plures, sepe vero pauciores accipiat, qui tempore patris mei mille et DCC accipiat. Et de tributo sicut solebant, semper accipiant.”

55. CDB no. 55 (ca. 1057).

56. Gerlach, p. 489–90: “Credi non potest, quantam deinceps famem, quantam penuriam omnium rerum pertulerint . . .” Gerlach implies that similar hardship prevailed at Milevsko: “ego G[erlacus] suscepi locum istum regendum et nomen abbatis, in quo usque hodie laboro inter multa adversa et fere nulla prospera misericordiam dei expectans.”

57. See Chapter 1, n. 16.

58. CDB no. 40 (1000).

59. CDB no. 155.

60. Gerlach, p. 486.

61. Gerlach, p. 465.

62. Gerlach, p. 484.

63. Gerlach, p. 467: “Construxit et aliam ordini nostro domum in Doxan. locans ibi religiosas feminas, quas de Dunewald, Coloniensis diocesis, adduci fecerat.”

64. Gerlach, p. 483.

65. Cosmas II: 26, p. 119: “ducens originem de gente Teutonica.”

66. Cosmas II: 28, p. 123: “Fuit autem in capella Iohannis episcopi clericus nomine Hagno, vir Teutonicus.”

67. CVyšehrad, p. 213: “Quam ob rem duo de canonicis Pragensis ecclesiae, unus ex parte domini episcopi, videlicet ydiota, qui vocabatur Heroldus, qui vicarius et capellanus Bambergensis episcopi et archipresbyter Pilznensis, quod non decebat, fuit, . . .”

68. Cosmas II: 22, p. 114: “in curia ducis quidam Lanczo capellanus, de Saxonia nobili prosapia natus”; III: 49, p. 221: “quia Traiectensi vico et ex eadem Lothrinia ortus fuit prosapia.”

69. See below.

70. CDB nos. 296 (ca. 1180–82) and 308 (1185), in which *Burchardus magister* is clearly affiliated with the chapter at Vyšehrad; 323 (1189), 325 (1 Oct. 1190), and 335 (ca. 1184–92): “Engelbertus Bechinenensis archidiaconus.”

71. Cosmas II: 51, p. 158: “mittunt unum ex Latinis nomine Constantium in Wasconiam, . . .”

72. CDB nos. 296 (ca. 1180–82), 309 (1185) [*capellanus*], and 348 (1194).

73. In arguing that “national consciousness” results from competition between

ethnic groups, František Graus nevertheless considers it to have appeared first, during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, in ecclesiastical circles (“Die Bildung eines Nationalbewusstseins im mittelalterlichen Böhmen,” *Historica* 13 [1966]: 21–24).

74. Cosmas II: 7, p. 168: “Et quia hospes est, plus ecclesie prodest; non eum parntela exhaustiet, non liberorum cura aggravabit, non cognatorum turba despoliet, quicquid sibi undecumque veniet, totum sponsa eius et mater ecclesia habebit.” This remark is in striking contrast to the words Cosmas attributes to Kojata concerning Lanzo (II: 23, p. 116): “. . . cur sordet nostratum clerus non modus scientia eque pre-ditus ut iste Teutonicus? O si tot habeas episcopatus, quot cernis capellanos hac in terra progenitos episcopio dignos! An putas, quod alienigena plus nos diligit et melius huic terre cupiat quam indigena? Humana quippe sic est natura, ut unusquisque, quacumque sit terrarum, plus suam quam alienam non solum diligit gentes, verum etiam si quiret, peregrina flumina in patriam verteret. Malumus ergo, malumus caninam caudam aut asini merdam quam Lanczonem locarier super sacram cathedram.”

75. Gerlach, pp. 469; elsewhere he refers to *nostri maiores natu* (p. 481).

76. Several of the letters of Ulrich of Steinfeld to Abbots Gezo of Strahov or Gottschalk of Želiv speak directly of canons sent by him to their congregations, e.g., CDB nos. 187, 192, 193, 196, 254, 255, 256, and 257.

77. See, for instance, a letter of Ulrich of Steinfeld recalling a canon who, upon a return visit to Steinfeld, found his family missed him too much to tolerate his being so far away; CDB no. 192: “Sed cum ad nos venisset, invenit matrem suam, que eum genuit, et quosdam propinquos suos in tanta desolatione, ut a lacrimis continere non posset. Unde obnix me rogavit, ut eum apud nos aliquanto tempore manere permitterem.”

78. CVyšehrad, pp. 236–37: “accersito Wernhero lapicida et caementario.” Werner was called in to rebuild the monastery of St. George after it was badly damaged in the revolt of 1142. According to the chronicler, he stole certain relics of Saint Ludmila and was compelled to bring them back to Prague at the urging of Gervasius.

79. See below.

80. MSázava, p. 269: “Metensis genere.” When troubles within the community and with the bishop led to his removal and the house’s transferral to the Praemonstratensians, he joined the Benedictine monks at Sázava.

81. CDB no. 135: “Magistrum eciam eiusdem ecclesie Heinricum de terra expulimus, quia presbyter erat et uxorem ibi duxerat et insuper eciam monachus in terra sua fuisse dicebatur, et sine formata in Boemiam venerat.” On Guido and his visits to the Czech Lands, see L. Spätling, “Kardinal Guido und seine Legation in Böhmen-Mähren (1142–1146),” *Mitteilungen des Österreichischen Instituts für Geschichtsforschung* 66 (1958): 306–30.

82. The letter from Siegfried of Mainz to all his suffragans against clerical concubinage was presumably received by Bishop Jaromír of Prague, though to little apparent effect (CDB no. 74 [ca. 1074–74]).

83. Cosmas III: 43: “Eodem anno [1117] / Rerum cunctarum / comes indimota mearum, / Bis Februi quinis / obiit Bozeteha kalendis”; and III: 51: “Betoldus, cliens Heinrici, filii mei . . .”

84. Magnus is listed in the necrology of Prague Cathedral (*Necrologium Bohemicum*, ed. Graus, p. 803): “Obiit Magnus canonicus, pater Danihelis episcopi.” Daniel’s brother, Alexander, is named as provost of Vyšehrad in a papal letter of this time;

CDB no. 136 (11 April 1144) as well as by Vincent (p. 416): “Alexander, frater domini Danielis, Pragensis praepositi, ad imperatorem Graeciae a duce Waladizlao dirigitur, et ibi feliciter in bona confessione in festo sancti Lucae evangelistae migravit a seculo.” He is also listed in the Prague necrology (p. 808): “Obiit Alexander diaconus Wise-gradensis ecclesie prepositus et cancellarius.”

85. Henry Zdík, bishop of Olomouc from 1126 to 1151, is named in Cosmas’s chronicle already before his elevation to the see and omnipresent in documents and charters until his death; his life can be reconstructed in detail but no family is known. Cosmas II: 51: “[1123] Mense Marcio comes Dlugomil et Gumprecht et Gilbertus et Henricus, qui et Sdik, et cum eis alii Hierosolimam perrexerunt.” Older scholarship had identified Zdík with Cosmas’s son Henry, a mistake no longer current in the literature; cf. Z. Fiala, “Jindřich Zdík a Kosmas: O původu Jindřicha Zdíka [Henry Zdík and Cosmas: On the origin of Henry Zdík],” *Zápisky katedry československých dějin a archivního studia* 7 (1963): 7–19.

86. CDB no. 285 (ca. 1175–78): “Chrenoni, filio Iurate, prepositi Melnicensis.” While nothing in this reference specifically indicates a secular life, the document records the exchange between a religious community, that of Doksany, with one man, making it likely that the latter was a layman. It is possible to imagine that his father was the same Jurata whom Cardinal Guido deposed as provost of Prague in 1143 [CDB no. 135].

87. Two late twelfth-century witness lists include a layman called *Jan filius Episcopi* (CDB nos. 300 [1183] and 304 [1184]); whether he appears more often is difficult to determine since the name Jan/John was relatively common. It is also difficult to determine for certain which bishop was his father. Assuming Jan was at least twenty years old when he witnessed these charters yields a *terminus ante quem* of 1163 for his birthdate. If one takes his absence from earlier charters as an argument for his relative youth, then he was perhaps the son of Otto (1140–48), less likely of John I (1139), and most probably of Daniel (1150–67) — if his father was bishop of Prague. If he was the son of a bishop of Olomouc, of whom several were themselves named John, then identification becomes impossible.

88. CDB no. 135.

89. *Ibid.*

90. Gerlach, p. 511. Once again, the abbots of Břevnov and Sázava were deposed for unspecified reasons (“depositis Brevnovense et Procopense abbatibus”).

91. CDB no. 124 (ca. 1126–40): “locavi duos canonicos ita nominatos: Raz et Bezded, quibus ipsum locum usque ad finem vite eorum concessi. Sed si peccatis intervenientibus proles eorum non fuerit docta, eis precepi, ut in vita sua ordinarent, quod iste numeros canonicorum duorum non desit usque in finem mundi.”

92. CVyšehrad, pp. 225–26: “Nam germanus suus parochianus ecclesie ibidem constructae erat.”

93. CDB no. 290 (ca. 1174–78): “Plebanus, quem ipsi libenter elegerint ad ecclesiam eorum, concedo . . .” The German’s parish church was apparently St. Peter’s, since the charter also stipulates that they were not required to swear oaths except in front of that church: “Nusquam iurare debent Theutonici nisi ante ecclesiam sancti Petri, nisi principis sit mandatum.”

94. Vincent, p. 429.

95. CDB nos. 251 (ca. 1170), 280 (March 1177), and 296 (ca. 1180–83).

96. Gerlach, p. 476: “Pilgrimus, praepositus tunc Pragensis;” see below.

97. Gerlach, p. 477.

98. CDB nos. 319 (1188), 332 and 333 (1191), papal letters, and 349 (1194), the charter confirming final resolution of the conflict. The first letter lays out the course of events that led to the conflict, including: “nobilis vir P., miles de Boemia, cum uxore, matre, mattertera et una nepte habitum hospitalis accepit atque in facie Pragensis ecclesie professionem faciens in manu B. prioris, villas omnes, quas possidebat, iure possidendas hereditario eidem contulit hospitali. . . . Ad hec uxor prefati militis a patre suo de monasterio est extracta et, professione, que tenebatur astricta, posthabita, alii fuit tradita in uxorem.”

99. Gerlach, p. 483. On Hroznata, see Chapter 2.

100. CVyšehrad, p. 230.

101. Deriving from the Latin *castellum*, the Czech word for a church building, *kostel*, presumably originated in this context.

102. The contrary assumption is ubiquitous in the literature, apparently extrapolated from the works of Václav Vaněček. In studies like *Základy právního postavení klášterů*, Vaněček reads the twelfth century back from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and, moreover, considers the question of ecclesiastical independence only with regard to certain legal categories, namely subjection to founder’s rights and the absence of economic and judicial immunities. A view thus grounded in a predetermined understanding of what *ought* to constitute ecclesiastical independence is simply anachronistic for the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

103. See Chapter 6, and below.

104. Vincent, p. 427.

105. CVyšehrad, p. 209: “Sequenti vero die dux Sobieslaus congregavit nobiles et ignobiles in palatium Wissegradense, etiam Pragenses canonicos, atque nos ibidem fuimus. Fuit multitudo magna virorum in concilio illo, pene tria millia.”

106. The only reference to such pertains to the shieldbearer of the bishop of Prague on the imperial campaign to Milan, whose job must have been to shield the bishop in the thick of battle rather than to carry weaponry the bishop would use (Vincent, p. 432.)

107. Cosmas I: 10, p. 22 and I: 14, p. 32.

108. *Annales Fuldenses*, p. 35: “Hludowicus XIII ex ducibus Boemanorum cum hominibus suis christianam religionem desiderantes suscepit et in octavis theophaniae baptizari iussit.”

109. The reasons why Bořivoj’s baptism is unlikely to have taken place at Methodius’s hands are convincingly described by Vlasto (pp. 86–87), though I disagree with his interpretation of Cosmas’s sources and intention in these passages.

110. See Chapter 5.

111. Cosmas I: 36, p. 65: “Hanc continuo mittens dux tulit in sua nec tamen antiqua solvit conubia, quia tunc temporis prout cuique placuit, binas vel ternas coniuges habere licuit; nec nefas fuit viro rapere alterius uxorem et uxori alterius nubere marito.”

112. Cosmas II: 4, p. 85.

113. Cosmas II: 4, pp. 85–89. The “Decrees” themselves consist of nearly three pages in Bretholz’s edition and cannot, therefore, be cited here in full. The punishments vary from being sold into slavery for infractions against sexual morality, to flogging, imprisonment and fines for alcohol offenses, and miscellaneous fines for Sunday viola-

tions. Homicide—not at all a crime defined exclusively by Christian standards—seems to have been included in the “Decrees” in order to stipulate the procedure for trial by ordeal, which was to be overseen by archpresbyters.

114. E.g., Cosmas II: 4, p. 88.

115. Cosmas II: 4, p. 88.

116. Cosmas III: 1, 161: “ita modo principatus sui in exordio christiane religionis zelo succensus nimio omnes magos, arioles et sortilegos extrusit regni sui e medio, similiter et lucos sive arbores, quas in multis locis colebat vulgus ignobile, extirpavit et igne cremavit. Item et supersticiosas instituciones, quas villani, adhuc semipagani, in pentecosten tertia sive quarta feria observabant, offerentes libamina super fontes mactabant victimas et demonibus immolabant, item supuluras, que fiebant in silvis et in campis, atque scenas, quas ex gentili ritu faciebant in bivii et in triviis quasi ob animarum pausationem, item et iocos profanos, quos super mortuos suos inanes cientes manes ac induti faciem larvis bachando exercebant, has abhominaciones et alias sacrilegas adinventiones dux bonus, ne ultra fierent in populo Dei, exterminavit.”

117. Cosmas II: 17, pp. 108–9.

118. Cosmas II: 21, pp. 112–13. It is not clear whether there was an earlier bishop of Moravia. Cosmas says cryptically: “Fertur autem, quod fuisset in Moravia ante tempora Severi quidam episcopus, ut reor, nomine Wracen.”

119. On the protracted and violent dispute between Vratislav and Jaromír over the see of Olomouc, see Chapter 6.

120. The letters of Siegfried of Mainz to Gregory VII concerning the dispute over Olomouc in 1073 make no mention of any irregularities in the diocese’s foundation, though the archbishop apparently supported Jaromír’s desire to eliminate it. Siegfried objected to Gregory’s intervention in the matter and suspension of Jaromír, which he felt was contrary to the latter’s canonical right to be heard by his metropolitan and fellow suffragan bishops. In referring to John of Olomouc, Siegfried decries his “usurpation,” but this appears to refer to his activity in Jaromír’s bishopric rather than his own (CDB no. 63 [ca. Sept. 1073]).

121. Even where a monastic chronicler tells us something about events in his own house or order, these references are always completely divorced from the bigger picture he paints. We have tidbits about the Prague cathedral chapter from Cosmas, almost nothing about the chapter at Vyšehrad from the anonymous canon writing there, some important stories about Sázava from the monk continuing Cosmas’s chronicle there, and scattered items concerning Hradiště and Opatovice from the anonymous annals compiled in these two houses. Gerlach of Milevsko gives the most space of any chronicler to ecclesiastical affairs, especially as they related to his own Praemonstratensian order. With regard to secondary literature, hardly any scholarship exists on either the orders or individual monasteries, the basic works being already a century old. Such recent research as exists focuses on architecture, archeology, or the economics of monastic estates in later centuries, e.g., Jiří Kuthan on Cistercian architecture (*Die mittelalterliche Baukunst der Zisterzienser in Böhmen und Mähren* [Munich/Berlin, 1982]) or Miroslav Richter’s archeological research on the site of Ostrov (*Hradiště u Davle—městečko ostrovského kláštera* [Prague, 1982]).

122. Another three were established in Moravia by vice-dukes: Hradiště, Rajhrad, and Třebíč. For a handful of monasteries absolutely nothing is known from twelfth-century materials beyond the fact that they existed, usually evidenced only by the

abbot's presence in a witness list. For instance, Vilémov, Podlažice (CDB no. 208 [1160]), and Nepomuk (CDB nos. 279 [1177]/320 [1188]). Nothing is known about Svaté Pole, Mnichovo Hradiště, or Zderaz. About Manětín and Kadaň, we have only a confusing document reference to what might have been a protomonastery. Postoloprty is mentioned by Cosmas, but nothing else is known.

123. The foundation charter survives: CDB no. 155. Sedlec may be considered "first" by omitting Hradiště and Třebíč, founded by vice-dukes, and Želiv, by its abbot. Excluded also are those houses about which no information survives. Vilémov, for instance, is traditionally said to have been founded before 1131 by two magnates, William and Hermann, but no reference to the monastery's existence appears before 1160.

124. Gerlach, p. 467: "Cuius exemplo succensi et alii primates Boemiae simili fervebant ardore, fundantes et ipsi honestissimas ecclesias, quas brevitatis causa transeo, quarum omnium cooperator sicut suarum operator fidelissimus existebat."

125. Besides Mlada, the first abbess of St. George's, the Přemyslids themselves only dedicated their daughters to the church beginning in the second half of the twelfth century, with Agnes, the daughter of Vladislav II. Merhautová's view, which agrees with one long prevailing in the historiography, that St. George's was the Přemyslid dynastic house for women is incorrect for the eleventh and twelfth centuries; cf. A. Merhautová, *Basilika svatého Jiří na Pražském hradě* [The Basilica of St. George in Prague Castle] (Prague, 1966). The three abbesses whom the sources record were clearly German: the daughter of Bruno (before 1055), Windelmuth (ca. 1125), and Bertha (ca. 1140s) (Cosmas II: 14, p. 104; Cosmas III: 11, p. 171; and CDB no. 142). The latter two are listed in the *Necrologium Bohemicum* for 9 kal. Oct. and 4 kal. Nov., respectively, although with the spelling "Vencilmunt" (Graus, "Necrologium," p. 808). See also Chapter 3.

126. For instance, Vladislav II sent his son Adalbert to be educated at Strahov and was later buried there, but no other Přemyslid seems to have had any special connection with those Premonstratensians (Vincent, p. 420 and Gerlach, p. 466).

127. On the single instance where the word appears in a Czech context, it is modified by *tanquam* as if to stress that Frederick was not advocate of Strahov in the conventional sense (Gerlach, p. 473: "Fridericus, sicut dictum est, tendens Pragam, divertit in Stragov, quem fratres illius ecclesie tanquam advocatum et filium primi constructoris sui magnifice suscipiunt . . .").

128. CVyšehrad, p. 233.

129. Cosmas reports such a dedication as the context for Vratislav's deposition of Mstíš as castellan of Bílina (II: 19, p. 111). The group of documents, by which Bishop Daniel recorded the relics placed in the altar at his consecration of a new church, testifies to the duke's presence: CDB nos. 182 (30 May 1158), 228 (11 Oct. 1165), 229 (14 Nov. 1165), 230 (19 Nov. 1165). Two such documents survive as originals; they are written on small pieces of parchment in a scraggly hand entirely unlike those used for charters. (Cf., with illustrations, Marie Pavlíková, "O oltárních autentikách biskupa Daniela I.," *Věstník Královské české Společnosti nauk* 1951: 1–21.) The duke and many others were also present at the consecration of the new cathedral in Olomouc in 1131 (AHO, p. 394).

130. CDB no. 124 (ca. 1125–40): "O summe dignitatis princeps et dux Boemorum gloriosissime, Zobezlai, dei misericordie et vestre bonitati commendavi locellum meum posterisque vestris, et rogo, ut nulli ad devorandum detis, sed vos ipse sitis eorum prepositus, vos defensor et vos dispositor, vos provisor et dispensator, per vos

solum cuncta regantur. . . Et ego tradidi tibi illa domino meo duci, ut accipiatis ad vos et inde ditetis canonicos Vneticenses, qui non mei, sed vestri vocentur.” Where Zbyhňev himself was attached, i.e., what “of St. Mary” might indicate, cannot be determined.

131. The grant by Alexander is lost, but implied in Gregory’s letter: “Cuius rei fidem et indicium ex benivolentia domni et antecessoris nostri Alexandri pape satis percepisse potes, qui petitionibus tuis nonnunquam sine sua et filiorum sancte Romane ecclesie sollicitudine et labore condescendit et ad signum intime dilectionis, quod laice persone tribui non consuevit, mitram quam postulasti direxit” (CDB no. 64 [17 Dec. 1073]). The original permission from Nicholas is also lost, but a note preserved in a twelfth-century Vatican manuscript records: “Item in quodam tumulto Lateranensi inter cetera: Speciocneus, dux Boemie, accepit licentiam a papa Nicolao sibi partandi mitram et promisit se daturum omni anno C libras argenti de terra sua sub nomine census” (CDB no. 57 [ca. 1059–60]). Cf. P. E. Schramm, *Herrschaftszeichen und Staatssymbolik*, vol. 1 (Stuttgart, 1954), pp. 74–77. Schramm notes that this reference constitutes the first evidence of a distinction between specifically lay and ecclesiastical mitres.

132. CDB no. 301 (ca. 1183): “Inde est, quod fratres Plazenses miseras suas coram me deposuerunt. Habebant enim teloneum salis in Decin a patre meo ipsis condonatum, cuius usum sine gravi periculo animarum suarum ad monasterium deferre ob longitudinem vie et insidias latronum nequiverunt. Quorum dolori compassus et petitioni annuens villam meam nomine Copidl eis perpetuo iure possidendam tradidi et eontra predictum teloneum, quod ad ipsos pertinuit, in usus meos accepi.”

133. MSázava, p. 254. See Chapter 5.

134. CDB no. 279 (Feb. 1177): “quod quando divina clementia me liberavit de carceris angustia, facultates non habui, sicut honorem principalem deceret, et tamen pro pecunia premere populum non volui, qui longe expectatione dominationem meam desiderabiliter expectaverunt, sed quasdam res ecclesie sancte Marie in Claderub ad necessitatem meam, non tamen sine voluntate abbatis et fratrum, accepi.”

135. All the *vitae* of Saint Prokop have been analyzed and critically edited by V. Chaloupecký and B. Ryba, *Středověké legendy Prokopské* [The medieval Prokop legends] (Prague, 1953). *Vita antiquior*, p. 115: “audiens dux illustris, nomine Bretizlaus, de consilio suorum nobilium et fratrum voluntate de cella Procopii abbaciam fecit et ipsum Procopium, licet renitentem et invitum, in abbatem, [sicut tunc erat consuetudinis] investivit.”

136. *Vita minor*, p. 132: “Fuit itaque beatus abbas Procopius, nacione Bohemus, Slavonicis apicibus, a sanctissimo Quirillo, episcopo, quondam inventis et statutis canonice, admodum inbutus, in seculo presbiter eximius. . .” The Monk of Sázava’s version is identical, adding only “de villa Chotun”; cf. Chaloupecký and Ryba, p. 176. The *Vita antiquior*, p. 112, gives a similar reading.

137. In all the versions of the *vitae* of Prokop, the saintly abbot is made to prophesy these events before his death; cf. *Vita antiquior*, p. 116; and *Vita minor*, pp. 142–43: “Sed vestre circumspeccioni innotesco, quia post discessum meum fluctivagarum detraccionum varietate inpetuosa ac pestifere persecucionum quassabimini naufragio atque extorres efficiemini sex annis in terra aliena et iste locus potestativa manu ducis tradetur possibilitati alienigenarum. . . Nam revolutis sex annis exilii, vestri misertus, tranquillitatis reparabit vobis statum ac detractoribus vestris talionem merito red-

det vosque ad portum consolacionis reducet. Defuncto namque presente principe pio Bracizlao, succedet Zpitigneus, qui vos persequetur. Quo mortuo, Wratizlaus regimen principatus Bohemie suscipiet, vir timoratus, benivolus.” This was copied by the Monk of Sázava, ed. Chaloupecký and Ryba, p. 179. There is no indication as to where these German monks came from.

138. *Vita minor*, pp. 148, 150: “Defuncto igitur Zpitigneo duce divinitas fideli servo suo Wratizlao memoriali tytulo ducatus gubernaculum tradidit. Qui cum divinum ecclesie diligeret unice cultum, eciam hunc toto cordis affectu locum dilexit. Qui missis legatis Hunorum ad regem, de exilio Vitum abbatem et fratres eius cum honore reduxit et in loco suo decenter restituit.” Also, Monk of Sázava, ed. Chaloupecký and Ryba, p. 180.

139. Monk of Sázava, ed. Bretholz, p. 251: “Post aliquantum tempus quantum cenobii fratres . . . ; nam ususquisque eorum accusationes querebat adversus eum, sed convenientia testimonia non inveniebantur. Nam idem fratres, membra Sathane, existimabant, si abbas iam nominatus quoquomodo expelleretur, sperabant aliquem ex eis, eorum errorum, abbacie iura suscepturum. Rex autem Wratizlaus iam migraverat ad Dominum, cuius tunc successor Bracizlaus sublimitate ducatus Boemie pollebat. Huius aures cum supranotati fratres per se et per amicos multis ficticiis et innumeris vituperiis contra abbatem suum Bozotechum compositis obpulsando multiplicarent, idem dux nominatum abbatem de loco superius dicto extirpavit et fratres eiecit.” It is clear from the chronicler’s report of the origins of the dispute that Božetěch was protected so long as Vratislav lived.

140. Monk of Sázava, ed. Bretholz, p. 251: “et libri lingue eorum deleti omnino et disperditi neququam ulterius in eodem loco recitabuntur.”

141. The larger question here concerns the role of Sázava as a center of learning in Bohemia and as a Slavonic scriptorium in the eleventh century, particularly its role in the composition of written work in OCS considered to exhibit Czech characteristics. Cf., A. Shanker, *The Dawn of Slavic: An Introduction to Slavic Philology* (New Haven, Conn., 1995), pp. 42–43, 72. It seems incidentally noteworthy that the Monk of Sázava reports of the last Slavonic abbot, Božetěch, that he was a painter and sculptor of considerable reputation (ed. Bretholz, p. 250).

142. This is especially true of older literature, e.g., F. Hrubý, pp. 391–92.

143. All the accounts from the *vitae* stress the fact that the replacements were German, whereas there is no mention of any specific dispute with Spitišnĕv or trouble with Abbot Vitus in particular. E.g., *Vita antiquior*, p. 118: “Qui detractoribus consenciens falsis Viti, ipsum de monasterio cum fratribus eiecit et pro ipso abbatem Teuthonicum et fratres sibi similes collocavit.”

144. *Vita minor*, p. 147: “laqueos cavillationum in curia ducis contra Vitum abbatem et fratres eius astruere ceperunt atque aures principis favorabiliter compositis mendaciis obpulsantes, eos multifariis vituperiis publicabant, scilicet dicentes per sclavonicas litteras heresis secta ypocrisisque esse aperte irretitos ac omnino perversos. Quam ob rem eiectis eis, in loco eorum Latine auctoritatis abbatem et fratres constituere omnino esse honestum constanter affirmabant.” Also, Monk of Sázava, ed. Chaloupecký and Ryba, pp. 179–80.

145. CDB no. 81 (2 Jan. 1080): “Quia vero nobilitas tua postulavit, quod secundum Sclavinicam linguam apud vos divinum celebrari annueremus officium, scias nos huic petitioni tue nequaquam posse favere. Ex hoc nempe sepe volentibus liquet, non im-

merito sacram scripturam omnipotenti deo placuisse quibusdam locis esse occultam: ne, si ad liquidum cunctis pateret, forte vilesceret et subiaceret despectui aut, prave intellecta a mediocribus, in errorem induceret. Neque enim ad excusationem iuvat, quod quidam religiosi viri hoc, quod simpliciter populus querit, patienter tulerunt seu incorrectum dimiserunt; cum primitiva ecclesia multa dissimulaverit, que a sanctis patribus postmodum, firmata christianitate et religione crescente, subtili examinatione correcta sunt. Unde, ne id fiat, quod a vestris imprudenter exposcitur, auctoritate beati Petri inhibemus, teque ad honorem omnipotentis dei huic vane temeritati viribus totius resistere precipimus."

146. MSázava, pp. 268–69: "Primo autem anno ordinationis domni Danielis episcopi insurrexerunt quidam viri iniquitatis contra eundem abbatem, virum venerandum, et quaecunque criminosa de ipso potuerunt confingere, auribus pontificis crebra et importuna delatione veriti non sunt inculcare . . . rem ita, ut conficta erat, episcopus esse credidit. Vix itaque venerabilis Regnardus sine canonica audientia, nec accusatoribus seu testibus legitimis convinctus, vel confessus de obiectione criminis, abbatiæ privatur honore, reicitur de monasterio cum universa sibi dilecta congregatione. . . . hac occasione id eum fecisse, ut quibusdam Augustiniani ordinis regularibus, de exteris ascitis nationibus, eundem locum commendaret." Gerlach, who was later a canon at Želiv, gives a long account of these events, which reflects censure for Bishop Daniel and the embarrassment felt by his order in taking over the house under circumstances, here depicted as uncanonical (pp. 487–89).

147. A number of letters survive from Ulrich of Steinfeld to Gezo of Strahov and Gottschalk, the new Premonstratensian abbot at Želiv: CDB nos. 190, 191, 193, 194, 198. From these letters it appears that Reiner himself might have become a Premonstratensian. See also Gerlach, p. 488.

148. Gerlach, in fact, notes in passing that the matter fell into the bishop's hands partly as a diocesan issue but chiefly because Želiv itself was owned by him (p. 489): "unde si quid ignorat, quid iuris habeat Pragensis episcopus in Syloensi ecclesia, sciat, quod sicut in aliis ecclesiis ius dioecesanum, ita et in Syloensi vendicat sibi ius patronatus, quod accidisse creditur ratione concambii, ex eo videlicet, quando dominus Otto, Pragensis episcopus, duci antiquo Zobeslao dedit Podyvin in concambio pro Syloensi circuitu." This exchange is attested in CDB nos. 138 and 157, though the duke is Vladislav II.

149. Since the reference to Blasius's deposition and reinstatement after Guido's visit in 1143 refers to Henry Zdík as "bishop of this land," meaning Moravia, Blasius must still have been at Hradiště and that house presumably still Benedictine; he must have moved with his community of Benedictines sometime thereafter and become abbot of Opatovice. Mizloch, who succeeded Blasius as abbot in 1148, is known from a later witness list as abbot of Opatovice (AHO, p. 399: "Anno 1146 Blasius abbas obiit. Anno 1148 Mizloc successit;" CDB no. 208 [1160]). Henry Zdík (d. 1151) is credited by Gerlach with arranging the change in orders: "insuper et Gradissensis in Olomucz restaurata per ordinem nostrum" (p. 491). It seems reasonable then to estimate that the change occurred sometime between 1143 and 1148; the annals themselves moved with the Benedictine monks from Hradiště to Opatovice.

150. MSázava, p. 262: "1144. Quido cardinalis et legatus apostolicæ sedis, cassis quorundam incitatus delationibus, Silvestrum abbatem suspendit ab officio, sed sequenti anno per dominum Heinricum, Olomucensem episcopum, redeuntem resti-

tuit.” AHO reports that Abbot Blasius of Hradiště was similarly deposed by Guido, on the grounds that his election was illegitimate—an explanation which perhaps explains Sylvester’s problems as well. The monks, therefore, “unanimously and canonically elected” Blasius abbot, in the presence of the cardinal and Bishop Henry Zdík (p. 398).

151. CDB nos. 319 (12 Oct. 1188), 332 and 333 (12 April 1191).

152. Cosmas II: 14, p. 104.

153. It is, however, difficult to determine with accuracy the means of selection for most of the bishops of Prague and Olomouc; too often the sources speak of “election” without giving any clear idea of who might have weighed in or which voices most counted. In many cases, we are told only that the new bishops “succeeded”; for others, however, language of election is used: regarding Cosmas, bishop of Prague: “Cosmas electus est in episcopum tam a rege Wratislao quam omni clero ac populo Boemorum” (Cosmas II: 42, p. 148); or Bishop John II of Olomouc: “Johannes electus est in episcopum Moravie” (Cosmas III: 17, p. 179); or Henry Zdík: “Zdik ad sedem Olomucensem episcopus secundum instituta canonum electus” (CVyšehrad, p. 204); or Daniel I of Prague: “Daniel IV Kal Augusti eligitur” (Vincent, p. 419). In one striking case, two candidates were proposed in succession, each apparently by different backers, yet Vincent’s language tells us little about the process itself: “Dragon, ducis Wlad[izlai] capellanus, electus fuit, sed supra se hoc onus esse considerans in brevi per omnia publice recusavit. Ottone autem, duce Moravie, ex parte totius Olomucensis ecclesiae domnum Johannem, de Lutomisl abbatem, . . . nominatim poscente secundum voluntatem eorum in festo sancti Michaelis in choro Pragensi in episcopum eligunt.”

154. There is no instance, throughout the entire eleventh and twelfth centuries, in which either emperor or archbishop is known to have opposed or even delayed confirmation of a bishop, outside the trouble with Bishop-elect Frederick, which will be described further below. Even after Henry IV agreed to the suppression of the diocese of Olomouc and issued a charter to that effect, he confirmed a new bishop of Olomouc, chosen by Vratislav, several years later (Cosmas II: 49, p. 156).

155. Cosmas I: 41, pp. 76–77: “Severus presul successit in ordine sextus, qui tempore iuventutis mire enituit decore agilitatis, quia, quotquot erant in curia ducis, omnes suis precellens obsequiis, sedulum suo domino et magis gratum, quia fidele exhibebat servitium. Primus enim fuit officiis clericorum nec minus deditus studiis laicorum; semper aderat comes individuus duci in venationibus, primus enim affuit in occisione silvatici apri at abscondens eius caudam purgat et parat, et ducem velle norat, paratamque venienti domino ad vendendum donat, unde dux Odalricus sepe sibi fertur dixisse: ‘O Severe, dico tibi vere, pro hoc tam dulci edulio dignus es episcopio.’ His atque huiusmodi studiis habuit gratiam ducis et placuit universis.”

156. Gerlach, p. 513: “Itaque convenimus et invenimus iam sibi persuasum a suis familiaribus, ne talem poneret, qui posset aliquando recalcitrare.”

157. Cosmas III: 7, p. 167: “Post cuius obitum dux Bracizlaus habens curam animarum et perpendens collatam sibi a Deo potestatem eligendi ecclesie sponsum cepit sollicitus et pervigil secum tacita mente suorum inspicere more clericorum, vitam et conversationem discutere singulorum, quem ex eis potissimum proveheret ad summum sacerdotii gradum.”

158. CVyšehrad, p. 231: “Huius electio III Kal. Octobris facta est, sed quia consecratus non est, prius quam dux vitam finiret, cuius voluntate fuerat electus, electio sua

breviter duravit.” The Monk of Sázava, of whose house Silvester was abbot, reports that he resigned the post, as does Vincent (pp. 260 and 409, respectively). Also, for Pilgrim of Olomouc, see below.

159. Gerlach, p. 477: “cui successit Pilgrimus, Pragensis praepositus, assumptus tam de choro, quam electus in capitulo Pragensi per manum Friderici ducis, quo in loco solent assumi omnes ecclesiae illius episcopi, non quidem electione cleri, sed designatione principis, sicut oculata fide saepe iam vidimus fieri.”

160. Cosmas II: 22, p. 114: “Erat autem tunc temporis in curia ducis quidam Lanczo capellanus, de Saxonia nobili prosapia natus, vir personatus et admodum literatus ac prepositura Lutomericensis ecclesie sublimatus, moribus et vita non contradicens honori pontificatus”; on Severus, see above.

161. Gerlach, p. 478: “electio ipsius celebrata est, in qua miro dei favore omnia convenirent in unum, quae huiusmodi solemnitati noscuntur fore necessaria, videlicet electio cleri, principum assensus, votum universale populi.”

162. Cosmas III: 7, p. 168: “Nec mora, convocatis primatibus terre simul et propositis ecclesie Bolezlau in urbe ad placitum ducis, collaudante clero cuncto populoque favente Hermannus promotione diaconus, prepositura Bolezlavensi sublimatus, sublimiorem invitatus subrogatur ad episcopatus honorem. Facta est autem hec electio anno dominice incarnationis MXCVIII, pridie kal. Marcii.” Note that Cosmas here clearly identifies and dates the “election” with this acclamation.

163. CVyšehrad, p. 220: “perplures extitere, occulti tamen, quorum quidam familiarium ac propinquorum interventu, quidem vero censu etiam sanctos corrumpente, ducem Sobieslaum et Lotarium imperatorem sollicitavere, eorum concessu divina sine voluntate sancti martyris Adalberti sedem aestimantes obtinere.”

164. CVyšehrad, p. 221: “ut suis fidelibus ideoneum pastorem exquireret . . . III Kal Octobris in sua metropoli Praga concilium facit, in quo cuncti Bohemiae optimates tam clerici quam laici fuerunt; . . . Cum ergo rumor divinae contrarius rationi per concilium curreret, ut illi illum, et illi illum pontificatu dignum clamarent, nullus ex hiis ideoneum inveniret, tandem ante secula electus a deo advocatur Johannes.”

165. Gerlach, p. 513: “misit et convocavit clerum et populum in Pragam, abates, etiam prepositos et canonicos omnes iussit adesse, tanquam tractaturus cum eis de pontificali electione. Itaque convenimus et invenimus iam sibi persuasum a suis familiaribus, ne talem poneret, qui posset aliquando recalcitrare. Quod et factum est. Nam quendam ex cappellanis suis, nomine Miliconem cognomento Danielelem, nobis eatenus incognitum, designavit in episcopum, negata omni electione clero, quem in odium defuncti episcopi non multum diligebat.” Daniel II would thus undo the gains made by Henry and, in the process, was actively opposed by the cathedral chapter; see below.

166. Cosmas II: 22, p. 114: “‘Non est,’ inquit, ‘unius hominis tractare hoc negotium, quod postulat communis ratio omnium. Sed quoniam nunc interim iam pars maior populi et procerum milicie processit in castra, nusquam melius, ut reor, hac tractabitur de causa quam istius terre ad custodie claustra; ibi omnes maiores natu huius gentis, ibi proceres et comites, ibi qui sunt in clero meliores aderunt, quorum in arbitrio stat episcopalis electio.’”

167. A point made also by F. Hrubý, p. 403.

168. Cosmas II: 22, p. 115.

169. Cosmas’s account comprises chapters II: 22 through 24, pp. 113–17. It was also

the first instance of outright rebellion by the magnates against a ruling duke, and is thus described in detail in Chapter 6.

170. This was not, then, merely a “dynastic” conflict, as Peter Hilsch argues: “Familiensinn und Politik bei den Přemysliden,” in *Papsttum, Kirche und Recht im Mittelalter*, ed. H. Mordek (Tübingen, 1991), pp. 215–31.

171. Gerlach, p. 463: “Gotpoldus, abbas de Zedletz grisei ordinis, vir valde idoneus et religiosus, eligitur in Pragensem episcopum, et hoc magis de instantia reginae, cuius cognatus erat, quam de iudicio ecclesiae . . . Succedit nobilis homo et dives de Saxonia, Fridericus nomine, ignatus omnino boemicae linguae, cognatus et ipse reginae, cuius favore potius quam iudicio ecclesie factum est hoc in eum.”

172. Gerlach, p. 476: “Domna Elisabeth, quae publicam rem Bohemiae plus quam vir regebat, coacto in unum totius terrae clero et maxime abbatibus et canonicis, designat eis in episcopum capellanum suum nomine Wolis, sue Walentinum, qui erat, sicut comperimus, ignarus latinae linguae, nec de gremio Pragensis ecclesie, sed degener, obscurus et tali officio prorsus indignus.”

173. Gerlach, p. 476: “Erat inter eos domnus Pilgrimus, praepositus tunc Pragensis, qui circumstantiam rerum prudenti perpendens animo, postquam diu tacuit, tandem proposuit canonicis suis, quam sit durum resistere potentibus bonumque sibi videri, ut cedant tempori, nec pro incerto eventu certis se ipsos exponant periculis.”

174. Gerlach, p. 476. The archbishop of Mainz was in Italy.

175. Cosmas II: 23, p. 115–16: “Accipe en anulum et baculum, esto sponsus Pragensis ecclesie et pastor sanctarum ovium.’ Fit murmur in populis, nec resonat vox congratulationis, sicut semper solet in tempore episcopalis electionis. . . . ‘Vivit adhuc Romanus imperator Heinricus et vivat; quem tu temetipsum facis, cum eius potestatem usurpans das baculum et anulum episcopalem famelico cani; certe non inpune tu et tuus episcopus feret, si Koyata filius Wsebor vivet.’”

176. Gerlach, p. 512: “Ibi vidimus, unde satis dolumus, quod idem Daniel episcopatu investitus flexo poplite fecit ominium prefato duci Wladizlao in preiudicium antike libertatis et in derogationem privilegiorum imperialium, que investituram Pragensis et Olomucensis episcoporum ad imperatorem pertinere, . . .”

177. CDB II no. 96 (26 Sept. 1212): “Ius quoque et auctoritatem investiendi episcopos regni sui integraliter sibi et heredibus suis concedimus.”

178. CDB I no. 180 (18 Jan. 1158): “Sicut itaque cebratio [sic] et impositio corone nostre non debet fieri nisi per manus archiepiscoporum et episcoporum, ita prefato duci Boemie a nullo hom[in]um circulus imponatur nisi a dilecto nostro Daniele, venerabili Pragense episcopo, et Johanne, Olumucense episcopo, eorumque successoribus. Quod si forte Olumucensis defuerit, nicholominus Pragensis pro sede et dignitate excellentiori vices compleat amborum; similiter autem Olomucensis, si forte Pragensis defuerit.” The privilege of 1212 reads substantially the same; CDB II no. 96. See Chapter 7.

179. Cf. K. Pennington, *Pope and Bishops: The Papal Monarchy in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries* (Philadelphia, 1984), p. 76.

180. CVyšehrad, p. 220: “cum misero alienigena, dum vixit, quamlibet dissensionem habuissent.”

181. Cosmas II: 21, p. 112: “nam aliquando a duce Bracizlao captus catenatus, carceri mancipatus.”

182. See Chapter 6.

183. CVyšehrad, p. 213: “Hic dominus Meynhardus episcopus sanus et incolumis ad sedem episcopatus sui remeavit, se duci Sobieslao cum omnibus primatibus Bohemiae causa expurgandi sibi impositi sceleris ad omnia iudicia tradidit. Quam ob rem suo de canonicis Pragensis ecclesie, unus ex parte domini episcopi, videlicet ydiota, qui vocabatur Heroldus, . . . alter Tutha ex parte ducis; hi suo ad archiepiscopum Magonatinum et episcopum Bambergensem missi sunt, ut qualecunque iudicium Meyhnardo episcopo imponerent, ipse aequanimiter susciperet.” Meinhard had been away on pilgrimage at the time of the assassination attempt and trial of the plotters; see Chapter 6.

184. CVyšehrad, pp. 213–14: “IV Kal. Octobris praesul Bamberiensis et antistes Olomucensis cum septem Bohemiensibus abbatibus, astante duce Sobieslao, cum populo et clero Meynhardum, sanctae Pragensis ecclesiae episcopum, ob omni culpa, quae prius illata sibi fuerat, per depositionem suarum stolarum expurgaverunt, profitendo videlicet Meynhardum episcopum nihil adversi duci Sobieslao cogitasse, nisi ad hoc solummodo elaborasse, quomodo Bracizlaus a vinculis possit liberari.” (The seven Bohemian abbots were presumably those of Břevnov, Ostrov, Sázava, Opatovice, Kladruba, Postoloprty, and perhaps Vilémov—in other words, the heads of all Czech monasteries, excluding houses in Moravia, secular chapters, and the abbess of St. George’s.)

185. CVyšehrad, p. 216: “legatus apostolici veniens, Meynhardum episcopum in multis detestandis criminibus accusavit, et accusatum ad audientiam apostolici, ut de imposito sibi crimine se expiaret, venire iussit; coniuraverant enim quidam ex eius monasterio perversi fratres contra eum, quatenus privatum sua dignitate turpiter pellerent a sede. Horum execrabile iniquumque molimen gratia dei ad effectum venire non permisit.”

186. CVyšehrad, p. 217: “Maguntiam causa excusationis ad archiepiscopum suum profectus est, ubi etiam plures episcopi convenerant, in quorum audientia de imposito sibi crimine se decenter expurgavit, et accusatoribus suis omne facinus, quo in se insurgere praesumpserant, misericorditer condonavit.”

187. CVyšehrad, p. 211. The chronicler notes that Božík was apprehended by citizens in the countryside and subsequently turned over to the duke, but no further comment is made about his fate. Given the rest of the account, we might assume that it would have been recorded had he been executed, but this conclusion remains speculative. AHO reports that, having confessed his involvement, he was held until the bishop’s return (p. 394): “Božík eciam capellanus in coniuratione iam dicta deprehensus, et ipsam ipse confessus, in custodia usque ad reditum domni episcopi Meinhardi est tentus.”

188. Cosmas II: 23: “Vivit adhuc Romanus imperator Heinricus et vivat; quem tu temetipsum facis, cum eius potestatem usurpans das baculum et anulum episcopalem famelico cani.”

189. See Chapter 7.

190. Gerlach, p. 480: “ille ita repondisse per procuratorem suum: Cum sit, inquit, omnibus notum Pragensem episcopum meum fore capellanum, sicut omnes praecessores sui patrum et avorum eorum fuerunt capellani, decernite quaeso, si liceat ei agere contra domnum suum, vel si teneat ex aequo respondere capellano meo. Quod dictum statim et ab omnibus contradictum, maxime ab archiepiscopis et episcopis decernentibus, quod Pragensis episcopus more Teutonicorum episcoporum ab omni subiectione ducis debeat esse liberrimus, soli tantum imperatori subiectus vel

obnoxius, cuius imperii est princeps, cuius visitat curias, a quo suscipit sceptrum et investituram.”

191. Jiří Kejř considers the significance of this title but his analysis is, unfortunately, marred by the usual mistaken assumptions about the status of Czech bishops and duke's relationship to the institutional church: “O říšském knížectví pražského biskupa [On the imperial princehood of the bishop of Prague],” *ČCH* 89 (1991): 481–92.

CHAPTER 5. POLITICS AND THE DIVINE

1. CVyšehrad, p. 204: “Iterum circum astantibus et custodientibus primatibus Bohemiensibus et praepositis et capellanis pene centum hastam sancti Wenceslai, inter quod unus capellanus, probus, nobili genere, nomine Vitus, qui tenebat hastam eiusdem sancti praeemorati, ut mos est, indutus lorica et galea, ut Achilles, lacrimans prae gaudio clamavit ad suos: O socii et fratres, constantes estote, video enim sanctum Wenceslaum sedentem in equo albo et indutum candida veste super cacumen sacrae hastae, pugnantem pro nobis; etiam et vos vidite. Illi autem supefacti aspicientes hac et illac nichilque videntes, quia non omnibus, nisi dignis datum est a deo illud miraculum videre, tristantibus et lacrimantibus et ex toto cordo gementibus ad deum, et oculis et manibus expandentibus ad coelum, et tamdiu clamantibus Kyrie eleison dum deus omnipotens sua misericordia et suo sancto nuntio Wenceslao, nostro protectore, vicit nostros hostes. Amen.”

2. CVyšehrad, pp. 203–4: “Factum est autem inenarrabile gaudium tam clericis quam laicis per totam familiam sancti Wenceslai . . .”

3. The preeminence of Saint Václav in medieval Czech society is usually linked explicitly with Czech statehood, whether in treating Václav as himself a “symbol” of statehood or as part of a “state ideology.” Cf. P. Radoměský and V. Ryneš, “Společná úcta svatého Václava a Vojtěcha zvláště na českých mincích a její význam [The joint cult of Sts. Václav and Adalbert, especially on Czech coins, and its significance],” *Numismatické listy* 13 (1958): 35–48; D. Třeštík, “Václav jako věčný panovník a český stát v rané středověku [Václav as eternal ruler and the Czech state in the early Middle Ages],” *Dějiny a současnost* 5 (1962): 8–11; R. Nový, “Státní ideologie raně feudálních Čech [The state ideology of early feudal Bohemia],” in *Z českých dějin* (Prague, 1966), pp. 23–33; R. Nový, *Přemyslovský stát*, pp. 171–5; K. Adamová, “K otázce královské hodnosti a panovnické ideologie českého krále Vladislava I. [On the question of the royal dignity and the ideology of rulership of the Czech King Vladislav I.],” *Pravěhistorické studie* 24 (1981): 5–12; F. Graus, *Lebendige Vergangenheit: Überlieferung im Mittelalter und in den Vorstellungen vom Mittelalter* (Cologne/Vienna, 1975), pp. 159–73; R. Nový, “Symboly české státnosti v 10.–12. století [Symbols of Czech statehood in the tenth to twelfth centuries],” *Folia Historica Bohemica* 12 (1988): 52–3. The same is true of the famous “familia sancti Wenceslai” remark; cf., e.g., F. Graus, “Origines de l'état,” p. 57. Both Nový (“Státní ideologie”) and Graus (*Lebendige*) nevertheless provide excellent descriptions of key components of Václav's cult and political appropriation, analogous on some points to that presented here. On Václav's role in modern ideologies of the Czech state, see L. Holy, *The Little Czech and the Great Czech Nation: National Identity and the Post-Communist Social Transformation* (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 34–38.

4. An exception appears in the *Chronica Boemorum* (III: 1, p. 161), where Cos-

mas mentions sacred trees and meadows (also noted in I: 4, p. 10), as well as certain feasts, celebrations, and rituals.

5. There exists a massive literature by Czech scholars of this century on the subject of the OCS and Latin Václav legends, much of it bearing on the dating of Kristián's text. Within the scope of this study it is impossible even to provide a representative bibliography, much less to engage in the debates. Ferdinand Seibt gives a succinct overview of the issues and disagreements concerning the authenticity, authorship, dating, and variants within the *vita*e tradition ("Wenzelslegenden," *Bohemia* 23 [1982]: 249–76). For another account, see Marvin Kantor's introduction to his English translations of the OCS and Latin legends of Bohemian provenance (*The Origins of Christianity in Bohemia* [Evanston, Ill., 1990]). Unfortunately, only Kristián's text exists in a critical edition, so far as I can determine.

My approach here is relatively straightforward. I date the *vita*e loosely according to the simplest reading of the internal textual evidence; the result accords with Seibt. I take Kristián, therefore, to have been written in the late tenth century, following also the logic offered by Dušan Třeštík ("Deset tezí o Kristiánově legendě [Ten theses about Kristián's legend]," *Folia Historica Bohemica* 2 [1980]: 7–33). Since all of the texts discussed here antedate the period under examination in this book, this seems methodologically sound. Moreover, I read them not as historical sources for tenth-century Bohemia, but as the hagiographic foundation for Václav's veneration in the subsequent era. As such I am interested in the overall shape of the story of Václav's life and martyrdom, the saintly persona each text crafts, and the compromises the authors make in the process. Since the historiography largely takes philological or historical approaches, attention to the hagiographic "big picture" constitutes, in my opinion, a valuable contribution to the scholarship.

6. Trans. by Kantor, pp. 68–91.

7. A passion composed by a monk named Laurence at Monte Cassino, probably in the late tenth century, seems to have been altogether unknown in medieval Bohemia. For an edition, see FRB I, ed. Josef Truhlář, pp. 167–82.

8. *Das Homiliar des Bischofs von Prag*, ed. F. Hecht, *Beiträge zur Geschichte Böhmens*, Abt. I, Band I (Prague, 1863), p. 58: "Sed ejus gesta puto vos melius scire, quam ego vobis edicere possum; . . . in tantum, ut non princeps, sed pater omnium miserorum putaretur." The manuscript is Prague, Národní knihovna III.F.6.

9. Cosmas I: 17, p. 36: "sufficienter dictum puto in passionis eiusdem sancti viri tripudio."

10. An old edition with a facing Czech translation appears in FRB I, ed. J. Kolář, pp. 127–34; another, organized according to the extant manuscripts, appears in *Sborník staroslovanských literárních památek o sv. Václavu a sv. Ludmile* [Collection of the OCS literary monuments concerning Sts. Václav and Ludmila], ed. J. Vajs (Prague, 1929). For an English translation, see Kantor, pp. 61–5. Since I make no pretense of a facility in Old Church Slavonic, the English translations cited here are Kantor's. (All translations from the Latin legends, however, are mine.)

11. Seibt, p. 257.

12. Kantor, pp. 61–62.

13. Kantor, p. 63.

14. Kantor, p. 63.

15. Kantor, p. 64.

16. Seibt, p. 252. An edition of the text is provided in FRB I, ed. J. Truhlář, pp. 183–90; an English translation appears in Kantor, pp. 145–53.

17. *Crescente fide*, FRB I, p. 184.

18. *CF*, FRB I, pp. 184, 185.

19. *CF*, FRB I, p. 185.

20. *CF*, FRB I, p. 186: “pater meus aedificavit templum domino deo, ego autem cum tua licentia similiter opto condere ecclesiam domino deo in honorem sancti Viti martyris Christi. . . . In tempore autem illo voluit ire Roma, ut papa eum indueret vestibus monasticis, et pro dei amore relinquere voluit principatum, et dare illud fratri suo; sed non potuit propter ecclesiam praenominatam, quia nondum perfectus esset.”

21. *CF*, FRB I, p. 188.

22. *CF*, FRB I, pp. 188–90.

23. *CF*, FRB I, p. 190: “Proinde obsecramus te, o beatissime domine Venzelave, ut sicut plurimos nuper per tuam sanctissimam orationem de carcere et de vinculis homines dominus liberavit, ita nunc pro innumeris nostris iniquitatibus apud eundem clementem patrem sis idoneus interventor, . . .”

24. I am less interested here, however, in the relationship between hagiographic typologies of rulers and of saints. For this approach, pursued with regard to the Václav legends composed from the tenth to as late as the fourteenth century, see J. Hošna, *Kníže Václav v obrazu legend* [Prince Václav in the depiction of the legends] (Prague, 1986); cf., also, the critique by D. Třeštík, “Kníže Václav nebo svatý Václav? [Prince Václav or Saint Václav?],” *ČSČH* 36 (1988): 238–47.

25. *CF*, FRB I, p. 185: “quid facimus, quia princeps debebat esse, perversus est a clericis, et est monachus?”

26. *CF*, FRB I, p. 184: “Carceres quoque destruxit, et omnia patibula succidit”; p. 186: “quos autem sciebat inmites et vagantes sine causa, vel in tabernis bibentes, et a doctrina recedentes, statim illos mensae pronos alligans districte flagris verberabat multis.”

27. *CF*, FRB I, p. 183: “elegerunt beatum Venzelavum ducem pro patre suo, et sedere eum fecerunt in throno ipsius. Tum praedictus illustris puerulus permanens in principatu minime discessit a disciplina.”

28. Seibt convincingly discounts the possibility that the two texts were based on a shared exemplar, arguing instead that they stand “in dialogue” (pp. 254–60).

29. For a different view of this issue, cf. J. Hošna, “Místo první staroslověnské legendy ve václavské hagiografii [The place of the first OCS legend in Václav’s hagiography],” *Slavia* 50 (1981): 345–50.

30. *CF*, FRB I, p. 185: “exprobavit incredulitatem illorum et duritiam cordis dicens: cur me prohibuistis discere legem domini dei mei, et servire illi soli?”

31. *CF*, FRB I, p. 185.

32. Gumpold, ed. F. J. Zoubek, FRB I, pp. 146–66.

33. See Merhautová and Třeštík, *Romanské umění*, p. 34.

34. Examples printed in parallel columns are provided by Josef Pekař, *Die Wenzels- und Ludmilalegenden und die Echtheit Christians* (Prague, 1906), pp. 27ff.

35. Gumpold, FRB I, p. 147.

36. A point emphasized clearly in the Passion’s opening paragraph (Gumpold, FRB I, pp. 147–8).

37. Gumpold, FRB I, p. 152.

38. The critical edition of this text is *Legenda Christiani/Kristiánová legenda*, ed. Jaroslav Ludvíkovský (Prague, 1978). For an English translation, see Kantor, pp. 165–203.

39. Kristián, ed. Ludvíkovský, p. 8: “Domino et ter beato sancte ecclesie Dei Pragensis secundo pontifici Adalberto humillimus et omnium monarchorum nec dicendus infimus frater, solo nomine Christianus, in Christo Iesu prosperis successibus ad vota pollere.”

40. My inclination here is to disagree respectfully with Ludvíkovský, and others, who insist that this passage must be the work of Kristián and original to his text. On the face of it, the story of Václav’s conquest of the duke and people of Kouřim seems altogether incongruous with the account of the saint’s life and character given in the main portion of the *vita*. Outside this one story, none of the legends, Latin or OCS, show Václav in a military guise; the exception is a passing remark in *Crescente fide* that the Lord deemed Václav so worthy of grace that he was “a victor in battles” (CF, FRB I, p. 186): “dominus tantam gratiam conferre dignatus est, ut et praeliis victor exitit.” The placement of the Kouřim incident, which would have occurred during his lifetime, after a series of posthumous miracles, including several not included in Kristián’s model, *Crescente fide*, is similarly suspect. The fact that no manuscript copies survive before the fourteenth century seems to leave open the possibility that the story is a later accretion. I in no way mean, however, to argue that the Passion as a whole dates later than the end of the tenth century. Moreover, in the absence of the kind of detailed study that necessarily lies beyond the scope of this work, I can only suggest this alternate view. Cf. J. Ludvíkovský, “Souboj svatého Václava s vévodou Kouřimským v podání václavských legend [Saint Václav’s battle with the duke of Kouřim in the report of the Václav legends],” *Studie o rukopisech* 12 (1973): 89–100.

41. Kristián, ed. Ludvíkovský, p. 42: “Heu, quid agimus, quove nosmet vertemus? Princeps siquidem noster, qui a nobis in regni fastigio sublimatus est, perversus a clericis et ceu monachus factus, per abruptam et asvetam viciorum semitam nos gradi non sinit.”

42. Kristián, ed. Ludvíkovský, p. 46: “quo genitricem suam, que causa tocius nequicie inerat, perturbaret e patria, quatinus ea propulsa cunctisque consentaneis eius viris impiis invidem furor discordiarum sopiretur paxque ecclesie regni accresceret, unum eundemque Dominum cuncti possidentes veram Christi doctrinam perfectissime addiscerent, dispositisque cunctis, que ad pacem regni pertinere cernebantur, . . .”

43. Prague, Národní knihovna, VI.G.11, f. 263r.: “beatus vir Hvencezlaus quam frater male germanus murdus conscius ut cajn abelem olim effecit martyrem.”

44. For example, Prague, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly, A.61.1, f. 188r.; Prague, Národní knihovna, VII.G.5, f. 180v.; Národní knihovna, I.E.11, f. 79v.

45. See, for instance, the litany recorded in an early thirteenth-century liturgical book, the “Codex Ostroviensis” (Prague, MetCap, A 57/1, ff. 137v.–139r.).

46. A photograph of this folio appears in Merhautová and Třeštítk, *Romanské umění*, p.79.

47. The *vitae* thus explicitly disallow Václav’s rigid type casting under *any* of the three subcategories of “royal saint” described by Karol Górski: “La naissance des états et le ‘roi-saint’ problème de l’idéologie féodale,” in T. Manteuffel and A. Gieysztor, eds., *L’Europe IX^e–XI^e siècles* (Warsaw, 1968), pp. 425–32.

48. *Das Homiliar*, p. 20.

49. *Das Homiliar*, p. 58: “nam cum esset princeps et dominus huius terrae, gloria et honore et divitiis exaltatus, in tantum se ante deum die et nocte humiliavit, ut nullatenus eum diabolus suis insidiis vincere aut seducere posset.”

50. Kantor, p. 64; *CF*, FRB I, p. 187; Gumpold, FRB I, p. 161; Kristián, ed. Ludvíkovský, p. 74.

51. Kantor, p. 65; *CF*, FRB I, p. 188; Gumpold, FRB I, p. 162; Kristián, ed. Ludvíkovský, p. 74.

52. *CF*, FRB I, p. 188; Gumpold, FRB I, p. 161; Kristián, ed. Ludvíkovský, p. 78.

53. Extant liturgical calendars are extremely difficult to date with precision unless they include obvious twelfth-century saints such as Bernard of Clairvaux to provide a *terminus post quem*, especially since a separate quire of a dozen folios could easily have been bound into a liturgical manuscript of divergent provenance. Václav's feast appears, however, in several manuscripts; those in which Bernard's feast is *not* listed include: Prague, Národní knihovna, VI.G.11; Národní knihovna, VI.E.4c; Národní knihovna, VI.E.13; Olomouc, Zemský Archiv, CO 584; Prague, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly, A 57/1.

54. E.g., Prague, Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly, A.61.1; Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly, B7.

55. Cosmas II: 42, p. 148: “sed unam hiemalem in pascha, alteram estivalem in festo sancti Wencezlai suis capellanis donat.”

56. *Das Homiliar*, p. 20: “Videntes fratres carissimi multitudinem populi, ut decet ad sanctam ecclesiam concurrere, quasi apes ad sua alvearia . . .”

57. Cosmas II: 17, pp. 108–9: “Cum ad festum sancti Wencezlai dux Zpitigneu venisset Pragam, videns ecclesiam sancti Viti non adeo magnam nec capessentem populum concurrentem ad festivitatem sanctam, . . . optimum ratus fore, ut ambas destrueret et unam utrisque patronis magnam construeret ecclesiam.”

58. Cosmas II: 4–5, pp. 89–90. Cosmas inserts the stories of the martyred Polish monks in I: 38, pp. 68–72.

59. Cosmas III: 54, p. 228 and II: 34, p. 130.

60. E.g., Cosmas III: 54, p. 228; CVyšehrad, p. 215; Vincent, p. 458.

61. Cosmas, Preface to Book I, p. 2: “Cosmas, quod dicitur haud dici dignus, Deo tamen et sancto Wencezlao famulantium famulus.” Later, at the close of Book I, he gives thanks to “God and Saint Adalbert” (I: 42, p. 80): “nunc auxiliante Deo et sancto Adalberto ea fert animus dicere, que ipsimet vidimus, vel que ab his referentibus, qui viderunt, veraciter audivimus.”

62. Cosmas III: 33, p. 204: “villa Sekircostel, quod pater suus et mater pro remedio animarum suarum Deo et sancto Wencezlao nobis famulantibus habendum tradiderant. . . . ‘Et nunc non episcopo, non alicui persone, sed Deo et sancto Wencezlao vobis famulantibus predictum forum restituo.’”

63. Increased attention on Adalbert may date to the time of Bishop Meinhard, since the Canon of Vyšehrad reports (p. 207) that, in 1129, he “renovated the tomb of the holy bishop, Adalbert, with gold, silver, and crystal.” Not long thereafter, incidentally, the Canon of Vyšehrad says, Adalbert's head was found in the cathedral (CVyšehrad, p. 205). The monk of Sázava links this find with the discovery, also in 1143, of Václav's hair shirt (MSázava, pp. 261–62).

64. On episcopal and chapter seals, see J. Krejčíková, “Introduction à la sigillographie tchèque,” *Archiv für Diplomatik* 39 (1993): 62ff.

65. Original seals are attached to duplicate copies of a donation to Plasy: Prague, Státní Ústřední Archiv, AZK #576 and 577.

66. Olomouc, Knihovna metropolitní kapituly, CO 187, f. 1v. Reproduced in Merhautová and Třeštítk, *Romanské Umění*, p. 159.

67. The *sacra furta* was loudly protested to the pope; Cosmas seems not to know who precisely complained, but indicates that they called for both the duke and the bishop to be excommunicated (Cosmas II: 6, p. 91). Messengers sent to Rome, armed with excuses as well as ample cash, convinced the pope to be lenient; as penance for “transferring a holy body from place to place without our permission” and other offenses against fellow Christians, the duke and the bishop were required to establish and lavishly endow a new monastery (Cosmas II: 7, pp. 91–93).

68. Cosmas II: 7, p. 93: “Quibus dux, velut divinis iussis obtemperans, sub honore sancti Wencezlai martiris in urbe Bolezlau iuxta flumen Labe, ubi idem sanctus olim feliciter consummavit martirium, venustissimum fabricavit cenobium, in quo, sicut et hodie cernitur, Deo servit caterva fratrum numerosa et habetur prepositura et basilica valde religiosa.”

69. One exception appears in the calendar found in Prague, Národní Knihovna, VI.E.4c.

70. It is difficult to judge how well or little known the two saints’ stories were, but Václav’s seems to have been widely known and Adalbert’s, at least the versions told in the *vitae*, less so. Several Latin and Slavonic legends of Václav’s martyrdom were composed and circulated in the Czech Lands; strikingly, the three *vitae* of Adalbert, composed soon after his death by John Canaparius, Bruno of Querfurt, and an anonymous author, are all of non-Bohemian provenance (cf., Vlasto, p. 101). While Cosmas declines to tell the story of Václav’s life, Adalbert’s he narrates briefly over several chapters, excerpting the *vita* by John Canaparius (Cosmas I: 25–31, pp. 46–56).

71. Cosmas III: 35, p. 206: “Duce Wladizlao et universa plebe Boemorum cum iocunditate et leticia sui patroni Wencezlai celebrantibus natalicia, . . .”

72. Cosmas III:1, pp. 160–61: “postquam huius terre secundum ritum debitis obsequiis digne sancte Wencezlai sui patroni in urbe Praga celebravit natalicium, et omnibus satrapis atque comitibus magnificum per tres dies exhibuit convivium . . .”

73. Vincent, p. 452: “in festo beati Wencezlai feliciter revertitur.”

74. CVyšehrad, pp. 227–28: “quia ad festum sancti martyris Wenceslai repatriare nequivit, in prefato castro Olomucz eius festum egit.”

75. P. Spunar, “O Kodexu Vyšehradského z liturgického hlediska [On the Vyšehrad Codex from a liturgical perspective],” *ČSČH* 16 (1968): 755–83; and K. Stejskal, “Vyšehradský Kodex a jeho místo v ottonském umění [The Vyšehrad Codex and its place in Ottonian art],” in *Královský Vyšehrad*, pp. 26–43.

76. CVyšehrad, p. 221: “Itaque praedictus princeps discretionis spiritu refertus, ne ultra suo pontifice proprio careret, III kal. Octobris in sua metropoli Praga concilium facit, in quo cuncti Bohemiae optimates tam clerici quam laici fuerunt; nam forte propter festum beati patroni nostri, Wenceslai martyris, ibidem convenerant.”

77. See the table provided in Žemlička, “Politický kalendář,” pp. 45–46.

78. CDB no. 180, p. 177: “ut liceat prefato duci Boemie Wadizlao illis temporibus, quibus nos coronam et diadema glorie portamus, in nativitate domini videlicet et in pascha et in penthecosten, circulum portare, et amplius in festivitate videlicet sancti

Venzelai et sancti Adelberti, eo quod illas sollempnitates propter patronos suos maiori reverentia et celebritate tota Boemia veneretur.”

79. CDB no. 251 (ca. 1170): “ecclesie sancti Wenczelai villam Bikkos contuli, ita quod ipsam custos sepulcri sancti Wenczelai et sui successores sine contradictione canonicorum in perpetuum obtineant.”

80. Cosmas I: 9, p. 19: “Hac in urbe olim in futurum bine auree ascendent olive, que cacumine suo usque ad septimum penetrabunt celum et per totum mundum signis et miraculis coruscabunt. Has in hostiis et munibus colent et adorabunt omnes tribus terre Boemie et nationes relique. Una ex his vocabitur Maior Gloria, altera Exercitus Consolatio.”

81. Cosmas II: 3, p. 85.

82. Cosmas II: 4, p. 85.

83. Cosmas II: 4, pp. 88–89.

84. Cosmas II: 5, pp. 90–91.

85. *Das Homiliar*, pp. 15–16 (“Adalbertus noster patronus”), 20–1 (“noster patronus Wenczelus”), 27, and, in reference to both, 58–59. The phrase occasionally appears with reference to other saints, e.g., Emmeram (p. 51).

86. *Das Homiliar*, pp. 58–59: “Idcirco rogemus fratres et sorores sanctum Wenceslaum et sanctum Adalbertum, quos deus patronos huic parvulae terrae concessit, ut per eorum intercessionem a visibilibus et invisibilibus liberati inimicis, . . .”

87. CVyšehrad, p. 215.

88. Cosmas II: 34, pp. 130–31.

89. CVyšehrad, pp. 225–27.

90. CVyšehrad, p. 225: “quiddam novum mirandum divinae pietatis ac potentiae opus inserere . . .” In the woman’s vision, Saint John introduces his companion to her, calling Gotthard “my brother” (p. 226): “ego sum Johannes evangelista, cuius sollemnina per orbem terrarum a fidelibus in crastinum celebranda sunt. Hic est frater meus sanctus Gotthardus.”

91. CVyšehrad, p. 215.

92. CVyšehrad, p. 216: “Interea dus Sobeslaus dei misericordia precibusque sancti Wenceslai munitus, Poloniam cum exercitu . . .”

93. MSázava, p. 255: “Spero in dei misericordia et in meritis sanctorum martyrum Christi Wenczelai atque Adalberti, quia non tradetur terra in manus alienigenarum.’ Ex hinc ergo prudentissimus dux iactans totum cogitatum suum in domino, circumivit omnia monasteria, divina implorans in adversis eventibus sibi adminiculari praesidia.”

94. CVyšehrad, p. 204: “Haec duce Sobieslao omnia agente, misit suum capellanum in villam, quae vocatur nomine Wirbcane, cui fuit nota res, qui invenit in pariete ecclesiae vexillum sancti Adalberti pontificis, et suspensum est in hasta sancti Wenceslai martyris in tempore belli contra Saxones, ubi deus vicit eos. Amen.”

95. The story of the banner (CVyšehrad, p. 204) comes literally as an appendix to the account of the victory and of the vision of Václav on his horse.

96. Older historiographic debates paid close attention to Václav’s lance itself, e.g., Otakar Bauer, “Kopí svatého Václava [The lance of Saint Vaclav],” *ČČH* 36 (1930): 351–59. A spearhead held to be Václav’s lance is preserved to this day among the Bohemian royal insignia. On the broader phenomenon of “holy lances” in medieval central Europe and their political significance, see Johannes Fried, *Otto III. und Boleslaw*

Chrobry: Das Widmungsbild des Aachener Evangeliars, der "Akt von Gnesen" und das fruhe polnische und ungarische Konigtum: Eine Bildanalyse und ihre historischen Folgen (Stuttgart, 1989).

97. Cosmas II: 47, p. 154: "Hactenus vobis et huic patrie nostra suffragia defuere, quia gratia Dei indigni extitistis, ex quo bellum hoc plus quam civile inter Boemiam et Moraviam principes isti habuere. . . . Quare iam certi de misericordia Dei exurgite, ad ecclesiam properate nosque nominatim sanctum Wencezlaum et sanctum Adalbertum vos absolvisse et pacem apportasse omnibus nunciate."

98. See Chapter 6.

99. Cosmas II: 47, p. 154: "Hac etiam ipsa die aliud item miraculum enituit, quia, ut supra sanctorum martirum revelatio retulit, Conradus frater regis pacem inter ipsum regem et filium eius composuit."

100. Cosmas II: 47, pp. 154–55: "nostri patroni, videlicet sanctus Wencezlaus et sanctus Adalbertus;" and "Et profecto illa tempestate post conditam urbem Pragam pessimum facinus patratum fuisset, si non regis ad votum omnem principum et populi motum sancta dignatio beatissimi Wencezlai et magna miseratio Dei composuisset."

101. Cosmas I: 36, p. 64: "quod erat mira Dei permissio et sancti Wencezlai intercessio;" "iam Christo Boemos respiciente et sancto Wencezlao suis auxiliante."

102. The first coins bearing Václav's name, in which the inscription may be read in three horizontal lines, are Cach #285–86, also #291–92. The "manus Dei," a church, or a cross appears on #287–90. From #293 a portrait bust of Václav appears on the majority of coin-types. Cf. V. Ryneš and J. Hásková, "K počátkům svatováclavského motivu na českých denárech [On the origins of the St. Václav motif on Czech *denáry*]," *Numismatické listy* 22 (1967): 145–52; and J. Hásková, "K státní ideologii raně feudálních Čech [On the state ideology of early feudal Bohemia]," *Numismatické listy* 29 (1974): 71–77.

103. Cach #294, 296.

104. A number of Břetislav's prereform coins (Cach #297–320) show the older coin-types — *manus Dei*, cross, bird — on either the obverse or the reverse.

105. On its earliest use, see Ryneš and Hásková, "K počátkům svatováclavského motivu," and Hásková, "K státní ideologii."

106. Cach #338 and 344, respectively.

107. See Chapter 3.

108. Cach #348, 349, 351. On Cach #353, the same image appears on the obverse. Hásková argues that this represents the lance of St. Maurice, granted Vratislav by Henry IV after its capture from Rudolf of Reinfelden in 1080 ("K ikonografii," p. 65). While this interpretation is possible, there seems little reason necessarily to understand the spear shown here outside the context of established ducal iconographic attributes.

109. Cach #430, 443.

110. Cach #354. Hásková remarks on the harmony between the obverse and reverse of this coin, showing the full complement of attributes associated with rulership, both ducal and royal ("K ikonografii," p. 67). See also Hásková and Vitanovský, p. 196. Again a Moravian adaptation of this image seems to support this interpretation of Vratislav's "ideograph": three pennies issued by Lutold of Znojmo (d. 1115) show a hand reaching out of a similar rotunda church holding, in this case, a staff with a cross; the image appears twice on the obverse, once on the reverse; on all three the reverse inscription invokes St. Nicholas (Cach #410–12).

111. In some garbled inscriptions the letters, rather than being punched at random or even in an approximation of a name, have been punched symmetrically.

112. Cach #348, 349, 351, and 353, respectively.

113. Cach #347, 352.

114. Cach #374. Another of Otto's pennies has the hand with a spear and banner on the reverse (Cach #373).

115. Cach #388–90.

116. See Chapter 7.

117. Cach #413.

118. Cach #414–17.

119. Cach #418.

120. A. Merhautová-Livorová, "Antická tradice na českých denárech [The antique tradition on Czech *denáry*]," *Umění* 25 (1977): 540–46.

121. Cach #419.

122. Cach #420.

123. On this and subsequent pennies showing these two saints together, cf. P. Radoměský and V. Ryneš, "Společná úcta svatého Václava a Vojtěcha zvláště na českých mincích a její význam [The joint cult of Sts. Václav and Adalbert, especially on Czech coins, and its significance]," *Numismatické listy* 13 (1958): 35–48.

124. Cach #421.

125. Cach #422.

126. Cach #423.

127. Cach #466, 461–65 (virtually identical), and 460, respectively.

128. Cach #534–41, 550–53, 555–56, and 558. Another penny might be added to this group, since the images and inscriptions seem to be mismatched by mistake: a man with his hands raised in prayer appears within the circle reading "DVX . WLADIZ-LAVS" while an equestrian figure holding some kind of sphere aloft in his right hand accompanies the words "SCS . WENCEZLAVS" (Cach #542).

129. Cach #544, 560, and 562 (tall cross); 547, 554, and 561 (with attributes); and 548 (winged).

130. Cach #547–48.

131. Cach #557, 549, and 559 respectively.

132. Cach #543, 545.

133. Cach #546.

134. Cach #572–74 and 577 (Václav alone); 571, 575–76, 578, 581, 583, and 585–86 (Václav and Adalbert).

135. Cach #591 and 594–97 (Václav and Adalbert); #588–89 and 593 (Václav alone).

136. Cach #603–4, 606, 608–11. A few others show Václav alone within an ecclesiastical structure (605, 612–14).

137. Cach #600.

138. Concerning the development and standardization of ducal iconography, see Chapter 7.

139. Cach #365 (Conrad) and 372–77 (Otto).

140. Cach #362–64. It should be noted that on many of these Moravian coins, the inscriptions are badly garbled, though educated guesses can safely be made.

141. Cach #333, 334, 335 (where the inscriptions on both obverse and reverse are

garbled), and 336. On each of these the figure on the obverse holds a spear or banner, the man on the reverse a cross.

142. See Chapter 4.

143. Cach #366–67 (Conrad).

144. Virtually all of the many pennies attributed to Svatopluk at Olomouc, i.e., before his reign as duke (1107–9), have Václav's name on the reverse (Cach #425–59). The same holds for those of Otto II (Cach 467–86); the notable exceptions are *denáry* issued jointly with Spitihněv, the son of Bořivoj and perhaps for a time vice-duke of Brno (Cach 487–90).

145. Cach #391–92, 395–96, 401 (cross); and 393–94, 398–99 (spear). On one of the latter, the saint carries a shield as well as a spear and seems to wear a helmet (399). Another coin Cach attributes to Oldřich at Brno has a bearded portrait, identified in the inscription as St. Václav, on one side; the other shows a large church with a garbled inscription (397).

146. Cach #409–12. Furthermore, a series of pennies attributed to the mint at Brno during what Cach calls an “interregnum” possess inscriptions that clearly read “SANCTVS PETRVS” on one side and “SANCTVS IOHANNES” on the other (Cach 402–7). They may instead be coins issued by a bishop of Olomouc, several of whom were named John, exercising his minting rights at Podivín—though this necessarily remains conjecture.

147. See Chapter 3, n. 71.

148. Libuše, the prophetess and consort of Přemysl, she who designated him to be the duke of Bohemia, has been expunged from the scene.

149. Cach #618–68.

150. For an overview of Czech seals see Krejčíková, “Introduction,” and, with illustrations, J. Čarek, “O pečetech českých knížat a králů z rodu Přemyslova [Concerning the seals of Bohemian princes and kings from the Přemyslid dynasty],” *Sborník příspěvků k dějinám hlavního města Prahy* 8 (1938): 1–56. Krejčíková, mistakenly I think, considers the use of seals “a royal attribute” that was first adopted by Vratislav only to “disappear” until the reign of Vladislav II (p. 38).

151. Olomouc, Zemský Archiv, MCO #1, 2.

152. G. Skalský, “České mince a pečeti 11. a 12. století [Czech coins and seals of the eleventh and twelfth centuries],” *Sborník Národního musea A* 1 (1938/39): 34ff. and Čarek, p. 35. The Václav side of the ducal seal has often been viewed as a separate seal, independent from that of the duke, and, as a result, there has been considerable debate about what it represents (e.g., whether it constituted a “Landessiegel”). Cf., Vladimír Vašků, “Příspěvek k otázce svatováclavské pečeti [Comment on the question of the St.-Václav seal],” *Sborník práce filosofické fakulty brněnské univerzity C* 7 (1958): 26–39; R. Nový, “K počátkům feudální monarchie v Čechách I. (*Sigillum commune regni*) [On the origins of feudal monarchy in Bohemia I (*Sigillum commune regni*)],” *Časopis Národního muzea řada historická* 145 (1976): 144–64.

153. In the thirteenth century, Přemysl Otakar employed a single seal for most of his thirty-four year reign, showing him holding orb and scepter, and Václav with the lance, banner, and shield. After 1224, he adopted a revised version, but hardly altered the iconography (Čarek, p. 12).

154. Prague, Státní Ústřední Archiv, ŘM #953. The fabrication of this seal, iden-

tical to the single-sided seal hanging on another document from the Prague Hospital known to be a forgery (RM #952), is of relatively poor quality, suggesting a forgery.

155. A number of Frederick's original seals survive, e.g., Prague, Státní Ústřední Archiv, ŘM #958. Two examples of Conrad Otto's seal are extant: Brno, Moravský Zemský Archiv, E57 Premonstráti Louka, A1 and Prague, Státní Ústřední Archiv, AZK #581.

156. From Přemysl's short reign as duke see, for instance, Prague, Státní Ústřední Archiv, AZK #583.

157. Skalský, "České mince a pečeti," pp. 38–39.

158. The seal used by Přemysl during 1193 constitutes an exception: the inscriptions read only "DVX PREMISL" on the obverse and "SANTVS WENCEZLAVS" on the reverse.

159. Prague, Státní Ústřední Archiv, KVš #7 and AZK #575. The same holds for the pendant seal attached by a pair of threads to Státní Ústřední Archiv, ŘM #953.

160. Prague, Státní Ústřední Archiv, ŘM #960.

161. Prague, Státní Ústřední Archiv, AZK #494, 495.

162. See above.

163. Prague, Státní Ústřední Archiv, ŘM #2891 and Prague, Archiv pražského metropolitní kapituly, #7; these are duplicates of the same grant (CDB no. 349). See also, Brno, Moravský Zemský Archiv, E57 Premonstráti Louka #2; the charter itself (CDB no. 411f.) is a forgery but the seal appears to be genuine.

164. Gerlach, p. 511.

165. Cach #647. On the obverse of two similar pennies, the bishop wears a mitre but holds a lance with a banner in place of a crozier (Cach 659, 650).

166. Státní Ústřední Archiv, AZK #587. The text of the document describes these as "sigillis nostris et sigillis sanctorum patrum Wencezlai atque Adalberti" (CDB no. 348). For an alternate interpretation, cf., Nový, "K počátkům feudální monarchie v Čechách I. (Sigillum commune regni)."

167. For Conrad Otto's seal: Brno, Moravský Zemský Archiv, E 37 Premonstráti Louka, #1.

168. Cf., Otakar Bauer, "O původu dvojstrannosti české pečeti panovnické [Concerning the origin of the double-sided Czech ruler's seal]," *ČČH* 37 (1931): 320.

169. See Chapter 7.

170. Krejčíková, pp. 39, 40. A similar argument is made for the coins: Radoměřský and Ryneš, "Společna ucta," p. 37.

171. A concept made famous by Ernst Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies* (Princeton, N.J., 1957).

172. Kantorowicz, p. 74.

173. The literature on these matters is vast; for a concise treatment, see J. Nelson, "Kingship and Empire," in *The Cambridge History of Medieval Political Thought, c.350–c.1450*, ed. J. H. Burns (Cambridge, 1988), pp. 232–51.

174. Although some of his points accord with the analysis presented above, I would disagree with Arno Borst's discussion of Václav: *Medieval Worlds: Barbarians, Heretics, and Artists in the Middle Ages*, trans. Eric Hansen (Chicago, 1991), pp. 130–31.

175. Thus, Frederick, in a donation of land to the Austrian Cistercians at Zwettl, asks them to observe the feast of "our patron Saint Václav" on his behalf (CDB no. 311 [16 June 1186]).

CHAPTER 6. DYNASTIC RELATIONS, MORAVIA,
AND THE PROGRESS OF REVOLT

1. The most recent survey of medieval Moravia, which includes a bibliography and description of older works, is by J. Válka, *Dějiny Moravy* [History of Moravia], vol. 1 (Brno, 1991).

2. The legal and institutional relationship of Moravia to Bohemia is, therefore, treated in all surveys of medieval Moravia, as well as specific articles: A. Fischel, "Mährens staatsrechtliches Verhältnis zum Deutschen Reiche und zu Böhmen im Mittelalter," *Studien zur österreichischen Rechtsgeschichte* (1906): vii–138; A. Polák, "Jaký byl státoprávní poměr Moravy k říši Německé a ke království Českému? [What was the state-legal relationship of Moravia to the German empire and to the Bohemian kingdom?]" *Casopis Matice moravské* 13 (1907): 298–313; R. Wierer, *Poměr Moravy k říši římsko-německé* [The relationship of Moravia to the Romano-German Empire] (Brno, 1928); L. E. Havlík, "O Moravě v českém státě [On Moravia in the Czech state]," *Vlastivědný věstník moravský* 20 (1968): 187–208; and, very recently, J. Válka, "Morava ve struktuře a historii českého lenního a stavovského státu [Moravia in the structure and history of the Czech feudal and estate state]," *Moravský historický sborník* 1 (1986): 22–45.

3. The only study explicitly devoted to the link between Moravia and succession to the Bohemian throne consists chiefly of a chronicle of events, and is much out-of-date: J. V. Koutný, *Die Premysliden Thronkämpfe und Genesis der Markgrafschaft Mähren* (Vienna, 1877).

4. A list of 24 documents pertaining to Moravia, except letters to or from Henry Zdík, includes CDB nos. 79 and 80 (1078); 110 (ca. 1126); 114, 115, and 116 (ca. 1131); 127 and 128 (1142); 135 (1144); 138 (1144) and 158 (1146); 143 and 145 (1145/46); 157 (ca. 1146); 201 (ca. 1154); 208 (1160); 247 (1169); 270 (1174); 292 (ca. 1174); 294 (ca. 1178); 301 (ca. 1183); 326 (1190); 353 and 354 (1195/96). Items linked together in this list have the same subject matter.

5. Most current historiography betrays one of two tendencies. The first treats the Czech Lands without regard to differences between Moravia and Bohemia, implicitly assuming that circumstances were the same in both regions; the second focuses on Moravia alone. The former is typical of surveys and the latter of most of the historiography on Moravia. The inherent bias of the sources themselves toward Prague, the dukes, and Bohemia, renders the effacement of Moravia effortless but separate study virtually impossible. The analysis here attempts to walk a fine line between the two approaches.

6. A small body of scholarship has been explicitly devoted to describing the early eleventh century in terms of "crisis," arguing, moreover, that such a crisis was formative in the coalescence of the "Czech state." Cf., in particular, the works of Barbara Krzemińska, e.g., "Krise českého státu na přelomu tisíciletí [The crisis of the Czech state at the turn of the millennium]," *ČSČH* 18 (1970): 497–532.

7. See Chapter 2.

8. Cosmas I: 34, pp. 61–62.

9. Cosmas I: 34, p. 62.

10. Cosmas I: 34, p. 62.

11. Cosmas I: 36, p. 65: “et isdem familiaribus inimicis de quibus supra retulimus, fraudulentè suggerentibus fratrem suum Iaromir tercià die privat lumine.”

12. Thietmar records that Jaromír indeed became duke when Bolesław Chrobry was expelled from Bohemia in 1004, but also that he ruled until Oldřich's usurpation in 1012 (*Die Chronik des Bischofs Thietmar von Merseburg und ihre Korveier Überarbeitung*, MGH, SS.r.G., n.s. 9, ed. R. Holtzmann [Hanover/Leipzig, 1935], pp. 287–91, 361, respectively).

13. Cosmas I: 42, p. 79: “Ast illos, qui sunt Wrisovici, iniquorum patrum nequam filii, nostri generis hostes domestici, familiares inimici . . .”

14. Cosmas I: 42, p. 79.

15. A puzzling note appears in Cosmas's chronicle, the only entry for 1003: “Hic interfecti sunt Wrissovici.” (I: 37, p. 68) The relevant footnote provided by Bretholz refers to Thietmar of Merseburg concerning the same year. That passage describes the expulsions and executions accompanying Bolesław Chrobry's conquest of Bohemia, but neither mentions the Vršovici by name nor otherwise indicates that they were among those murdered. Thietmar, MGH, SS.r.G., n.s. 9, p. 255: “Enimvero cum Bolislaus Boemensis cerneret populum suum execrando ritui deditum, in maxima securitate constitutum, impietatem suam ad confrigenda federa pacis, quam sacramentis firmaverat, intantum armavit, ut, collectis in unam domum coram se cunctis optimatibus, primo generum suum gladio in caput eius merso ipse occideret ceterosque inermes in ipsa sancta quadragesima, vir sanguinum et dolosus nec sibi concessos umquam dignus dimidiare dies, cum sui malicie fautoribus interficeret.”

16. The massacre of the Slavnikids, variously explained, is traditionally interpreted as the culmination of the consolidation of Přemyslid overlordship over all of Bohemia, and thus the decisive moment in the process of Czech state-building. See the Introduction.

17. The accounts in the *vitae* by Canaparius and Bruno are extremely vague, though Bruno's reflects knowledge of Soběslav's activities after fleeing Bohemia: *Monumenta Poloniae Historica*, vol. 1, ed. August Bielowski (Lwow, 1864), pp. 179, 208–10, respectively.

18. Cosmas I: 29, p. 53: “Nam sub quadam festiva die, furtim irrumpunt urbem Lubic, in qua fratres sancti Adalberti et milites urbis universi velut oves innocentes assistebant sacris missarum sollempniis festa celebrantes. At illi ceu lupi inmanes urbis menia irrumpentes, masculum et feminam usque ad unum interficientes, quatuor fratribus sancti Adalbert cum omni prole ante ipsum altare decollatis urbem comburunt, plateas sanguine perfundunt et cruentis spoliis ac crudeli preda onerati hylares ad proprios redeunt lares. Interfecti sunt autem in urbe Lubic quinque fratres sancti Adalberti anno dominice incarnationis DCCCCLXXXV, quorum nomina sunt hec: Sobebor, Spitimir, Bobrazlau, Porey, Cazlau.” The man here called Soběbor is taken to be Soběslav, whose name is known from the coins and German sources.

19. Cosmas I: 29, p. 53: “Et quia tunc temporis dux non erat sue potestatis, sed comitum, comites verse in Dei odium, patrum iniquiorum pessimi filii, valde malum operabantur facinus et iniquum.” Thietmar of Merseburg confirms that Boleslav II had been struck by paralysis (*paralisi percussus*); MGH, SS.r.G., n.s. 9, p. 468.

20. Cosmas I: 35, pp. 63–64: “Nec mirum, si ille paruit duci, cum nostris temporibus Wacek sub mola rusticana natus tercium Heinricum, regem potentissimum —

o indignum facinatus—catena aurea ut molossum traxit in Boemiam; et quod iubet famulorum famulus, paret dominorum dominus atque Borivoy ducem iusti tenacem virum veracem, usque ad genua compeditum rex mittit in custodiam ceu iniquum hominem et mendacem. Sed hec in suo loco plenius exarabuntur stilo.” This is the sole instance in the entire *Chronica Boemorum* of a digression from the chronological narrative, excepting brief notes of “whom we will discuss more fully below.” In another instance, after relating an anecdote of Spitihněv’s justice to a poor widow, he addresses the secular lords of his day directly: “What do you say to this, O present-day princes, you who do not answer the cries of so many widows and so many children but, puffed up with pride, despise them?” (Cosmas II: 17, p. 109: “Quid ad hec vos, o moderni principes, dicitis, qui tot viduarum, tot pupillorum ad clamores non respicitis, sed eos tumido fastu superbiendo despicitis?”)

21. The two regions are geographically distinct, separated not only by forest but oriented on different river systems. Bohemia comprises the watershed for the Elbe flowing north. The Ohře and Vltava flow into the Elbe, the Berounka and Sázava into the Vltava. In Moravia, however, the three main rivers, Morava, Svratka, and Dýje, flow south, eventually joining the Danube. River traffic thus leads out in opposite directions rather than connecting Bohemia and Moravia to one another.

22. There are several studies devoted to this question: B. Bretholz, “Mähren und das Reich Herzog Boleslaus II. von Böhmen,” *Archiv für österreichische Geschichte* 89 (1895): 137–80; V. Chaloupecký, “Kdy byla Morava připojena k českému státu [When was Moravia annexed to the Czech state],” *ČČH* 48/49 (1947–48): 241–47; J. Dřímál, “Připojení Moravy k českému státu za knížete Oldřicha [The annexation of Moravia to the Czech state in the reign of prince Oldřich],” *Časopis matice moravské* 68 (1948): 22–49; G. Labuda, “Utrata Moraw przez panstwo polskie w XI wieku [The loss of Moravia during Polish rule in the eleventh century],” in *Studia z dziejów polskich i czechoslowackich*, vol. 1 (Wrocław, 1960), pp. 93–124; B. Krzemienska, “Wann erfolgte der Anschluss Mährens an den böhmischen Staat?” *Historica* 19 (1980): 195–243.

23. Cosmas I: 33, pp. 59–60.

24. Cosmas I: 40, p. 75: “quia re vera post obitum secundi Boleslai sicut urbem Pragm ita totam Moraviam vi obtinuerant Polonii.”

25. Cosmas I: 40, p. 75: “profiscitur in Moraviam. Nam antea pater sibi totam illam terram tradiderat in potestatem fugatis cunctis de civitatibus Poloniis, ex quibus multos comprehensos, centenos et centenos ordinatim catenatos vendi iusserat in Ungariam et ultra.”

26. Cosmas II: 15, p. 105: “Moravie regnum, quod olim pater eius inter filios suos dividens partem dimidiam Wratizlao, partem alteram Conrado et Ottoni dederat.”

27. Cosmas II: 18, p. 110: “orientalem plagam, . . . que fuit aptior venatibus et abundantior piscibus.” There is a vast historiography concerning Olomouc, including the results of much archeological research. Selected items include: V. Richter, *Raně středověká Olomouc* [Early medieval Olomouc] (Prague, 1959); J. Bistrický, “Počátky hradu a města [Beginnings of castle and town],” in J. Bartoš, ed. *Malé dějiny Olomouc* [A short history of Olomouc] (Olomouc, 1972), pp. 18–32; P. Michna, “Velkomoravská a přemyslovská Olomouc [Great Moravian and Přemyslid Olomouc],” *Vlastivědný věstník moravský* 34 (1982): 18–27; P. Michna, “K útvaření raně středověké Moravy (Olomouc a historické Olomoucko v 9. až počátku 13. století) [On the formation of early medieval Moravia (Olomouc and the historic region of Olomouc in the 9th to

the beginning of the 13th centuries)],” ČSČH 30 (1982): 716–44; P. Michna et al., *Olomouc* (Prague, 1984); L. Konečný, “Glosy k problematice románské Olomouce [Glosses on the problem of Romanesque Olomouc],” *Sborník prací filosofické fakulty Brněnské univerzity* F 30–31 (1986–87): 17–32; P. Michna and M. Pojsl, *Románský palác na olomouckém hradě* [The Romanesque palace in Olomouc castle] (Brno, 1988).

28. Curiously, he is more often called “bishop of Moravia” than “bishop of Olomouc,” even in German sources—though the same does not hold for the bishop of Prague. On this designation, cf. Z. Charouz, “‘Morava, moravský’ v písemných pramenech 9.–13. století [‘Moravia, Moravian’ in written sources of the 9th to 13th centuries],” *Slovenská archivistika* 22 (1987): 107–10. On the conflicts between the most influential bishop of Olomouc, Henry Zdík (1126–51), and the Moravian vice-dukes, see below.

29. There are no other names for these regions; they are always identified by the name of the main castle. This is done easily in Czech by the addition of the suffix *-sko* to indicate the territory around a single place, e.g., Brnensko, which is employed once by the Canon of Vyšehrad (p. 215: “dux de parte Moraviae, que vocatur Brninzco.”)

30. Cosmas II: 18, p. 110: “Regio autem illa est planior et campestris atque fertilior fructibus.”

31. Besides studies of Znojmo in the Great Moravian period and of the famous frescoes in the castle’s chapel, see: L. E. Havlík, *Znojmo* (Brno, 1956); V. Richter, B. Samek, and M. Stehlík, *Znojmo* (Prague, 1966); V. Richter, “Vyšetření, jak vznikla některá moravská města [An examination of how several Moravian towns originated],” *Brno v minulosti a dnes* 9 (1970): 137–49; and L. E. Havlík, “K postavení znojmské Hradiště a hradu v 9.–12. století [On the status of Znojmo Hradiště and the castle in the 9th to 12th centuries],” *Jižní Morava* 24 (1988): 133–47.

32. Cosmas II: 35, p. 131: “Cum enim utrarumque provinciarum terminos non silva, non montes, non aliqua obstacula dirimant, sed rivulus, nomina Dia, fluens per plana loca vix eas disternit.”

33. Histories of Brno include: B. Bretholz, *Geschichte der Stadt Brunn*, vol. 1 (Brno, 1911); V. Richter, “Z počátku města Brna [From the beginnings of the town of Brno],” *Časopis Matice moravské* 60 (1936): 257–314; B. Bretholz, *Brunn: Geschichte und Kultur* (Brno, 1938); G. Chaloupka, “K počátkům města Brna [On the beginnings of the town of Brno],” *Brno v minulosti a dnes* 1 (1959): 146–50; J. Dřímál, V. Pesa, et al., *Dějiny města Brna* [History of the Town of Brno] (Brno, 1969); V. Richter, “Vyšetření”; D. Čejnková, Z. Měrinský, and L. Sulitková, “K problematice počátku města Brna [On the problem of the origins of the town of Brno],” ČSČH 31 (1984): 250–70; and Z. Měrinský, “900 let prvé historické zprávy o Brně [900 years of historical information about Brno],” *Vlastivědný věstník moravský* 43 (1991): 281–91.

34. Rudolf Turek thus argues that these divisions accord with regions differentiated culturally already during the time of the Great Moravian Empire: “Územní předpoklady vzniku moravských úředních knížectví [Territorial preconditions for the appearance of Moravian dynastic principalities],” *Sborník prací filosofické fakulty Brněnské univerzity* E 16 (1971): 151–70.

35. The boundaries of administrative districts have been mapped out by L. Hošák: “Územní rozsah hradských obvodů moravských v. 11. až 13. století [Territorial extent of Moravian castle districts in the eleventh to thirteenth centuries],” in *Pocta Z. Nejedlému* (Olomouc, 1955), pp. 141–51. While the remarkably detailed charter issued

by Henry Zdík in 1141, as well as other place-names in the written sources, do allow rough boundaries to be drawn between Olomouc, Brno, and Znojmo, scholars must remain wary of the assumption that ecclesiastical districts accorded with secular ones, particularly since the charter indicates that the Moravian diocese was organized around the churches of Olomouc, Přerov, Spitihněv, Břeclav, Brno, and Znojmo, that is, divided into six parts rather than three. In addition, the same problems described in Chapter 1 concerning the number, prominence, and role of various castles apply.

36. In 1145 Conrad of Brno met Henry Zdík and Otto of Olomouc at the border, that is, at Úsobrno (Vincent, p. 414: “convenit exitus terre illius . . . sic ad telonium Vzobren ante ecclesiam”). The Hradiště charter issued by Otto I provides evidence that Úsobrno lay on the Olomouc side, since it includes the *curia* there (CDB no. 79 [1078]: “data est curia, que vocatur Uzobren . . .”; repeated verbatim in CDB no. 208 [1160]). Vincent’s account of Conrad’s attack on Bishop Henry Zdík notes that he barely escaped across the border and into safety at Litomyšl (ibid., p. 415–16: “usque Lutomisli cum magno labore deducunt, et sic diversa pericula mortis vir bonus . . . evadit.”).

37. CDB no. 79.

38. CDB no. 80.

39. CDB no. 208 (1160): “ac primi ducis Moraviensium senioris Ottonis . . . necnon et omnium principum Moraviensium . . . Wacezlaus dux Moravie pro remedio . . . Otto dux iunior dedit . . . [witnesses:] Cunradi principis Moraviensium . . .” On the basis of these and other references, I disagree with the argument by J. Keř that designations as duke or prince “of Moravia” always indicate the vice-duke of Olomouc: “O tzv. bezprostřední podřízenosti Moravy říši [On the so-called direct subordination of Moravia to the Empire],” *Sborník archivních prací* 28 (1978): 233–37.

40. Cosmas II: 35: “Conradum diarcham Moravie”; CVyšehrad, p. 209: “ipseque monarcha Boemorum”; ibid., p. 236: “Conradus tetrarcha.”

41. CDB no. 79 (1078).

42. There is also documentary support for an episcopal mint at Podivín in southern Moravia, although the numismatic evidence on this point is obscure. Many Moravian coins remain without attribution, however, and there are a variety of other problems with many of the current attributions. It is not clear, for instance, when “Moravian” coins were issued by Přemyslids as vice-dukes or minted by them in Moravia in their capacity as duke of Bohemia. More importantly, for most of the twelfth century, we have no data at all, since only two hoards buried after 1130 have been found and both consist entirely of foreign coin; as a result, we have no coin-types of “Moravian” attribution at all after that date. For general literature on minting in Moravia: J. Smolík, *Denáry údělných knížat na Moravě* [Denáry of the subordinary princes in Moravia] (Prague, 1896); I. L. Červinka, *Mince a mincovnictví markrabství moravského* [Money and minting in the Moravia margravate] (Brno, 1897); J. Ječný, “Die Prägungen der mährischen Teilfürsten im XI. und XII. Jahrhundert,” *Der Münzsammler* 3 (1930): 3–8; P. Radoměský, *Počátky mincovnictví na Moravě* [The beginnings of minting in Moravia] (Prague, 1949); J. Sejbál, “K problematice peněžního vývoje na Moravě [On the problem of monetary development in Moravia],” *Numismatické listy* 20 (1965): pp. 65–106; P. Radoměský, “K počátkům moravského mincovnictví feudálního období [On the beginnings of Moravian minting in the feudal period],” *Sborník I. numismatického symposia* (Brno, 1966), pp. 58–68; J. Sejbál, *Dějiny peněz na Moravě* [History of money

in Moravia] (Brno, 1979); J. Sejbal, ed., *Denarová měna na Moravě* [*Denár coins in Moravia*] (Brno, 1986).

43. CDB no. 157 (ca. 1146–48). The charter grants the bishop immunity from the authority of the vice-dukes; see below.

44. Cf., the older argument by V. Brandl, who also believes, however, that the vice-dukes were barred from disposing of land without the duke's permission: "Poměry markrabství moravského ku koruně české [Relations of the Moravian margravate to the Bohemian crown]," *Pravník* 9 (1870): 292–95; likewise, Polák, p. 303.

45. Cosmas II: 45, p. 152: "Nonne nos et nostra tua sunt?"

46. Cosmas III: 34, p. 205: "sed volo castigare eum, ut castigatus resipiscat et cognoscat atque sui posterī discant, quod terra Moravia et eius dominatores semper Boemorum principis sint sub potestate, sicut avus noster pie memorie Bracizlaus ordinavit, qui eam primus dominio suo subiugavit."

47. Vincent, p. 411: "sacrilego ausu contra dominum suum arma sumit."

48. See below.

49. Cosmas II: 15, p. 105: "vadit novus dux novum disponere Moravie regnum, quod olim . . ."

50. Cosmas II: 15, pp. 105–6: "vocat trecentos viros, quos ipse novit meliores et nobiliores . . . iussit comprehendere et catenatos misit ad custodiendum, dividens eos per singulas civitates Boemie, equos autem et arma eorum inter suos distribuit et tenuit viam in Moraviam."

51. Cosmas II: 15, p. 106: "Ergo dux Zpitignev postquam ad suum placitum omnia ordinavit in Moravia."

52. Cosmas II: 18, p. 110: "confestim Moravie regnum inter fratres suos dividit per medium dans Ottoni orientalem plagam, quam ipse prius obtinuerat, . . . occidentalem vero, que est versus Teutonicos, dat Conrado, qui et ipse sciebat Teutonicam linguam."

53. Cosmas II: 43, p. 149.

54. Cosmas II: 43, p. 148–50. See below.

55. Cosmas II: 13, p. 102; see Chapter 3.

56. Cosmas II: 15, p. 106: "Quod audiens frater eius Wratizlaus valde eum timuit et secessit in partes Pannonie, relicta coniuge Olomuc in urbe."

57. Cosmas II: 15, p. 106: "fratres suos accepit, ut essent secum in curia, Conradum preficiens venatoribus, Ottonem vero posuit super pistores atque cocos magistrum."

58. Cosmas II: 14, p. 103: "iussit eliminari de terra Boemia, quin etiam et genitricem non tulit remanere suam, . . ." There exists much historiographical debate about whether this expulsion indeed occurred, which I will not engage here, but no one doubts Judith's exile.

59. Cosmas II: 16, p. 107: "Quod cum audisset dux Zpitignev sagaci ingenio precavens, ne forte invaderet frater suus totam cum Ungaris Moraviam, mittens nuncios revocat eum de Ungaria et reddidit sibi civitates, quas ei ante pater suus dederat in Moravia."

60. Cosmas (I: 41, p. 77) reports that Spitišnĕv was born in 1031.

61. Cosmas II: 23, p. 116. In some genealogies provided in older historiography, Jaromír is shown last among Břetislav's sons, apparently on the assumption that he

must have been youngest if he was designated for the church. Cosmas, however, lists the five brothers in very strict order (II: 1, p. 82): “Fuit autem primogenitus nomine Zpitig-neu, secundus natus Wratislau, tercius stemmate Conradus, quartus genitura Iaromir, quintus et ultimus Otto pulcherrimus.”

62. Cosmas II: 18, p. 110: “sperans aliquam portionem se habiturum hereditatis in patrio regno”; “quamvis invitum et coactum atque nimis renitentem totondit eum, et in presentia ipsius ducis ordinatus est usque ad diaconatus officium legitque publice evangelium . . .”

63. Cosmas II: 18, p. 111: “sumpsit militare cingulum et aufugit cum suis sequacibus ad ducem Polonicum mansitque secum usque Severi episcopi ad obitum.”

64. Cosmas II: 22, p. 114: “Interea dux Wratislaus precavens sibi in futurum et timens, ne germanus suus, cum presul factus foret, cum predictis fratribus contra se conspirarent, cepit tacitus secum tractare quoquo modo posset eum episcopo defraudare.” See also II: 28, p. 123: “Timuit enim dux, ne frater suus Iaromir per insidias tolleretur eum de medio,” and later II: 45, p. 153: “Timuerat enim rex valde, ne frater suus et filius conspirarent contra eum.”

65. Cosmas II: 22, p. 114: “ita dux aliud clausum retinens in pectore, aliud primit suis fratribus ore: ‘Non est,’ inquit, ‘unius hominis tractare hos negotium, quod postulat communis ratio omnium.’”

66. Cosmas II: 23, p. 115.

67. Cosmas II: 23, p. 115: “Fit murmur in populis, nec resonat vox congratulationis, sicut semper solet in tempore episcopalis electionis.”

68. Cosmas II: 19, p. 111 (concerning the year 1061): “‘Koyate, filio Vseboris’; qui tunc temporis primus erat in palatio ducis.” The description of the assembly indicates that Kojata stood next to Otto, who was immediately next to Vratislav—a prominent position.

69. Cosmas II: 24, p. 117: “‘Arma, arma’ clamant singuli, omnibus est odio illa inconsulta episcopalis electio.”

70. Cosmas II: 24, p. 117: “Ideoque maior pars exercitus cessit ad illos tres dominos . . . Et quia iam altera pars militum precesserat in silvam, videns dux quasi se destitutum nec satis fratrum ab impetu fore tutum fugit quam celerius potuit timens, ne ipsi preoccuparent Pragam aut Wissegrad urbem.”

71. Cosmas II: 24, p. 117: “‘Non propter Koyate filii Wsebor magniloquam linguam aut Zmil filium Bozen, . . . quod factum est, feceram . . . verum nunc magis paterne traditionis memor, sacramentorum eius, quod iusticia, quod fraterna dilectio poscit, faciam.’”

72. Cosmas II: 24, p. 117: “quos illi pacifice suscipiens fratrem suum Iaromir eligit in episcopum, Conradum vero et Ottonem datis et acceptis inter se sacramentis dimittit cum pace in Moraviam.”

73. Cosmas II: 24, p. 117: “At vero Zmil et Koyata quamvis inter principes conacionati sint vera et iusta, tamen, nisi noctu elapsi delituisse fuga, sine omni audientia dux eos ut hostes rei publice punisset.” Cosmas reports that Severus died on 9 December 1067 and dates the conclusion of the matter to 15 June 1068.

74. Cosmas II: 23, p. 115–16. The Greek words are a reference to Boethius, *Consolation of Philosophy*, I:4. The rest of this speech is, however, without Biblical or classical allusions, even the most minor, with the exception of *proselytis et advenis* (Tob. 1: 7).

75. Cosmas II: 24, p. 117: “‘Eamus,’ inquit, ‘et videamus, utrum unius versucia et

simulata equitas prevaleat an iusticia et mira equitas precellat trium fratrum, quos par etas, una voluntas, eadem potestas sociat et maior militum copiositas iuvat.”

76. See Chapter 4.

77. Cosmas II: 38, pp. 140–41.

78. Cosmas II: 43, pp. 148–49: “rex Wratizlaus valde iratus est contra fratrem suum Cunradum, quia his non inmemor mutue dilectionis favebat parti filiorum fratris sui Ottonis, Zvatopluk videlicet et Ottik, quibus expulsis de paterna hereditate filio suo Bolezlao rex urbem Olomuc et alias civitates tradiderat, ubi non longo post tempore in predicta urbe inmatura preventus est mort III. id. Augusti.”

79. Cosmas II: 43, p. 149: “postquam vero vidit solum Cunradum post obitum fratrum ex omni parte fraterno amminiculo privatum, ingressus est cum exercitu Moraviam, ut eum similiter expelleret de provincia, que sibi sorte ac funiculo hereditatis et per concessionem iure acciderat paternam.”

80. Cosmas tells this story in II: 39, pp. 142–43. On a campaign in Saxony, when the army was returning from an engagement, Břetislav chose to go swimming and send the baggage on ahead, in the face of advice to the contrary. When the baggage was attacked and ransacked, Břetislav’s humiliation was complete.

81. Cosmas II: 43, p. 150: “‘Si te,’ inquit, ‘quis sis cognoscis, ignem me non minus quam te urentem extinguere noli timere; negligere laudabile non est.’ Non enim latuerat Cunradum, quod rex hec omnia ageret Zderad per consilium.”

82. Cosmas II: 44, p. 151: “Solut rex meret et plorat et omnes iuvenem laudant, quamvis aperte laudare non audeant.”

83. Cosmas II: 44, p. 151: “Bracizlaus autem non longe ultra unum monticulum separatim sua transfert castra, quem maior pars exercitus et forcior bello est secuta.”

84. Cosmas II: 44, p. 152.

85. Cosmas II: 44, p. 153: “Timuerat enim rex valde, ne frater suus et filius conspirarent contra eum.”

86. Cosmas II: 46, p. 153. Whether this Hradec is in far northern Moravia or Hradec (Králové) in northeast Bohemia remains uncertain; the former is perhaps likely since more remote.

87. Cosmas II: 46, p. 153: “Quotquot enim secuti eum fuerant, nullus ausus est proprios revisere lares, quia regem, quem offenderant, valde metuebant, ne captos aut in vincula mitteret aut capitali sententia dampnaret. Videns autem rex, quod non posset, uti volebat, iram suam ulcisci in filio nec in eius sequacibus, advocat fratrem suum Cunradum et congregat terre maiores natu atque corroborat omnium sacramento comitum, quo post suum obitum frater eius Conradus obtineat solium ac Boemie ducatum. Tunc rex roboratus fratris sui consilio simul et auxilio cepit aperte machinari, qualiter ulciscatur in filio.”

88. Cosmas II: 46, p. 153: “Nec hoc latuit Bracizlaus filium eius, et sine mora congregati sunt ad eum plus quam tria milia fortium virorum et accelerantes metati sunt castra circa Rokitnicam rivulum, in crastinum parati contra regem committere prelium.”

89. Cosmas II: 47, p. 154. See Chapter 5.

90. Cosmas II: 47, p. 154: “Nam antea in tantum discordabant, ut uterque ab utrimque suspecti, iste ne solio privaretur, ille ne a patre caperetur, valde invicem timerent. Sed illum par etas iuvenum et maior pars procerum, manu quidem promptiores et bello forciores, comitabantur, istum vero episcopus Cosmas et prepositi ec-

clesiarum omnesque terre, etate provectiores et consilio utiliores, cum omni militia plebis favebant et nimio affectu venerabantur.”

91. Cosmas II: 48, p. 155: “ita ille numquam cessabit a vindicta, donec omnia, quibus eum offendimus, usque ad unum iota non dimittit inulta. Qua de re aut nos quovis terrarum abire dimittas cum tui gracia aut nobiscum ubicumque terrarum al-ciora queras palatia. Nulli enim magis quam tibi nostro parati sumus servire domino.”

92. Cosmas II: 48, p. 155: “maluit cum eis extraneum querere panem, quam solus sine milite cum patre domesticam habere pacem.”

93. Cosmas II: 48, p. 155.

94. Cosmas III: 17, p. 180: “Hi fere universas Boemie civitates circueuntes alios pecunia corrumpunt, alios muneribus, alios promissionibus obligant et, quos sciebant novarum rerum avidos aut dignitatibus privatos aut versatiles et animo inconstantes, omnibus versuciis asciscunt in partes Zvatoplik ducis.”

95. Cosmas III: 17, pp. 181–82: “Quos abeuntes dux Borivoy cum suis prosequitur et, quamvis septies plus de militibus habeat, tamen non audet cum eis committere prelium, quia timuit suorum perfidiam, ne sua castra deserentes ad hostium se transferant militiam.”

96. Cosmas III: 19, p. 185: “Ergo Borivoy mitis ut agnus regno privatur, et Zvatoplik sevir tigride, ferocior leone intronizatur.”

97. Cosmas, III: 17, p. 182.

98. Cosmas III: 34, pp. 204–5.

99. Cosmas III: 58, p. 236: “Talia ut sensit princeps Moravie Otto fieri, que semper adherebat ducis lateri, timens, ne forsitan caperetur, tristis revertitur in Moraviam.”

100. See Chapter 3.

101. For analysis of imperial involvement in Czech domestic affairs and particularly in succession conflicts, see Chapter 7.

102. All of these events are related in Cosmas III: 1, 5, 8–9, 12–25, 27.

103. Cosmas III: 27–28, pp. 195–98.

104. Cosmas III: 43, pp. 217–18. Oldřich and Lutold had died sometime before 1115.

105. Cosmas III: 46, pp. 219; the entire chapter consists of a short poem: “Nunc, mea Musa, tuum/ digito compesce labellum./ Si bene docta sapis,/ caveas ne vera lo-quaris,/ Ut mecum sapias,/ breviter solummodo dicas;/ Est Borivoy rursus/ regni de culmine pulsus./ Augusti quarta/ post idus sunt ea facta.”

106. Cosmas III: 35–37, 39–41, 50, 53, 56.

107. Cosmas III: 58, pp. 233–37. Soběslav secretly returned from exile at word of his brother’s illness, in time to be reconciled before his death. Soběslav was enthroned on 16 April 1125 (Cosmas III: 60, p. 238). Here, incidentally, Cosmas’s chronicle ends, coincident with his death on 12 October 1125.

108. CVyšehrad, pp. 203–4; Msázava, pp. 254ff.; *Otonis et Rahewini Gesta Friderici I. imperatoris*, MGH, SS.r.G. 46, ed. G. Waitz (Hanover/Leipzig, 1912), pp. 34–36; *Chronica regia Coloniensis*, MGH, SS.r.G. 18, ed. G. Waitz (Hanover, 1880), pp. 63–64; *Annales S. Petri erphesfurtenses, Continuatio*, MGH SS.r.G. 42, ed. O. Holder-Egger (Hanover, 1899), p. 34; *Annales Hildesheimensis*, MGH, SS.r.G. 7, ed. G. H. Pertz and F. Kurze (Hanover, 1878), p. 66. See Chapter 7.

109. Cosmas III: 4, p. 165. The latter’s wife and children were exiled as well; according to Cosmas, both men were well received by the duke of Poland.

110. Cosmas III: 4, p. 165: “semper enim illam nationem Wrissoviçi habuit exosam, quia sciebat eam superbam esse valde et dolosam.”

111. Cosmas III: 13, p. 175.

112. Cosmas III: 14, p. 176: “similiter Bosey et Mutina redeunt de Polonia, quibus duce Bořivoj non ex corde, sed pro necessitate temporis concedente gratiam suam recipiunt civitates suas, quas ante habuerant, Bosey Satc et Mutina Lutomerice.”

113. Cosmas III: 22, p. 189. From his account, it is not clear whether Cosmas himself believed Mutina indeed guilty of duplicity or considered Vacek to have deliberately lied.

114. Cosmas III: 23, p. 190.

115. Cosmas III: 23, p. 191: “Tunc dux astanti et conscio sui conatus lictori ex obliquo innuens exiit foras. Qui statim super Mutinam nihil tale metuentem irrui. O mira pacientia comitis! Ad duos ictus sedit immobilis, ad tertium vero cum surgere conatur, capite plectitur.”

116. Cosmas III: 23, p. 191.

117. Cosmas III: 23, p. 192.

118. Cosmas III: 24, p. 192. He notes that they were buried without coffins or funeral rites on 27 October 1108. The killer, Krása, accused Božej of murdering his relative Thomas (“Exi, sceleste, exi, male conciliate, qui meum cognatum Thomam occidisti sine causa in tempore quadragesime.”)

119. Cosmas III: 24, p. 193: “Scire mihi non licuit, quot capita gente ex illa leto sunt dedita, quia nec in una die nec uno in loco sunt perempti. Alii namque in forum ducti ceu bruta animalia sunt mactati, alii in monte Petrin decollati, multi in tectis sive in plateis sunt trucidati.”

120. Cosmas III: 27, p. 196: “ut post a referentibus audivimus, missus a Iohanne filio Csta de gente Wrissoviçi, . . .”; III: 32, p. 203: “Inter quos Iohannes, filius Csta, de gente Wrisovic captus, de quo supra retulimus, iubente Wacek visu privatus est et naso.”

121. It was formally remembered in the necrology of the church of Prague, compiled later in the century; *Necrologium Bohemicum*: “[V. kal. Oct.] Hic interfectu sunt Ursenses” (F. Graus, “*Necrologium Bohemicum—Martyrologium Pragense a stopy nekrosmovského pojetí českých dějin*,” ČSČH 15 [1967]: 808).

122. See Chapter 2.

123. Cosmas III: 24, p. 193: “Vidimus enim eos miserabiliter in forum trahi et sepius clamantes ‘Mater mi! Mater mi!’ cum cruentus carnifex ambos ceu porcellos sub ascella interficeret cultello.”

124. Cosmas III: 32, p. 203.

125. Cosmas III: 39, pp. 211–12.

126. Cosmas III: 32, p. 203.

127. Břetislav II’s son, Břetislav, was imprisoned in 1126; Conrad, son of Lutold, in 1128; Vratislav, son of Oldřich, in 1129 (CVyšehrad, pp. 204, 206). These arrests were just the first moves in a series of imprisonments and releases, exiles and returns, involving all of the mature Premyslids of the next generation.

128. The last such reference, unexplained, pertains to 1128 (CVyšehrad, p. 206): “multi principes Boemorum capti et catenati atque inclusi sunt in custodia a duce Soleslao.”

129. Cosmas III: 58, p. 234 (at Vladislav's death in 1125): "Inter hec primates terre conturbati, ceu pisces in turbida aqua, incerti, dum mente titubarent, consternati, . . ."

130. Cosmas, colophon, p. 241.

131. CVyšehrad, pp. 207–12.

132. CVyšehrad, p. 208: "Qui presentibus primatibus Bohemiae interrogavit nefandos latrones . . ."

133. CVyšehrad, p. 209: "Alter vero die, quemadmodum apes convolare solent ad ducem et ad matrem suam, ita Bohemienses primates rescientes suum principem evasisse tanta pericula, convenerunt in altiore urbem Wissegrad, ibique inveniētes eum, gaudent de eius salute, ut mater de unico filio."

134. CVyšehrad, p. 209: "dux Sobieslaus congregavit nobiles et ignobiles in palatium Wissegradense, etiam Pragenses canonicos, atque nos ibidem fuimus. Fuit multitudo magna virorum in concilio illo, pene tria millia."

135. CVyšehrad, p. 210: "Miroslaus autem conspectui ducis astare iussus est, praeceptumque est, ut unus de primatibus ab eo hanc causam inquireret, . . ."

136. CVyšehrad, p. 210. For a verbatim citation of Miroslav's words, see Chapter 3.

137. CVyšehrad, pp. 211–12. See Chapter 4.

138. CVyšehrad, p. 212. A brief account of the whole affair is provided by the Monk of Sázava, p. 257: "Sobezlaus, dux Boemorum, insidiatores vitae sua quosdam decollavit in foro Pragense publice, quosdam pedibus ac manibus ac linguis et visu privavit. Bracizlaus, filius Bracizlai ducis, privatus est oculis."

139. CVyšehrad, pp. 209–10.

140. Cosmas III: 58, p. 234: "Omnes quidem Boemii primi et secundi ordinis eum diligebant et eius [Soběslav's] parti favebant, sola autem ductrix et pauci cum ea adiuabant Ottonem. . . . Inter hec primates terre conturbati, ceu pisces in turbida aqua, incerti, dum mente titubarent, consternati, regina Zvatava mater ducis premonita et instructa Zobeclau ab amiicis venit, ut visitaret filium suum . . ."

141. CVyšehrad, pp. 231–32: "Interea quanti rumores, quanta consilia Bohemiae proceres actitarent, silentio preterire sanioris consilii aestimavi, ne forte singula, ut fuerunt, prosequendo odium fortasse alicuius incurram. Confluxerant enim cuncti primates Bohemi in urbem Wissegrad, et die noctuque consilia tractantes, illi illum et illi illum eligere et inthronizare contendebant. Omnis tamen ille conventus solum Nacerath intendebant, ut cuicumque ipse faveret, huic omnes pariter unanimiter subiacerent."

142. CVyšehrad, p. 229.

143. Vincent, p. 410: "a senioribus et nobilioribus Boemie plurimis, a quibus equitas oriri debuit, egressa est iniquitas. . . . quidam nobiles in terra hac meliora beneficia obtinentes cuncta secundum voluntatem eorum disponere voluerunt. Et cum hec adipisci non possent, conventicula tractantes revere de sanguinibus, dicunt se male elegisse sibi dominum, qui tanti ducatus gubernacula regere non posset."

144. CVyšehrad, p. 235: "oritur inter Bohemos vesana seditio, quae eos perfidiae stimulo turbatos in duas turmas divisit, et melior nobiliorque pars ad Conradum, ducem Moraviae, perrexit, inferior vero et iunior cum Wladislao remansit."

145. MSázava, p. 261: "Nacerat comes at alii primates Boemiae adversus ducem Wladizlaum conspiraverunt, et uniti Moraviensibus Boemiam magna manu hostiliter intraverunt. Deinde bello congressi, Boemis cedentibus, Pragam obsederunt, . . . Tan-

dem superveniente rege Romanorum Cuonrado depulsi ab obsidione urbis recesserunt et Moraviam redierunt.”

146. CVyšehrad, p. 236: “Conradus tetrarcha cum suis sequacibus in terram suam latenter effugit, et amplius non comparuit.” MSázava, p. 261: “Tandem superveniente rege Romanorum Cuonrado depulsi ab obsidione urbis recesserunt et Moraviam redierunt.” Vincent, p. 413: “in medio noctis silentio de Boemia fugam iniit.”

147. CVyšehrad, p. 235: “Moravienses cum profugis Bohemis . . .”; “Bohemi videntes Moravos invalescere . . .”; AHO, p. 397: “Ast Wladizlaus, dux Boemicus, cum suis victus a Moravicis . . .”

148. Břetislav, who must have been born between 1094 and his father’s death in 1100, would have been approximately thirty-four years old at the time of the trial. The sons of Soběslav I, by contrast, were probably small children in 1130.

149. Vincent, p. 409 and AHO, p. 396; CVyšehrad, pp. 204, 206, 212, 217, and 224.

150. AHO, pp. 393–94; CVyšehrad, p. 207; MSázava, p. 257.

151. CVyšehrad, p. 215.

152. AHO, pp. 395, 396.

153. Theobald and Henry each fathered one son. Theobald, son of Theobald, became “the father of those now called the Děpoltici,” who would later be granted several castellanies in eastern Bohemia [Gerlach, p. 461]. Until the early thirteenth century, there is no indication that these men participated in machinations for the throne. For a genealogical analysis of Theobald’s descendants: K. Jasiński, “Studia nad genealogią czeskich Dypoldowicůw [A study of the genealogy of the Czech Depoltici],” *Sobótka* 1 (1981): 59–68. Henry’s son, Henry, was marked for the church, specifically the bishopric of Prague, and was sent to study in Paris (Gerlach, p. 478). Given the general disinclination of the Přemyslids to appoint their sons bishop (after the debacle with Jaromír), this move itself reinforces the impression that Theobald’s and Henry’s lineages were to become cadet branches. That Bishop Henry would later seize the throne, as well as the bishop’s see, demonstrates that the strategy was not entirely successful.

154. Jaromír may have died during Soběslav’s reign; the reference to the imperial campaign of 1132 is all we know of him. Besides his brief tenure as vice-duke of Olomouc, the only other reference to Leopold is his participation in the 1142 revolt. Pieces of Spitihněv’s life may be reconstructed: in 1141, he traveled to Jerusalem on pilgrimage; in 1142, joined the revolt; in 1147, went on crusade with Vladislav; and, upon returning in 1148, was seized for “excesses.” He died on 9 January 1157, soon after returning from a long exile. (MSázava, p. 261; Vincent, p. 410, 417, 418; MSázava, p. 263)

155. Vladislav, the eldest, fled into exile after Vladislav II’s enthronement, returned to join the revolt of 1142, and thereafter is only known from occasional appearances in witness lists (CVyšehrad, p. 234; Vincent, p. 410; CDB nos. 157 [ca. 1146–48] and 227 [1165]). Oldřich tried to claim the throne from the emperor in 1154, was convinced by Bishop Daniel to settle for the castellany at Hradec, and in 1155 fled to Poland (Vincent, p. 421). Later, in 1173, when he agitated on Soběslav’s behalf with the emperor, it is clear that he had long been in exile at the imperial court (Gerlach, p. 465). He is, in fact, listed as a witness to imperial charters from the years 1162, 1165, 1167, 1170, and 1172 (see below). Soběslav returned from German exile to attempt to seize the throne, in 1147; he was imprisoned in 1148 but escaped in 1150; in 1161/62, he tried again to seize Olomouc and was imprisoned at Přimda, where he remained until 1173 (Vincent,

p. 418, 419, 452; MSázava, p. 268; Gerlach, p. 465). Nothing about the youngest, Václav (b. 1137), is known before 1177.

156. Vincent, p. 410: “Et quorundam pravorum inito consilio in Moraviam quidam ad principem Chuonradum, quidam ad Ottonem, quidam ad Wratizlaum, ad hoc ipsum scelus Waldizlao, filio Zobeizlai, Spitigneo et Lupoldo, filiis Boryvoy ducis, adhibito confugiunt et deo aliter disponente principem Chonradum ipso ad hoc aspirante sibi in ducem eligunt.”

157. Vincent, p. 410: “ad domnum Chonradum et ad dominum Wratizlaum nuntios mittit precipiens, qui eos moneant, quatinus terras, quas ab eo habent, fidei ei sub iuramento promisse memores, in pace teneant, nec illorum exulum pravo consilio acquiescant.”

158. Vincent, p. 411: “Domnum autem Heinricum, Moraviensem episcopum, . . . , ad Ottonem, principem Olomucensis provincie, mittit, cuius consilio patrium ei principatum reddiderat et eum monet et fraterne rogat, quod tante gratie eius non sit in memor, quod nullo eius preveniente merito, sed sola eius gratia ducem tanti ducatus eum constituit, et quod consilio domni Chonradi et eorum, qui ad eum de Boemia confugerant, nullomodo acquiescat, sed pro honore eius armis et vita tuendo, sedundum quod debet, stet fideliter.”

159. Vincent, p. 412; CVyšehrad, p. 235.

160. Vincent, p. 413; CVyšehrad, p. 236.

161. Conrad was restored to his “inheritance” at Brno by Vladislav I in 1123 (Cosmas III: 51, p. 224). After trouble with Soběslav I, he was reinstated at Znojmo in 1134 (CVyšehrad, p. 219). His cousin Bratislav was similarly established at Brno after 1132 (CVyšehrad, p. 215). Otto III was recalled from exile in 1140 and Vladislav “enthroned him in his *patria*” at Olomouc (AHO, p. 396).

162. Vincent, p. 413; similarly, MSázava, p. 261.

163. Vincent, p. 414; similarly, AHO, p. 398.

164. Vincent, pp. 414–16; AHO, p. 399.

165. Vincent, p. 416.

166. Vincent, p. 416.

167. In 1142, AHO, p. 397. Two letters from Pope Innocent II, one of personal consolation to the bishop and one reproaching the clergy of the diocese for not adhering to the ban, are extant from 1 April (1142) (CDB nos. 127 and 128).

168. CDB nos. 133 (Innocent II’s commendation of his legate to Henry Zdík); 135 (Guido’s report to the pope): “neque volens neque potens tunc Boemiam ingredi propter guerram, . . . Pragam venimus et ibi Moraviensibus, videlicet Wratizlao et Cunrado et Ottoni gratiam ducis adquisivimus.” AHO records the absolution for 1143, though MSázava says the legate came in 1142 (pp. 398, 261).

169. AHO, p. 399; similarly, Vincent, p. 416.

170. CDB no. 143 (1145): “videlicet Conradum, Wratizlaum, Depaldum, Micul, Jurata, Domazlaum, Slavebor, Ugonem, Cuno, Rodvik, Bogdan, . . . excommunicacionis vinculo innodavimus . . .” A letter from Eugenius to Bishop Henry Zdík from 1146 indicates that Theobald traveled to Rome to obtain absolution and orders the bishop of Olomouc to absolve Bratislav, who was too ill to make the journey; CDB no. 145: “Teobaldum, fratrem dilecti filii nostri W., illustris Boemorum ducis, qui personam tuam et illos, qui tecum erant, invasit, cum quibusdam sociis suis recepimus, et accepto ab eo iuramento, ut de tanto excessu iuxta mandatum nostrum satisfaceret, absolvi

fecimus.” (It seems almost unbelievable that Theobald was involved in the attack on Henry Zdík; although the evidence leaves no doubt, I am at a loss to offer even the most tentative explanation for his participation.) The same letter names the three offending priests.

171. CDB no. 157 (ca. 1146–48).

172. CDB no. 115; see Chapter 4.

173. Vincent, p. 413: “Et sic tota Moravia devastata cum nimia preda Bohemiam revertitur et post tot labores suos milites electos per arma probatos plurimis ditavit beneficiis.”

174. Vincent, p. 417.

175. Vincent, p. 418: “Interea Zobeclus, filius Zobeclai ducis, qui exul in Theuthonicis manebat partibus, audiens fratrem suum, ducem Bohemiae, tam longam viam arripuisse, paternum ducatum affectans, Bohemiam cum suis, quos habebat, intrat et dulcibus verbis et promissionibus quod poterat sibi allicit. Quod cum domino Theobaldo fuisset relatum, diversas insidias, ut eum caperet, ponit, ad ultimam eum in quadam villa ultra Uzdic cum magna militia de nocte circumvenit et tandem in quadam curia captum Pragm deducit et in turri majori et firmiori positum usque ad ducis Waladizlai adventum custodibus fidelibus tradit.” Though a large army was used to surround Soběslav, it is clearly implied by Vincent that he came with but a few men and did not manage to attract many more.

176. Vincent, pp. 427, 455.

177. Vincent, pp. 427ff. It was “quidam nobiles de senioribus Boemie” who disapproved of Vladislav’s promise to go to Milan; those most pleased with his offer of reward were “iuventus nobilium” and other lesser freemen.

178. Gerlach, p. 463: “Zvatopulc, filius regis W[ladizlai], frater Friderici, zelo ductus, quod pater suus comitem Woizlaum supra omnes primarios nimis in altum sublevasset, occasionem, quam sepe quesierat, nactus ex absentia patris, memoratum virum inter manus reginae cultellis confossum interfecit, et eam in manibus, sicut dicitur, cum ipsum defendere vellet, vulneravit. Unde pater eius graviter indignatus, quem capere [non potuit], patria pepulit et usque in Ungariam fugavit.” In charters from 1160 and 1165, Vojslav is listed as *agaso* (CDB nos. 208, 210, 227).

179. A number of imperial charters from 1162, 1165, 1167, 1170, and 1172 show Oldřich among the witnesses, listed as *dux Udalricus*, *Ulricus Boemus*, *Udalricus*, *dux Boemorum*, or other variations along the same lines: CDB nos. 215–20 (1162); 224–26, 231–32 (1165); 236–37, 240–42 (1167); 250 (1170); and 264 (1172).

180. Gerlach, pp. 464–66. These events are described and analyzed in detail in Ch. 7.

181. Gerlach, pp. 470–75.

182. Gerlach, p. 481.

183. Gerlach, p. 506.

184. Gerlach, pp. 508–9.

185. Gerlach, pp. 509.

186. Gerlach, p. 510.

187. Gerlach, pp. 512–15: “cessit tamen hinc propter bonum pacis, inde propter affectum germanitatis, et confederatus est germano suo sub tali forma compositionis, ut ambo pariter, ille in Moravia, iste in Boemia principarentur et esset ambobus, sicut unus spiritus, ita et unus principatus; quod usque hodie inter eos illibatum manet.”

188. Gerlach, p. 516. After 1198, both began using double names, Vladislav Henry and Přemysl Otakar.

189. Gerlach, p. 481: “eadem estate Bohemi nostri maiores natu persecutionem diutinus odiis conflata excitaverunt in ducem Fridericum et eiicientes eum extra terram mille persecutum opprobriis, Kunradum Moraviensem, qui et Otto, . . . sibi eligunt in principem, cum quo Pragam multo tempore obsident et tandem obtinent.”

190. For a much fuller discussion of these issues, see Chapter 7.

191. Gerlach, pp. 464–65: “Nam utrum Boemorum perfidia, an ipsius inercia, nescimus, hoc solum scimus, quod in brevi aversi sunt ab eo, querentes occasionem, quomodo eum evadere et alium domnum possent habere.”

192. CDB no. 180. For further discussion, see Chapter 7.

193. Vincent, p. 420. In 1169, Adalbert was selected as archbishop of Salzburg but was expelled from the see soon afterward. He spent fifteen years as a homeless bishop in the Czech Lands before being reinstated at Salzburg in 1183.

194. Gerlach, pp. 461, 479: “de cuius gratia per quartam partem principabatur”; and p. 478: “qui Parisius nuper redierat, ubi profecerat in bonum clericum” . . . “consecratur in episcopum” (after Pentecost, 1182). It is striking that in order to satisfy Theobald and his lineage, they were allotted not one but three castellanies, at Čáslav, Chrudim, and Vráclav, which apparently formed a coherent bloc in eastern Bohemia. Thus, Theobald’s grandson styles himself: “ego Theobaldus, dux Cazlawiensis et Hrudimensis et Wratizlaviensis” (CDB II no. 112 [ca. 1204–14]).

195. CDB no. 201; Vincent, p. 426. According to Vincent, a chaplain of Duke Vladislav, named Drago, was first elected but soon afterward publicly refused on the grounds that the burden of the office was too heavy for him to bear. Thereafter, Otto of Olomouc “on behalf of the entire church of Olomouc” elected John, abbot of Litomyšl, as bishop. Whether a dispute over who had the right to appoint the bishop of Olomouc lay beneath the replacement of Drago by John is unknown. Bishops of Olomouc were selected by the duke of Bohemia, not the vice-dukes of Moravia.

196. Vincent, p. 452: “per Conradum et Ottonem principes et per alios primatos gratiam domini regis querit, . . .” Some scholars have identified the Otto named here as “Otto IV,” son of Vratislav, and vice-duke of Brno — in my opinion, incorrectly (Koutný, p. 35).

197. Vincent, p. 455: “Friderici, ducis Moravie, . . .”; CDB no. 247: “ego Fridericus, dux Olomucensis provintie.”

198. CDB no. 270. It is interesting to note that this charter lists Ratibor as castellan of Hodonín and Jaroš (known from other documents as his son) castellan of Přerov (see Appendix). The appearance of Bohemian freemen — men who were prominent in Bohemia as castellans and court officers before and, for Jaroš, long after this time — in *Moravian* castellanies was rare, even given the scarce documentation, and thus it seems that Soběslav was particularly concerned to secure Olomouc. Whether the goal was to bolster Oldřich’s authority or to assure his allegiance is uncertain.

199. Gerlach, pp. 471ff. Two charters, one issued at Klosterneuburg and another by Barbarossa at Regensburg, include among the witnesses “Ernesto, Conradi Moravien-sis comitis filius”: CDB nos. 173 (Aug. 1156) and 175 (Sept. 1156). This man is mentioned nowhere else; most likely, he was a brother of Conrad Otto who died relatively young.

200. Gerlach, p. 472: “cui prius dederat terram Bernensem, . . .” It is not at all clear when Vratislav of Brno died or who, if anyone, was his successor as vice-duke, nor

is there evidence that he had any children. Three sons are listed in older genealogies, although none, to my knowledge, have appeared in sources. On “Otto IV,” see above.

201. In Barbarossa’s charter of 1179 confirming the boundaries between Austria and the Czech Lands, both Conrad Otto and Přemysl are listed, the former as *comes de Moravia* and the latter as *margravius de Moravia*. This remains little more than puzzling, however, since no specific territories are distinguished, neither *comes* nor certainly *margravius* is usually used with reference to vice-dukes, and even if Přemysl were here vice-duke of Olomouc, it seems odd, and uncharacteristic, that Gerlach would not have mentioned it even in describing Přemysl’s campaigns in Moravia. In a charter issued ca. 1178–81 the phrase appears: “dux Fredericus tam Boemie quam Moravie ducatum obtinuit.” In a charter from 1181, Conrad Otto is listed as a witness: “dominus Otto princeps Moravie.” Neither reference clarifies whether Conrad Otto held all three vice-duchies. Frederick’s charter may merely be stressing his rule as overlord of both regions, which was customary, while the designation “prince of Moravia” was commonly applied to vice-dukes of any of the three parts of Moravia.

202. Gerlach, p. 481: “isti quidem Boemiam reddidit, illum vero Moravia contentum esse precepit.”

203. The historiography usually argues, according to a *staatsrechtliche* approach, that Moravia became at this time a “margravate,” and such elevation to a margravate in 1182 is thus traditionally viewed as a turning point in the history of Moravia, e.g., Fischel, pp. 43ff.; Polák, pp. 304–4; Wierer, pp. 19ff; and, in the most recent survey, Válka, *Dějiny Moravy*, pp. 43ff. Scholars have, however, debated for a century whether the supposed events of 1182 rendered Moravia directly and exclusively subordinate to the emperor, or whether Conrad Otto remained subject to the duke of Bohemia. The most recent treatment of the question is: J. Kejř, “O tzv. bezprostřední podřízenosti.” See Chapter 7.

204. Gerlach, p. 497: “qui tunc morabatur circa marchionem Moraviae Cunradum, qui et Otto dicebatur”; CDB no. 315: “Otto marchio Moravie”; and CDB no. 326: “Otto, dei gratia Boemorum dux, quondam marchio Moravie.”

205. Gerlach, p. 506: “Fridericus dux iratus Cunrado de Moravia, tum pro antiqua iniuria, qua eum ante tres annos regno pellere tentaverat, tum etiam pro alienatione Moraviae, quam non ab eo, sed de manu imperatoris tenere gestiebat, ratus opportunitatem temporis de absentia imperatoris, qui transalpinaverat, mittit fratrem suum Přemyslonem cum exercitu valido in Moraviam, ut disperdant eam.”

206. Gerlach, p. 506–7.

207. Gerlach, p. 507: “vexatio dedit intellectum saepe dicto Cunrado et videns, se non posse resistere duci Friderico et Boemis, mediantibus bonis viris venit ad eum in Knin, et facti sunt amici ex tunc et deinceps.”

208. Gerlach, p. 508. Incidentally, Frederick’s only son died young (CDB no. 292 [1180]: “pro remedio anime filii mei Wratizlai, cuius deus animam habeat, . . .”).

209. CDB nos. 326 (1190), as witnesses: “Wladimirus et Brecizlaus frater eius, duces Moravie.”

210. Gerlach, p. 509: “Heinricus, Pragensis episcopus, contra Watzlaum ducem cesarem Henricum adiit, et cognatis suis Premyzlao et Wadizlao, illi ducatum Boemiae et alteri vero Moraviam obtinuit, promittens et fide iubens pro eis sex millia marcarum.”

211. Gerlach, p. 511: “Heinricus dux et episcopus abiit cum exercitu in Moraviam

et terram illam sive castra terrae suo dominio subiugavit.” On the exact dates of this campaign, cf., V. Novotný, “Kníže-biskup Jindřich Břetislav na Moravě [Prince-Bishop Henry Břetislav in Moravia],” *Časopis Matice moravské* (1914): 353–60.

212. CDB nos. 353 (26 Dec. 1195 at Opava) and 354 (13 Jan. 1196 at Kunovice): “contuli iure haereditario perpetuo possidendam, in id ipsum consentiente ac favente mihi charissimo fratre meo principe Bratislao/Wladimiro.” Each is listed as witness to the other’s charter. Vladimir is in both instances titled *princeps Olomucensis*, while his brother, presumably younger, is listed as *princeps Moravorum*.

CHAPTER 7. MANIPULATIONS OF IMPERIAL AUTHORITY

1. By necessity, this chapter maintains the study’s focus on affairs within Bohemia and Moravia, although a great deal more could be said about circumstances prevailing in Bavaria, Saxony, the Empire, or central Europe broadly.

2. V. V. Tomek, “O právním poměru Čech k někdejší říši německé [On the legal relationship of Bohemia to the former Empire],” *Časopis Českého musea* 31 (1857): 350–74, 484–516; F. Vavřínek, “O státoprávním poměru zemí českých ku staré říši německé [On the legal state relationship of the Czech Lands to the old Empire],” *Sborník věd právních a státních* 4 (1904): 87–106; A. Fischel, “Mährens staatsrechtliches Verhältnis zum Deutschen Reiche und zu Böhmen im Mittelalter,” *Studien zur österreichische Reichsgeschichte* (1906): vii–138; J. Kapras, “Státoprávní poměr Moravy k říši Německé a ke koruně České ve středověku [The legal state relationship of Moravia to the Empire and to the Czech crown in the Middle Ages],” *Časopis Českého musea* 81 (1907): 400–423; A. Köster, *Die staatlichen Beziehungen der böhmischen Herzöge und Könige zu den deutschen Kaisern von Otto dem Grossen bis Ottokar II* (Breslau, 1912); V. Vaněček, *Stát Přemyslovců a středověká “říše”* [The state of the Přemyslids and the medieval “empire”], 2nd ed. (Prague, 1946); I. Scheiding-Wulkopf, *Lehnsherrliche Beziehungen der fränkisch-deutschen Könige zu anderen Staaten* (Marburg, 1948); W. Wegener, *Böhmen/Mähren und das Reich im Hochmittelalter* (Cologne/Graz, 1959); Z. Fiala, “Vztah českého státu k německé říši do počátku 13. století [The relationship of the Czech state to the German Empire to the beginning of the thirteenth century],” *Sborník historický* 6 (1959): 23–95; F. Prinz, “Die Stellung Böhmens im Mittelalterlichen Deutschen Reich,” *Zeitschrift für bayerische Landesgeschichte* 28 (1965): 99–115; H. Hoffmann, “Böhmen und das Reich im hohen Mittelalter,” *Jahrbuch für die Geschichte Mittel- und Ostdeutschlands* 18 (1969): 1–62; J. Kejř, “Böhmen und das Reich unter Friedrich I.,” in *Friedrich Barbarossa: Handlungsspielräume und Wirkungsweisen des staufischen Kaisers* (Sigmaringen, 1992), pp. 241–89. The issue of Bohemia’s relation to the Empire is also covered in the standard surveys of medieval Czech history—though rarely treated in comparable accounts of the medieval German empire.

This constitutes all of the most recent historiography on the subject, with the exception of articles devoted to coronations, borders, or a few other very specific matters. The fundamental approaches of all these studies, even when they propose opposite conclusions, exhibit the same shortcomings: they focus on the legal, institutional relationship between states (“Bohemia and the Empire”) in a manner that is anachronistic and not consonant with extant sources; their perspective is always imperial and never

seeks to ask what the implications were for internal Czech affairs; and they attribute excessive import to Barbarossa's interference and designs upon the "weak" Czech state of the last quarter of the twelfth century.

3. These arguments always hinge on the term *Abhängigkeit* or *závislost*. Only Prinz notes—of both nationalist views: "Dem liegt eine *falsche Gleichsetzung* von lehenrechtlicher Abhängigkeit mit *Schwäche* zugrunde." [emphasis in original] ("Die Stellung Böhmens," p. 112)

4. While Horst Fuhrmann describes innumerable imperial campaigns in the east, the duke of Bohemia participated in few, and was the object of fewer still. Fuhrmann states: "From Charlemagne's first campaign against the Slavs in 789 to Barbarossa's Polish campaign in 1157 no fewer than 175 armed clashes have been counted, and this does not include minor skirmishes or border conflicts . . . Until the twelfth century there were invasions almost annually, . . ." (*Germany in the Middle Ages, c. 1050–1200*, trans. T. Reuter [Cambridge, 1986], p. 21.) Of course, many of these must have taken place between 789 and the mid-eleventh century. Nevertheless, excepting instances when the emperor sent troops to back a Přemyslid pretender, the only occasion of outright hostility in the eleventh and twelfth centuries was the two-part campaign in 1041/42.

5. The surrounding mountain ranges and forest made conquest of the Bohemians by outsiders particularly arduous, for instance, in ninth-century Frankish campaigns (see C. Bowlus, *Franks, Moravians, and Magyars* [Philadelphia, 1995], p. 58).

6. The Czech chronicles routinely refer to the town/castle of Meissen and the surrounding region as "Sorbia."

7. Concerning these incidents, see Chapter 6.

8. Vincent, p. 413.

9. MGH, DD 10, Frederick Barbarossa, ed. H. Appelt, pt. 1–4 (Vienna: 1975, 1979, 1985, 1990), #201, 473, 636, 1040. Those four documents are, to reiterate: the coronation charter, the grant to Meissen, a letter to Soběslav II, and the resolution of the border dispute. One could perhaps add two others in which the Czech king plays a prominent role—the capitulation charter for Milan (#224) and a letter to Otakar of Styria (#432)—but neither has direct reference to affairs within Bohemia or Moravia.

10. MGH, DD 6, Henry IV, pt. 2, ed. D. von Gladiss (Vienna, 1959), #390.

11. MGH, DD 9, Konrad III, ed. F. Hausmann (Vienna, 1969), #106.

12. For instance, the body of letters concerning the dispute between Vratislav and Jaromír in 1073–74.

13. For further discussion of these charters and their circumstances, see below.

14. This makes episcopal investiture an entirely symbolic gesture. The ramifications of this fact for the broader issue of imperial investiture of bishops, before and after the Concordat of Worms, merit serious examination.

15. The full text of the charter (issued by Henry IV in 1086) is recorded in Cosmas II: 37, pp. 136–40. According to Cosmas, in January 1092 when the new bishop of Olomouc, elected two years earlier, was presented to Henry IV together with a new bishop of Prague for investiture, the bishop of Münster reminded the emperor of his earlier decree. The emperor replied: "Sine modo, ut, quod me meus amicus rogat, faciam; de his autem postea tempore in suo discutiam." (Cosmas II: 49, p. 156) Both bishops were invested and consecrated, and the division of the Bohemian diocese into two bishoprics was never again a subject of dispute.

16. See Chapter 4.

17. Cosmas II: 8, p. 93.

18. Cosmas II: 8, pp. 93–94: “Ad hec Sclavi inquit: ‘Semper salvo tenore nostre legis fuimus et hodie sumus sub imperio Karoli regis et eius successoribus, nostra gens numquam extitit rebellis et tibi in omnibus bellis mansit et semper manebit fidelis, si iustitiam tantum nobis facere velis. Talem enim nobis legem instituit Pippinus, magni Karoli regis filius, ut annuatim imperatorum successoribus CXX boves electos et D marcas solvamus—marcam nostre monete CC nummos dicimus—hoc testatur nostratum etas in etatem; hoc omni anno sine refragatione tibi solvimus et tuis successoribusolvere volumus. At si aliquo preter solitum legis iugo nos aggravare volueris, mori potius prompti sumus quam insuetum ferre onus.’” The earliest records concerning Bohemia and its inhabitants constitute a note by Einhard that Charlemagne fought the *Boemani* among other Slavic peoples in the east: Einhard, *Vita Karoli Magni*, MGH, SS.r.G. 25, ed. G. H. Pertz and G. Waitz (Hanover/Leipzig, 1911), p. 18. This campaign, led by Charlemagne’s son Louis in 804, is recorded in other chronicles and described by Bowlus, pp. 58–60.

19. Cosmas II: 9–12, pp. 95–99.

20. Cosmas II: 12, p. 99: “presul Severus cesaris ad castra clam noctu fugit ab urbe timens, ut estimo, ne quasi domino suo rebellis privaretur sedis honore pontificalis.”

21. Cosmas II: 12, pp. 99–100: “atque his verbis temptat diram deflectere cesaris iram: ‘Bella geris, cesar, nullos habitura triumphos. Nostra terra tua est camera, nosque tui sumus et esse tui cupimus. Nam qui suos in subiectos sevit, hoste credeli crudelior noscitur esse; si spectas ad robur tui exercitus, nos tibi nec momenta rerum sumus. Cur ostendis potentiam tuam quasi contra folium, quod a vento rapitur? Nam ventus deficit, ubi nihil sibi officit. Quod vis ut sis, iam victor es, . . .?’”

22. E.g., *Annales Hildesheimensis*, MGH, SS.r.G. 7, ed. G. Waitz (Hanover, 1878), p. 45; Bozo of Sutri, *Liber ad amicum*, MGH, Libelli de Lite, v. 1, ed. E. Dümmler (Hanover, 1891), p. 583; *Lamberti Monachi Hersfeldensis*, MGH, SS.r.G. 38, ed. O. Holder-Egger (Hanover, 1894), p. 56. The Annals of Altaich, however, tell the story of Bretislav’s capitulation before Henry at greater length and with dramatic flair; the account has been analyzed by Gerd Althoff, “Ungeschriebene Gesetze: Wie funktioniert Herrschaft ohne schriftlich fixierte Normen?” in *Spielregeln der Politik im Mittelalter: Kommunikation in Frieden und Fehde* (Darmstadt, 1997), pp. 297–300.

23. Cosmas II: 12, p. 100: “Insuper ei promittit mille et quingentas marcas denariorum, quod erat tributum trium annorum iam preteritorum. . . . accepta pecunia revertitur mitis pace interposita.”

24. Cosmas III: 38, p. 210 (concerning the year 1112): “Regum antiquorum iuxta statutum regis Heinrici quarti ad nutum dux Wladizlaus nepotem suum, Bracizlai filium et equivocum, cum armata CCC clypeis legione misit Romam.” On other trips to Rome: CVyšehrad, pp. 215, 224; Gerlach, p. 509.

25. Many instances in which the duke of Bohemia attended courts convened in Regensburg are recorded, although that town was not listed in the charter of 1212 (see below).

26. CDB II no. 96 (at Basel, 26 September 1212).

27. Spitihněv joined the Germans against Bela of Hungary in 1060 (*Lamberti monachi Hersfeldensis*, MGH, SS.r.G. 38, ed. O. Holder-Egger [Hanover, 1894], p. 78). In 1108 and 1109 Svatopluk took part in Henry V’s campaigns against Hungary and Poland

respectively, as Bořivoj had done in 1107 (Cosmas III: 22, III: 27 and III: 21). Later in 1149 and particularly in 1157, Vladislav II proved extraordinarily helpful in campaigns to restore the Polish duke, Vladislav, to the throne from which he was ousted (MSázava, p. 264; Vincent, pp. 419, 424–25). Rahewin attributes Vladislav's coronation in 1158 to such service (*Gesta Friderici I. imperatoris*, MGH, SS.r.G. 46, p. 183). On two other occasions, in 1189 and 1194, the emperor "ordered" the Czechs to war in "Sorbia," i.e., the Mark of Meissen (Gerlach, pp. 508, 511).

28. E.g., CVyšehrad, p. 218.

29. That the emperor viewed the duke as a valuable ally in the east is reflected clearly in a letter sent from Barbarossa to Otakar of Styria (CDB no. 186 [ca. 1158]): "Nos itaque auditis singulorum nuntiorum de Hungaria singulis legationibus, sine carissimorum nostrorum consilio, regis videlicet Bohemiae et ducis Austriae, patrum nostri, et tui similiter nihil nunc tractare, nihil ordinare, nihilque prorsus terminare volumus. . . . Quicquid enim vos tres ex consilio vestro una cum legatis nostris super hoc verbo ordinaveritis et statueritis, nos absque omni retractatione ratum habebimus et gratum."

30. Already, at the great battle of the Lechfeld against the Magyars, the Czechs formed one of the eight legions in Otto I's victorious army. See K. J. Leyser, "The Battle at the Lech, 955: A Study in Tenth-century Warfare," in *Medieval Germany and its Neighbors, 900–1250* [London, 1982], pp. 57ff.

31. For the series of letters written by Gregory VII to Vratislav, Jaromír, and others on this matter: CDB nos. 62–73, 75–77. A long letter from Gregory in 1080 reminds Vratislav of this support (CDB no. 81 [2 January 1080]). Apparently Vratislav could never completely renounce him, because ten years later, Henry's pope, Clement, complained at length to the Czech king about his neglect; CDB no. 94 (ca. 1090–91).

32. This was true, as we saw in Chapter 3, when Duke Svatopluk was murdered in 1109 while on campaign with Henry V in Poland: amid chaos, the emperor gathered the Czech magnates together and allowed them to elect their duke. Typically, Henry did not defend the chosen Otto when subsequent events in Prague lead to Vladislav I's enthronement.

33. To give but one example, the Canon of Vyšehrad, ever the avid reporter of natural phenomena, notes for the year 1130 that "Duke Soběslav went to Regensburg for a *colloquium* of King Lothar. There, by the grace of God, he escaped a flood of the river Regen, which lasted a week in the town and destroyed twenty fortifications, and returned home safe and happy" (p. 207).

34. For example, Palatine Count Rapoto is named several times by Cosmas, always in the context of providing, as a favor to the duke of Bohemia, safe conduct through Germany for his envoys (Cosmas II: 29, p. 124; II: 49–50, p. 156–57; III: 2, p. 162.) In the late twelfth century, Gerlach describes the "palatine of Bavaria" as a *socer* of Conrad Otto during his reign as vice-duke of Znojmo and Brno (p. 481–2).

35. Cosmas's account of Duke Vratislav's decision to appoint his brother, Conrad, as vice-duke of Brno constitutes the only direct reference to a duke's or vice-duke's facility in German (Cosmas II: 18, p. 110).

36. *Lamperti monachi Hersfeldensis*, MGH, SS.r.G. 38, p. 250: "preter ducem Boemicum pauci admodum venerunt"; Bruno, *De bello Saxonico*, MGH SS.r.G. 15, ed. W. Wattenbach (Hanover, 1880), p. 24: "His omnibus praeter Boemios fraudatus"; *Carmen de bello Saxonico*, MGH, SS.r.G. 17, ed. O. Holder-Egger (Hanover, 1889),

p. 16: “Et nunquam violata fides bellisque probata/Virtus Poiemicis multisque superba triumphis.”

37. *Lamperti monachi Hersfeldensis*, MGH, SS.r.G. 38, p. 215 (re: 1075): “Dux quoque Boemorum aderant tanto stipatus agmine, ut se solum bello Saxónico sufficere posse vana spe elusus arbitraretur.”

38. Cosmas III: 18; *Annales Hildesheimenses*, MGH, SS.r.G. 7, pp. 53–54; *Vita Heinrici IV. imperatoris*, MGH SS.r.G. 58, ed. W. Eberhard (Hanover, 1899), p. 32.

39. CVyšehrad, p. 20.

40. CVyšehrad, p. 230.

41. Gerlach, p. 516. The 1212 charter issued by Frederick II makes clear that Přemysl Otakar's coronation was the result of these activities; CDB II no. 96: “Inde est, quod nos attendentes preclara devotionis obsequia, que universa Boemorum gens ab antiquo tempore Romano exhibuit imperio tam fideliter quam devote, et quod illustri rex eorum Ottacharus a primo inter alios principes specialiter pre ceteris in imperatorem nos elegit et nostre electionis perseverantie diligenter et utiliter astiterit: sicut dilectus patruus noster, pie memorie rex Philippus, omnium principum habito consilio, per suum privilegium instituit, . . .”

42. Gerlach, p. 469.

43. Burchard of Ursberg, *Chronicon*, MGH, SS.r.G. 16, ed. O. Holder-Egger and B. von Simson (Hanover, 1916), pp. 27–30; *Carmen de gestis Frederici Imperatoris in Lombardia*, MGH, SS.r.G. 62, ed. I. Schmale-Ott (Hanover, 1965), p. 59; *Chronica regia Coloniensis*, MGH, SS.r.G. 18, pp. 97–99, 104; Gottfried of Viterbo, *Gesta Friderici I*, MGH, SS.r.G. 30, ed. G. H. Pertz (Hanover, 1870), pp. 17–18; *Gesta Friderici I. imperatoris in Lombardia*, MGH, SS.r.G. 27, ed. O. Holder-Egger (Hanover, 1892), pp. 28–31; Gunther der Dichter, *Ligurinus*, MGH, SS.r.G. 63, ed. E. Assmann (Hanover, 1987), pp. 298, 387, 394, 408–411; Rahewin, *Gesta Friderici imperatoris*, MGH, SS.r.G. 46, pp. 198, 206, 211–12, 221, 227; Otto of Morena, *Historia*, MGH, SS.r.G., n.s. 7, ed. F. Güterbock (Berlin, 1930), pp. 46–55.

44. MGH, DD 10, Frederick I, pt. 1, #224.

45. Vincent, pp. 424, see below.

46. Rahewin, *Gesta Friderici imperatoris*, MGH, SS.r.G. 46, p. 183: “Suscepto itaque privilegio de usu diadematis aliisque regni insignibus, laetus revertitur et ad Italicam expeditionem rex pariter cum imperatore fastu regali profecturus accingitur.”

47. See below.

48. See Chapter 1.

49. Helmold of Bosau, *Cronica slavorum*, MGH, SS.r.G. 32, ed. B. Schmeidler (Hanover, 1937), p. 7: “servit et ipsa sicut Boemia sub tributo imperatoriae maiestati. . . . Quociens enim ad externa bella vocantur, fortes quidem sunt in congressu, sed in rapinis et mortibus crudelissimi; non monasteriis, non ecclesiis aut cimiteriis par-cunt. Sed nec alia ratione extraneis bellis implicantur, nisi condicionibus admissis, ut substantiae, quas sacrorum locorum tuicio vallaverit, direptionibus publicentur. Unde etiam contingit, ut propter aviditatem predarum amicissimis sepe abutantur ut hostibus, ob quod rarissime ad quaslibet bellorum necessitates asciscuntur.” Helmold (ca. 1120–ca. 1177) applies this description to both the Czechs and the Poles. Since he prefaces it with a description of Bohemia as “full of churches and divine religion” it appears that this is not merely a caricature of a group of barbaric Slavs: “Boemia habet regem et viros bellicosos, plena est ecclesiis et religione divina.” Likewise, *Bernoldi*

Chronicon, MGH, SS 5, ed. G. Pertz (Hanover, 1843), p. 434: “Nam fautores eius ex Boemia, homines libentius quam pecudes praedabantur, ut eos usque ad satietatem suae libidini inhumane prostituerent, et postea inhumanius eos Cinocephalis devorandos venderent.” Bernold’s comment, exaggerated but clear in its sentiments, indicates that the Czechs’ participation in the investiture struggle, already violent, was unwelcome and perceived as barbaric and excessive.

50. Arnold (d. 1211), *Chronica slavorum*, MGH, SS.r.G. 14, ed. J. M. Lappenberg (Hanover, 1868), p. 224: “Sunt enim Boemi natura pravi, actu scelerati et nunquam expeditionem suscipere volunt, nisi liberam habeant potestatem vastandi sancta cum non sanctis.”

51. Otto of Freising, *Gesta Friderici imperatoris*, MGH, SS.r.G. 46: “Dux autem Boemorum, eo quod barbari, qui cum ipso venerant, nec Deum timentes nec hominem reverentes, omnia vicina depopulando nec etiam aecclesiis parcerent, a principe post aliquod tempus redire permissus est.”

52. Gerlach, p. 469.

53. Vincent, p. 421: “qui eodem anno plurimis suis principibus et duci Boemie Merseburk curiam indicit, ad quam dominus dux W[ladizlaus] tamquam novelle creature obaudire nolens ire rennuit, ex consilio tamen domnum D[anielem] episcopum cum quibusdam terrae suae sapientibus ad ipsum dirigit.”

54. Vincent, p. 421. As usual, the latter solution proved short-lived, for the following year Oldřich fled with his followers to Poland.

55. For example, Henry IV invested Bořivoj as Břetislav II’s designated successor, then backed Svatopluk’s deposition of him; he supported and invested Oldřich after Bořivoj’s succession; and he invested Otto as duke after Svatopluk’s assassination, but stood idle as the magnates enthroned Vladislav I. In 1126 Lothar sent an army on behalf of Otto, but became allies with Soběslav I upon Otto’s death and his own defeat. Conrad III invested Soběslav I’s son, Vladislav, as designated successor, then invested Vladislav I’s son, Vladislav II, after his enthronement.

56. Cosmas III: 15: “Postquam vero suo referente legato animadvertit Odalricus nec fratrem suum cedere solio nec comites acquiescere suo consilio, hoc solum obtinuit precibus, ut cesaris per licentiam liceat sibi debitam vi invadere provinciam.”

57. CVyšehrad, p. 236. Conrad restored the duke and returned home “having received the money promised” (*sumpta promissa pecunia*). Vincent too stresses the size of the imperial army, which Conrad of Znojmo did not dare to face. He reports that the emperor celebrated Pentecost at Vyšehrad before returning home (p. 413). Vincent dates the battle at Vysoká to April 25, and Pentecost in 1142 was 7 June.

58. Cosmas, preoccupied with the sin of avarice in general and the emperor’s greed in particular, puts it bluntly (III: 51, p. 224): “Zobeslau autem fugiens a facie sui germani adiit imperatorem in urbe Magoncia, sed parum sua profecerunt negocia, quia sine pecunia apud omnes reges vane sunt cuiuspiam preces et legum obmutescit iusticia.”

59. Cosmas III: 21, p. 188.

60. Gerlach, pp. 509–10.

61. Ducal investiture with banners, discussed below, is usually treated as imperial “confirmation” and presented as evidence of the emperor’s control over his vassal (e.g., Fiala, “Vztah,” pp. 54–75). There is no sign that investiture was a requirement demanded by the emperor for dukes to rule in the Czech Lands or participate in im-

perial campaigns or courts. Given that there is also no evidence of an emperor refusing to invest a duke and that emperors never actively supported an invested duke if he was deposed in favor of another, construing the matter as “confirmation” is extremely misleading.

62. On the use of banners, see, P. E. Schramm, *Herrschaftszeichen und Staats-symbolik*, vol. 2 (Stuttgart, 1955), pp. 643–73. The lance with a banner was a distinctive iconographic mark of rulership in the Czech Lands; the use of banners for investiture within the empire was an entirely separate development.

63. MSázava, p. 257: “Et haec dicens tradidit ei per manum insigne ducatus vexillum, . . .”

64. CVyšehrad, p. 233: “Wladislaus cum suis convenit regem Conradum, levirum suum, in urbe Bamberg, et ibi accepto vexillo a rege rediit ad sua.”

65. Gerlach, pp. 472, 508, 510 (“cum vexillis, sicuti mos est, solempniter investitum”).

66. Whatever banners were used for the investiture ceremony at the imperial court, they seem not to have been displayed at the duke’s court as specific reminders of that procedure. None of the banners mentioned in the chronicles, such as the banner of Saint Adalbert attached to Saint Václav’s lance in the Canon of Vyšehrad’s account of the battle of Chlumec or the *vexilla rosea* that led the army into battle, was associated with imperial investiture (CVyšehrad, p. 204; Cosmas III: 30, p. 201; Vincent, pp. 428, 446).

67. Cach #531.

68. Cosmas III: 15, p. 176: “Odalricus adit imperatorem in urbe Ratispona et eum per amicos sollicitat precibus et fatigat inmensis promissionibus, quo sibi restituat iniuste preceptum a fratre suo iuniore Borivoy Boemie ducatum. A quo cesar accepta pecunia dat sibi ducatus insignia et vexillum; sed in ducem eligendi obtentum ponit in arbitrio Boemorum.” (Bořivoj was not, of course, Oldřich’s brother but his cousin.)

69. Cosmas III: 8, p. 169: “Item et hoc obtinuit precibus apud cesarem, ut eius fratri Borivoy vexillum daret et eum Boemis omnibus, qui cum eo venerant, assignaret, quo post obitum suum fratrem eius Borivoy sublimarent in solium.”

70. Cosmas III: 15, p. 177: “sibi iniuste sublatum per fratrem iuniorem poscit principalis sedis honorem.”

71. Cosmas III: 15, pp. 176–78.

72. Cosmas III: 27, p. 197: “Nam cum Zuatoplik ducem intronizarent, cuncti Boemi sacramentis confirmaverant, ut post eius obitum Wladizlaus, si superstes esset, proveheretur ad solium.”

73. CVyšehrad, p. 229: “Gratia quoque regis sibi favente id obtinuit, ut filius suus Wladizlaus in regimen ducatus ei succederet. Cui licet puero vexillum praesente patre a rege traditum est, ad quod confirmandum omnes Bohemi proceres super reliquias sanctorum coram rege sacramenta fecerunt.”

74. CVyšehrad, p. 229: “dux ipse partim rogat partimque imperat, quatenus fidem, quam filio suo post mortem eius servare velint, se praesente sub sacramento confirmarent; quod et factum est.”

75. AHO, p. 396: “Wladizlaus, filius Sobezlai ducis, intronizatus est.” The reference to Vladislav’s being “enthroned” is odd, since all other evidence indicates that enthronement occurred exclusively in Prague Castle. The Annals are here either inaccur-

rately reporting the oath-taking at Sadská or describing a subsequent enthronement ceremony. The former is more likely, as it is difficult to imagine that such an unusual ceremony would have been omitted from the Canon of Vyšehrad's otherwise full account.

76. CVyšehrad, p. 233: "Vladislaus cum suis convenit regem Conradum levirum suum, in urbe Bamberk, et ibi accepto vexillo a rege rediit ad sua."

77. Jan Bedřich Novák notes these same references and argues that, as they accepted Christianity, the Czechs came to acknowledge the emperor as the secular head of Christendom: "Idea císařství římského a její vliv na počátku českého politického myšlení [The idea of the Roman empire and its influence on the origins of Czech political thought]," ČČH 30 (1924): 7ff.

78. *Das Homiliar*, p. 32: "deinde pro papa, . . . et pro vita atque incolumitate domini imperatoris vel regis, et pro episcopo nostro, . . . Et pro principo nostro, . . ." Another sermon, labeled "Sermo ad populum" uses similar language (p. 50).

79. Cosmas, Preface: "Est autem hec chronica composita regnante quarto Heinricho Romano imperatore et gubernante sanctam ecclesiam Dei papa Kalisto, sub temporibus ducis Boemorum Wladizlai, simul et presulis Pragensis ecclesie Hermannii. . . ." For a more detailed analysis of the attitudes of Czech chroniclers toward the Empire, cf., M. Bláhová, "Die Beziehung Böhmens zum Reich in der Zeit der Salier und Frühen Staufer im Spiegel der zeitgenössischen böhmischen Geschichtsschreibung," *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 72 (1992): 23–48.

80. CDB nos. 111 (1130): "Anno ab incarnatione domini millesimo CXXX sunt hec acta sub Lothario rege Teutonicorum eiusdem nominis tercio, sub christianissimo duce Sobezlao, filio regis Wratizlai"; 270 (1174): "Actum Olomuc anno dominice incarnationis millesimo CLXXIII, regnante Fredrico Romanorum imperatore et Sobezlao ducatum in Boemia gubernante, ac venerabili domino Dethlebo sedi Olomucensis ecclesie presidente"; 303 (1184): "Factum est hoc concambium anno dominice incarnationis MCLXXXIII, indictione secunda, sub Fridrico imperatore et Friderico duce Boemie, anno pontificatus nostri II"; and 311 (1186): "Acta vero sunt hec anno ab incarnatione dominica MCLXXXVI, indictione IIII, regnante Friderico, Romanorum imperatore augusto."

81. This passage is routinely misinterpreted as a result of flawed assumptions about its date of composition. Questions of dating and authorship were the subject of fierce polemic almost a century ago, but the text has hardly been studied since that time; nevertheless, the conclusion still prevails that the work is the product of a single author writing between the years 1173 and 1178. Bláhová and Fiala provide bibliography and a summary of the debate between A. Bachmann and V. Novotný, concluding: "It came to a final conclusion, which is valid today: The Sázava chronicle in its current form is the work of a single author, who did not begin to write before 1173 and completed it with the year 1162 before 1178 (probably it was written in 1177). The fact that the account of the year 1126 could not have been written before 1140 since the words which the author places in the mouth of Lothar could have had meaning only in the period of Frederick Barbarossa testifies to this conclusion. It expresses the situation of the time in which the Monk of Sázava wrote, not the time about which he wrote." *Pokračovatelé Kosmovi* [Cosmas's Continuator] (Prague, 1974), p. 195, trans. mine; the same view is expressed by E. Pražák, "Kosmas a Sázavský letopis [Cosmas and the

Sázava chronicle],” *Slavia* 55 (1986): 24. The circularity of this argument is obvious, because Lothar’s speech can only be read as referring to Barbarossa if the chronicler is presumed to have been writing in the 1170s.

82. MSázava, p. 254: “causam sui itineris coram omnibus exposuit, Sobezlaum scilicet ducem Boemiam furtivis intrasse vestigiis, et principalem tronum sibi hereditario iure debitum et ab omnibus Boemiae primatibus designatum et sacramento confirmatum occupasse per violentiam.”

83. MSázava, p. 254: “Scimus equidem nos vestrae maiestatis imperiis in omnibus subiacere debere, ideoque nichilominus iustitiae rationem nobis ex vestra dignatione non esse denegandam.”

84. MSázava, p. 254: “Boemiae ducatus, sicut ab antecessoribus nostris didicimus, in potestate Romani imperatoris ab initio constitit, nec fas fuit unquam electionem aut promotionem cuiusquam ducis in terra illa fieri, nisi quam imperialis maiestas suae auctoritatis gratia initiaret, consummaret et confirmaret; unde qui contra hanc constitutionem praesumere nisus est, nostrae maiestatis contemptore esse satis evidens est . . .”

85. MSázava, p. 255: “Haec dicit Sobezlaus: Discretionem tuam, bone imperator, scire convenit, quod electio ducis Boemiae, sicut ab antecessoribus nostris accepimus, nunquam in imperatoris semper autem in Boemiae principum constitit arbitrio, in tua vero potestate electionis sola confirmatio. . . .”

86. See Chapter 5.

87. CVyšehrad, p. 203. Otto of Friesing says merely that Lothar acted *incaute*.

88. Gerlach, p. 481.

89. Cf., each with different photographs, O. Votoček, “Přemyslovská rotunda svatě Kateřiny ve Znojmě [The Přemyslid rotunda of St. Katherine at Znojmo],” *Zprávy památkové péče* 9 (1949): 101–127; J. Mašín, *Romanská nástěnná malba v Čechách a na Moravě* [Romanesque wall painting in Bohemia and Moravia] (Prague, 1954), pp. 17–24; A. Friedl, *Přemyslovci ve Znojmě* [The Přemyslids at Znojmo] (Prague, 1966); A. Merhautová-Livorová, “Ikonomie znojemského přemyslovského cyklu [Iconography of the Znojmo Přemyslid cycle],” *Umění* 31 (1983): 18–26; and Merhautová and Třeštík, *Romanské umění*, esp. pp. 117–19.

90. In coins otherwise nearly identical, Spitihněv (1055–61) is shown with a lance and banner, then with a spear and, likewise, two of three coins of Vratislav’s (1061–92) attributed to the mint at Olomouc have a banner and one a spear. In the first group: Cach #327–29 (attributed to Spitihněv minting at Olomouc); with spear: Cach #330–32; for Vratislav (again apparently at Olomouc) #333–334 with banner, and #335 with spear. Another coin from the same period and mint depicts Vratislav enthroned, while the figure of Václav on the reverse holds a spear (Cach #338).

91. I here disagree with J. Hásková who argues that some of these coins were issued before 1086 (“K ikonografii českých mincí Vratislava II [Concerning the iconography of the Bohemian pennies of Vratislav II],” in *Královský Vyšehrad* [Prague, 1992], p. 65.)

92. For description of the crown in relation to various other head ornaments in eleventh-century Czech coins and illustrations and with other crowns on later coins see, respectively: Hásková and Vitanovský, “Osobnost krále Vratislava I.,” and P. Rado-měřský, “800. Výročí českého království ve světle numismatických památek,” *Časopis Národního musea, společ. věd* 127 (1958): 43–67.

93. Cach #341, 342, 343, 345, 348, 349, 354, with crown and/or scepter; #347 with scepter alone; with full majestic portrait 344. (Cach attributes all but 354 to Vratislav's reign as duke, which seems hardly likely.) The majestic image appears on a coin with the same obverse and reverse issued under the name of Boleslav, that is, Vratislav's son who ruled Olomouc briefly before his death in 1091 (355). The intent is certainly to call to mind Vratislav's power behind his own; Vratislav's name is written around the majestic image, while Boleslav's name appears on the obverse, which contains the image of a warrior with a lance, identified on Vratislav's coin of a similar type as Václav. For close analysis of the artistic qualities in Vratislav's coins, issued as both duke and as king, as well as stunning photographs, see Hásková, "K ikonografii," pp. 59–68.

94. Cach #344.

95. Cach #348, 349, 351. On Cach 353, the same image appears on the obverse. Hásková argues that this represents the lance of St. Maurice, granted Vratislav by Henry IV after its capture from Rudolf of Reinfelden in 1080 ("K ikonografii," p. 65). While this interpretation is possible, there seems little reason necessarily to understand the spear shown here outside the context of established ducal iconographic attributes. See Chapter 5.

96. Cach #354. Hásková remarks on the harmony between the obverse and reverse of this coin, showing the full complement of attributes associated with rulership, both ducal and royal ("K ikonografii," p. 67). See also Hásková and Vitanovský, p. 196.

97. Cach #419 and 420. On one such *denarius* Bořivoj apparently holds an orb. Another depicts two men on the obverse, one enthroned holding a lance with a banner in his right and an orb topped by a cross in his left, facing a standing man bearing a sword; on the reverse, Václav holds a book and, in his right hand, a similar orb (Cach #421). The inscription on the obverse reads, clearly, "Bořivoj *dux*." The meaning and import of the orb in these exceptional images is difficult to explain.

98. Cach #581 and 579, respectively.

99. This lion-killing motif reappears on many twelfth-century pennies, usually on the obverse but sometimes the reverse: Cach #540, 552–54, 582, 592, 594–95, 597 (perhaps), 621, 634, 648, 651, and 662. Originally, it seems to have been based on the same ivory game pieces as the "martyrdom" scene; cf. Merhautová-Livorová, "Antická tradice." A lion also stands alone on a few coins: 618, 628 (two lions), 636, 650, 652, 668; as does an eagle on two others (Cach 632 and 656). Concerning the relationship between the freestanding lions and the later Bohemian heraldic device; see Radoměřský, "800. Výročí," pp. 60–63, and R. Nový, "K počátkům feudální monarchie v Čechách II. (K počátkům českého znaku) [On the origins of feudal monarchy in Bohemia II (On the origins of the Bohemian heraldic device)]," *Časopis Národního muzea řada historická* 147 (1978): 147–72.

100. See Chapter 5.

101. Baptism scenes, if such they are, may be found on Cach #580, 587, 590, 619, 623, 625, and perhaps, on the Václav side, 549 and 566. Churches are pictured in the hands of the duke on Cach 557, 573, and 631.

102. Cach, #600–617. Cf. Radoměřský, "800. Výročí," pp. 52–55.

103. Cach, #600. For photographs, see Merhautová and Třeštík, *Romanské umění*, pp. 136–37.

104. Brno, Moravský Zemský Archiv, E6 Benediktini Rajhrad #23. A similar seal is attached to the two grants made by Vladislav as king to the Hospital in Prague

(Prague, SÚA, ŘM #952 and #953). The only seal extant from Vladislav's reign as duke is spurious, attached to a charter itself falsified in the thirteenth century (Prague, Státní Ústřední Archiv, AZK #492); it is double-sided, and Vladislav's side bears an equestrian image.

105. Frederick's coins are Cach #622–38.

106. With crozier, Cach #647 and 648; with lance/banner, #649 and 650.

107. Cach #661.

108. Čarek, p. 12.

109. See Cach, vol. 3.

110. Cosmas II: 37, 134–35: "In quo conventu idem cesar omnibus sui regni optimatibus, ducibus, marchionibus, satrapis et episcopis assencientibus et collaudantibus ducem Boemorum Wratizlaum tam Boemie quam Polonie prefecit et inponens capiti eius manu sua regalem circumum iussit archiepiscopum Treverensem nomine Egilbertum, et eum in sede sua metropoli Praga in regem ungit et diadema capiti eius imponat." The clear implication here that Vratislav is being made king of Poland as well may be explained in terms of broader political circumstances in the East, a complicated subject which is beyond the scope of this book.

111. Cosmas II: 37: "Interea Egilbertus Treverensis archiepiscopus iussis obtemperans imperatoris, adveniens metropolim Pragam XVII. kal. Iulii inter sacra missarum sollempnia regalibus fascibus indutum unxit in regem Wratizlaum et imposuit diadema super caput tam ipsius quam eius coniugis Zuataua cyclade regia amictu clericis et universis satrapis ter acclamatibus: 'Wratizlao regi quam Boemico tam Polonico, magnifico et pacifico, a Deo coronato, vita, salus et victoria.'" Three days later the archbishop of Trier returned home, burdened with many gifts. Neither coronation, at Mainz or Prague, is noted in any German chronicle of the events of 1086.

112. Scholars have had some difficulty with the fact that the charter (CDB no. 180) is dated 18 January 1157, while Vincent says the coronation took place on 11 January 1158, and again at Milan in September; at issue was when the "real" coronation occurred, what accounted for the discrepancy, and what it meant to coronation itself. Cf. for instance, P. E. Schramm, "Böhmen und das Regnum," in *Adel und Kirche* (Freiburg, 1968), pp. 360–61, and W. Fritze, "Corona regni Bohemiae: Die Entstehung des böhmischen Königtums im 12. Jahrhundert im Wiederspiel von Kaiser, Fürst und Adel," in *Frühzeit zwischen Ostsee und Donau* (*Germania Slavica* III), ed. L. Kuchenbuch and W. Schich (Berlin, 1982), pp. 236–40). Kejř has convincingly resolved these issues ("Korunovace," pp. 645–53).

113. Vincent, p. 442: "Domnus autem imperator imperiali diademate exornatus in medio tentorio suo tribunali residens, ubi hec fiebant divina, quod ei rex Anglie miserat maximum et de opere mirabili, domnum Wl[adislavum], regem Boemie, post tot labores et regales triumphos coram tot tam Alamanniae, quam Italiae principibus, regio donat et exornat diademate."

114. Pavel Spunar, "O Kodexu Vyšehradského z liturgického hlediska [On the Vyšehrad Codex from a liturgical perspective]," *ČCH* 16 (1968): 755–83; and Karel Stejskal, "Vyšehradský Kodex a jeho místo v ottonském umění [The Vyšehrad Codex and its place in Ottonian art]," in *Královský Vyšehrad*, pp. 26–43.

115. Cosmas II: 41, p. 146: "Qui in tantum virili animositate inter se aliquando dissedebant, ut sepe festis diebus rex episcopum non haberet, qui sibi coronam imponeret. Hac necessitate simul et ambitione rex compulsus non ratione, sed sola

dominatione iterum subintronizat capellanum suum nomine Weclonem in territorio Moraviensi episcopum.” Jaromír, also from Henry IV at Mainz in 1086, had won the re-integration of the diocese of Olomouc into his own, making him the sole Czech bishop (Cosmas II: 37, pp. 135–40); Vratislav was here acting in contravention of that act.

116. CDB no. 180.

117. The issue of how the duke's change in status affected his rank and relative position in the Empire is beyond the concern of this study. The usual argument is that it did not elevate him above, for instance, the duke of Bavaria (cf. Wegener, *Böhmen/Mähren*, pp. 156–64).

118. “Korunovace krále Vladislava II.,” *ČČH* 88 (1990): 654. Kejř believes, however, that coronation contributed to the “development of the Czech state” conceived in abstract institutional terms (pp. 654–55). See also Adamová, p. 17.

119. Cosmas reports the coronation in II: 37, although he says nothing about the reasons. There is a remarkable unexplained lacuna in Cosmas chronicle, left deliberately by the author, between 1074 and 1082; as a result we have no Czech account of the Investiture Contest or the duke's activities in the Empire. They are, however, described by German chroniclers: *Lamperti monachi Hersfeldensis*, MGH, SS.r.G. 38, pp. 215, 220, 231–32, 250, 269–73; Bruno, *De bello Saxonico*, MGH SS.r.G. 15, pp. 23–25, 69–70, 90, 94, 96; Otto of Freising, *Gesta Friderici imperatoris*, MGH, SS.r.G. 46, p. 22; *Carmen de bello Saxonico*, MGH SS.r.G. 17, pp. 16–17, 20.

120. The question has long been asked why Vratislav would have witnessed and confirmed a document that nullified his own actions and which he later ignored. Not only are Vratislav and Conrad of Brno listed among the witnesses, the document states quite explicitly: “perfectum est, ut dux Boemie Wratizlaus et frater eius Cunradus supradicto Pragensi episcopo fratri suo, parrochiam iudiciario ordine requisitam ex integro reprofiterentur et redderent.” (Cosmas II: 37, p. 139) The equally puzzling question is why Henry IV, in the midst of rewarding the duke for his allegiance, would issue a charter in direct contravention of Vratislav's wishes and in support of his chief domestic enemy. The answer surely lies in the clear connection between this charter and Vratislav's elevation to kingship.

121. Cosmas reproduces the text of this document in full, including the imperial signum (II: 37, p. 140). On the complicated and ever-conflicting relations between Vratislav and Jaromír, cf., P. Hilsch, “Familiensinn und Politik bei de Přemysliden: Jaromír-Gebhard, Bischof von Prag und Kanzler des Königs,” in *Papsttum, Kirche und Recht im Mittelalter* (Tübingen, 1991), pp. 215–31.

122. I here disagree with Schramm, who is vague about what precisely Vratislav might have desired and why. Based on his reading of the Pegauer Annals, Schramm attributes the idea of subsequent machinations towards and effective credit for Vratislav's coronation to Wiprecht of Groitzsch, margrave of Meissen. Both Wiprecht and Henry IV were motivated, according to Schramm, by concerns about the balance of power in the east (“Böhmen und das Regnum,” in *Adel und Kirche* [Freiburg, 1968], pp. 348–56).

123. CDB nos. 85, 88, 89, 90, 92, and 96.

124. See, e.g., Krejčíková, “Introduction à la sigillographie,” p. 38.

125. Unlike Vratislav's, Vladislav's promotion is noted in many German chronicles of the period, especially those devoted to the deeds of Barbarossa and his exploits in Italy: Rahewin, *Gesta Friderici*, MGH, SS.r.G. 46, p. 183; Gunther der Dichter, *Liguri-*

nus, MGH, SS.r.G. 63, p. 352–53; *Carmen de gestis Friderici I.*, MGH, SS.r.G. 62, p. 59; Burchard of Ursberg, *Chronicon*, MGH, SS.r.G. 16, p. 26.

126. Vincent, p. 424: “In his nuptiis inter imperatorem et domnum Daniele[m], domnum Gervasium, prepositum Wisegradensem, ducis Boemie cancellarium, virum magni consilii, talis oritur machinatio, quod si dux Wlad[izlaus] in persona sua cum militia sua, prout melius potest, ad obsidendum Mediolanum imperatori auxilium prebere promiserit, cum regio diademate decorare et in augmentum honoris sui ei castrum Budisin se reddere promittit. Tantam utilitatem ex hoc sibi fore dux considerans, quod imperator petit, se facturum promittit, et hoc nullis Boemorum scientibus preter supradictos suos viros iuramento confirmat.”

127. Vincent, p. 427: “quod clanculo agebatur, in publicum producit.”

128. Vincent, p. 427: “Quod quidam nobiles de senioribus Boemie audientes, non bene hoc esse factum dicunt, quod sine eorum consilio tale quid actum est, et eum, cuius hoc actum est consilio, vera dignum cruce referent, hec omnia domino Danieli, Pragensi episcopo, quid ex maxima parte huius rei fabricator exstiterat, in ponentes et in eum crudeliter sevientes. Rex hec eos domno episcopo eorum obicere considerans: Nullius, inquit, consilio hoc domno imperatori promisi, sed sic eius honoribus mihi ab eo impensis propria voluntate respondeo.” See Kejř, “Korunovace,” p. 653.

129. See Chapter 6.

130. Gerlach, p. 516: “Et venientes Maguntiam, ibi Philippus consecratur in regem Romanorum, simul et ducem nostrum consecratum creat regem Bo . . .” (the chronicle breaks off in the course of this description of Přemysl Otakar’s coronation in 1198). Cf., also, *Chronica regia Coloniensis*, *Continuatio*, MGH, SS.r.G. 18, p. 164; Arnold, *Chronica slavorum*, MGH, SS.r.G. 14, p. 219; Burchard, *Chronicon*, MGH, SS.r.G. 16, p. 74.

131. CDB II, no. 16, p. 12: “duci Boemie. Etsi commendabilis videaris in eo, quod ad honoris et dignitatis tue profectum et augmentum intendis, reprehensibilis tamen appares ex illo, quod ab eo imponi tibi petisti regium diadema, qui nondum legitime dignitatem regiam est adeptus.”

132. The letter referring to Přemysl Otakar as *rex* is CDB II no. 36 (12 Dec. [1203]), p. 33: “cum domino vestro Boemiam exeuntes, karissimo in Christo filio nostro, illustri regi O.” Several months later Innocent confirmed the privileges granted the Czech ruler by Otto of Brunswick, presumably including his coronation; CDB II no. 39 (15 April 1204), pp. 35–36.

133. For a brief overview of these struggles, see Alfred Haverkamp, *Medieval Germany, 1056–1273*, trans. H. Braun and R. Mortimer (Oxford, 1988), pp. 238–44.

134. CDB II no. 96 (at Basel, 26 September 1212), p. 93: “ipsum regem constituimus et confirmamus et tam sanctam et dignam constitutionem approbamus.” Reference is made here to an earlier lost privilege issued by Philip of Swabia concerning coronation (“per suum privilegium instituit”).

135. Jiří Kejř makes this point but does not pursue it (“Böhmen und das Reich unter Friedrich I.,” in *Friedrich Barbarossa: Handlungsspielräume und Wirkungsweisen des staufischen Kaisers* [Sigmaringen, 1992], p. 256). A similar argument, to the effect that Vladislav requested coronation from the emperor to weigh against the magnates, is offered by Fritze (pp. 244–62). I disagree, however, with his view that Vladislav was attempting to gain leverage against the magnates by turning his domain from a *provincia* into a *regnum* (p. 250), since there is ample evidence that the Czechs long referred to their land as a *regnum*, in the sense of “realm.” Fritze’s conclusion that Vladislav

and Bishop Daniel tried to create a “transpersonal-institutionellen Königtum” (p. 254) and that they “ein von der Person gelöstes und an das Amt gebundenes böhmisches Königtum gefordert haben” (p. 255), likewise, ignores that fact that the duke’s power had long been vested in his throne and “transpersonal.”

136. CDB no. 180, p. 177: “circulum videlicet gestandum concessimus et per eum omnibus successoribus suis in perpetuum.”

137. Gerlach, p. 464: “1173. His diebus rex W[ladizlaus] senex iam et infirmus, videns se non sufficere laboribus expeditionem et curis publicae rei, invenit consilium interim, ut videbatur bonum, quod sibi maioris postea laboris seminarium fuit. Nam filium suum Fridericum solmpniter intronizatum prefecit dominio totius Boemie, solum Budim et alia nonnulla reservans sibi ad usum vitae.”

138. Scholars have usually approached the matter in terms of Barbarossa’s intentions (e.g., Fritze, p. 257, and Keř, “Böhmen und das Reich,” p. 262).

139. Gerlach, pp. 464–66. Cf. Z. Fiala, “Die Urkunde Kaiser Friedrichs I. für den böhmischen Fürsten Wladislaw II. vom 18.I.1158 und das ‘Privilegium minus’ für Österreich,” *Mitteilungen des Österreichischen Instituts für Geschichtsforschung* 78 (1970): 187–90.

140. CDB II no. 96, p. 93: “volentes, ut quicumque ab ipsis in regem electus fuerit, ad nos vel successores nostros accedat regalia debito modo recepturus.”

141. CDB II no. 127, pp. 117–18: “dilecti fideles nostri Henricus, marchio Moraviae, et universitas magnatum et nobilium Boemie, quod communi voluntate et assensu dilecti nostri Odacrii, illustris regis Boemie, elegerunt in regem eorum Vencezlaum, filium ipsius regis Boemie primogenitum. Propter quod maiestati nostre attentius supplicarunt, ut electionem ipsius Vencezlai ratam haberemus et firmam, et eidem nostrum benignum impertiremur assensum.”

142. CDB II no. 309 (1228), p. 307: “Odacharus et Wenezlaus, Boemorum reges incliti, . . . Confitemur et publice protestamur, quod tam nos quam omnes successores nostri consecrationem regalem et diadematis impositionem de sacrosancte Maguntine sedis archiepiscopo, terre nostre metropolitano, in perpetuum tenemur recipere.”

143. CDB III, fasc. 1., ed. G. Friedrich and Z. Kristen (Prague, 1942), no. 11 (1231).

144. Noted by Schramm, “Böhmen und das Regnum,” p. 364.

145. Correspondingly, several coins issued by Přemysl Otakar I depict the king and queen together (Cach #660, #667, and #668). An exceptional coin issued by Vladislav II after 1158 bears only inscriptions on its obverse and reverse faces, respectively: “REX VVLADIZLAVS.” and “IUDITA REGINA.” (Cach #601).

146. CDB no. 91 (ca. 1085–89): “Hic Wratisslaus postposito nomine ducis, rex appellatus, . . .”

147. Cach #605 and 613.

148. These were the circumstances that befell Frederick in 1173, and those Soběslav II sought to avoid five years later by refusing even Barbarossa’s routine summons to court.

149. CDB no. 138; MGH, DD 9, Konrad III. #106: “cum tamen crebris interpellacionibus Olomucensis ecclesia tam apud regni tribunalia quam apud catholicorum concilia querimoniam ventilasset, verum cum utrobique causa perspicue cognita lisque decisa et possessio ecclesie Olomucensis adiudicata esset, . . .” Friedrich estimates the month in 1144 as April, while Hausmann, the MGH editor, gives May.

150. Gerlach, p. 480; see Chapter 4.

151. Gerlach, p. 480. Perhaps not coincidentally, neither the original charter with the golden bull nor any copy of the text survives. Concerning this elevation of the bishop to the legal status of “imperial prince,” cf., J. Kejř, “O říšském knížectví pražského biskupa [On the imperial principedom of the Prague bishop],” *ČČH* 89 (1991): 481–92.

152. Gerlach, p. 476; see Chapter 4.

153. Again, the original charter of this imperial grant is lost, though a copy of the text survives.

154. CDB no. 291 (1179). Soběslav’s attempt to alter the customary border is described in Gerlach, p. 470.

155. CDB no. 210: “Ut enim commissorum tam nos ipsi quam fratres nostri ceterique huius vastationis auxiliarii plenariam obtineamus remissionem, pro dampni restitutione iam memorate sancte Misinensi ecclesie in honore sancti Johannis evangeliste santique Donati martyris construite villam Prezez dictam in pago Budessin dicto sitam in proprium tradidimus cum omnibus suis appenditiis . . .”

156. CDB no. 223 (25 Feb. 1165); also, MGH, DD 10, Frederick I, pt. 2, #473.

157. CDB nos. 204 (1159), 227 (1169), and 356 (ca. 1195–97).

158. Cf., in particular, recent works by Jiří Kejř: “Korunovace krále,” “Böhmen und das Reich,” and “Böhmen zur Zeit Friedrich Barbarossas,” in E. Engel and B. Töpfer, eds., *Kaiser Friedrich Barbarossa: Landesbau—Aspekte seiner Politik—Wirkung* (Weimar, 1994), pp. 101–13. Kejř considers this period to be “the beginning of a quarter century of Bohemia’s dependence upon the emperor” (“Korunovace krále,” p. 657, my trans.). I also disagree with his view that Barbarossa for a time took physical control of a portion of western Bohemia around Sedlec (“Císář Friedrich Barbarossa jako pán západočeské provincie sedlečské [loketské] [Emperor Frederick Barbarossa as lord of the west-Bohemian province of Sedlec (Loket)],” in *Pocta akademiku Václavu Vaněčkovi k 70. narozeninám* [Prague, 1975], pp. 11–27).

159. Gerlach, p. 465.

160. Gerlach, p. 465: “imperator nec prece flectitur nec pretio, instat, ut dimittatur Zobeizlaus.”

161. Gerlach, p. 466.

162. It should be noted that Barbarossa probably knew both parties well: Frederick had led Czech contingents in Italy on imperial campaigns, and Oldřich had spent many years exile in the emperor’s service at court.

163. Gerlach, p. 466: “Dein traditur dominium Boemiae Udalrico in vexillis quinque, sed ipse cessit sponte fratri suo Zobeizlao tanquam seniori, iurantes ambo, mittere imperatori exercitum in Lombardiam.”

164. E.g., Prinz, “Die Stellung Böhmens,” p. 108: “es war dies der erste böhmische Fürst, der ohne Zustimmung des böhmischen Adels vom deutschen König eingesetzt wurde.”

165. Gerlach, pp. 464–65: “Sed Fridericus, licet carus esset imperatori, cuius cognatus erat, probatus etiam in multis expeditionibus Italiae, contigit tamen ei, quod inexperto aurigae contingere solet. Nam utrum Boemorum perfidia, an ipsius inertia, nescimus, hoc solum scimus, quod in brevi aversi sunt ab eo, querentes occasionem, quomodo eum evadere et alium domnum possent habere. Quod diu inter se, sicut solent mussitantes, diu occultatum tandem tali ordine, sicut dicemus, processit in publicum.”

166. Gerlach, p. 465.

167. This is a huge question, and a conundrum still unresolved. See, for instance, Karl Leyser, "A Recent View of the College of Electors," in Timothy Reuter, ed., *Communications and Power in Medieval Europe* (London, 1984), pp. 177–88. When things began to fall apart in the Empire, two centuries of interaction gave the duke of Bohemia enormous leverage, effective on the imperial stage as well as at home.

CONCLUSION

1. Of course, leadership was expected of lords and of kings, and constituted a crucial aspect of the just exercise of their authority. Anointment made kings, but there was still a great deal to be said about how they might be good kings, much of it bearing on the essence of leadership in the Middle Ages. See, for instance, John Watts's insightful exposition of the ideals and expectations of late medieval English kings in *Henry VI and the Politics of Kingship* (Cambridge, 1996).

2. I would thus quarrel with Susan Reynolds's basic assumption that, in the Middle Ages generally, kingdoms were understood as "the highest, most honourable, and most perfect of all secular communities" (*Kingdoms and Communities*, p. 250).

3. Not surprisingly perhaps, these very issues of leadership and of communal responsibility form a key theme of Cosmas's chronicle without, however, coming in for explicit comment. His stance toward the dukes, their authority, the exercise of power per se, and the relationship of the Czech freemen to their lord is expressed subtly and can only be understood by extended analysis of his text in its entirety. I leave that task for another study.

4. Apologia to Book III, pp. 160–61.

5. Cosmas II: 42, p. 78–79: "Ecce dux vester! . . . Quoniam me mea fata non sinunt, ut sim vester dux, hunc assignamus vobis in ducem et collaudamus, quo ei obediatis, ut dignum est duci, et debitam fidelitatem exhibeatis, ut par est suo principi. Te autem, fili, moneo et repetens iterum iterumque monebo, istos colas ut patres, hos diligas ut fratres et in omnibus negociis tibi consiliarios habeas. His urbes et populum ad regendum committas, per hos enim Boemie regnum stat et stetit atque stabit in sempiternum . . ."

6. Cf., a similar set of questions posed by Otto Brunner, e.g.: "And did their unity in each case lie only in their respective princes?" (*Land and Lordship: Structures of Governance in Medieval Austria*, 4th ed., trans. H. Kaminsky and J. Melton [Philadelphia, 1992], p. 141).

7. Cosmas I: 1, p. 5: "Veruntamen interim, priusquam ad exordium narrationis veniamus, situm terre huius Boemice et unde nomen sit sortita breviter exponere temptabimus."

8. Cosmas I: 2, p. 7: "'Et unde,' inquiunt, 'melius vel aptius nomen inveniemus, quam, quia tu, o pater, diceris Boemus, dicatur et terra Boemia?'" The origin for the Latin term, Bohemia, is derived in fact from ancient Roman descriptions of the Celtic inhabitants of the region. ("Boemus" is taken to be Cosmas's attempt to translate *Čech*, a word which means Czech and which is the root for *Čechy*, the Czech name for Bohemia. So it appears in the modern Czech translation of Cosmas's chronicle: *Kosmova kronika česká* [Cosmas's Czech chronicle], trans. K. Hrdina (Prague, 1950), p. 17.

9. Cosmas I: 2, p. 7: “Tunc senior, quem alii quasi dominum comitabantur, inter cetera suos sequaces . . .”

10. The *origines gentium* model proposed by Susan Reynolds, and widely accepted, thus does not apply to the Czech Lands (“Medieval ‘*origines gentium*’ and the Community of the Realm,” *History* 68 [1983]: 375–90).

11. He declines, however, to ascribe dates to any of the events preceding the conversion of Duke Bořivoj, according to Cosmas the first Christian duke of Bohemia, in 894.

12. CDB no. 268 (ca. 1158–73): “Sed ego ex iure huius terre testes produciens ius meum coram rege et omnibus principibus terre obtinui.”

13. To give but a few examples from the chronicles: MSázava, p. 253: “glorioso duce Sobeslao in solium paternae gloriae cum omnium Boemiae principum exultatione sublimato . . . intronizari consentiant”; CVyšehrad, pp. 231–32: “consilia Bohemiae procures . . . enim cuncti primates Bohemi”; Vincent, p. 410: “a senioribus et nobilioribus Boemie plurimis.”

14. CDB no. 246.

15. Gerlach, p. 464.

16. Gerlach, p. 467.

17. CDB no. 290 (ca. 1174–78): “Ad nullam expeditionem pergere debent, nisi sit pugnandum pro patria.”

18. We must avoid turning such language from the sources into legal abstractions, assuming that *terra* itself signified the people or that a elite group of free-men represented “the land.” A legalistic understanding, as well as the failure to treat chronicles as well as charters, mars the analysis offered by J. Prochno: “Terra Bohemiae, regnum Bohemiae, corona Bohemiae,” in *Prager Festgabe für Theodor Mayer*, ed. R. Schreiber (Salzburg, 1953), pp. 91–111, esp. pp. 91–99.

19. *Das Homiliar*, p. 59: “sanctum Wenceslaum et sanctum Adalbertum, quos deus patronos huic parvulae terrae concessit.”

20. MSázava, p. 255: “Spero in dei misericordia et in meritis sanctorum martyrum Christi Wencezlai atque Adalberti, quia non tradetur terra in manus alienigenarum.”

21. CVyšehrad, p. 204.

22. Cosmas III:1, pp. 160–61: “postquam huius terre secundum ritum debitis obsequiis digne sancte Wencezlai sui patroni in urbe Praga celebravit natalicium, et omnibus satrapis atque comitibus magnificum per tres dies exhibuit convivium . . .”; III: 35, p. 206: “Duce Wladizlao et universa plebe Boemorum cum iocunditate et leticia sui patroni Wencezlai celebrantibus natalicia, . . .”

23. CVyšehrad, p. 204.

24. For a different take on this issue, cf. Josef Žemlička, “‘Moravané’ v časném středověku [‘Moravians’ in the early Middle Ages],” *ČČH* 90 (1992): 17–32.

25. The adjective *český* may mean either Czech, with an ethnic or linguistic meaning, or Bohemian, in a geographic sense; the same is true of the noun indicating a person, *Čech*. The adjective *moravský* and noun *Moraván* have specific reference to Moravia. The distinction possible in German—*tschechische/böhmische*—or English—Czech/Bohemian—is not possible in the Czech language. Someone from Olomouc may choose to describe himself as either *Čech* or *Moraván* but a native of Plzeň may say only that he is a *Čech*. (Whether Moravians are an ethnic group distinct from Czechs

depends largely upon how the person to whom you are speaking chooses to identify him- or herself.)

26. On the difficulties translating this term, and the modern assumptions often brought to bear on its interpretation, see Reynolds, *Kingdoms and Communities*, pp. 253–56.

27. The phrase appears in reference to a violent encounter between a Czech army on its way to Italy and the residents of Ulm (Gerlach, pp. 469). On one other occasion, he mentions *nostri maiores natu* (p. 481).

28. CDB no. 290 (ca. 1174–78): “quod sicut iidem Theutonici sunt a Boemis natione diversi, sic etiam a Boemis eorumque lege vel consuetudine sint divisi. Concedo itaque eisdem Theutonicis vivere secundum legem et iusticiam Theutonicorum.” A translation of the full document is provided in Chapter 1.

29. Ibid: “Quicunque advena vel hospes de quacunque terra veniens cum Theutonicis voluerit manere in civitate, legem et consuetudinem Theutunicorum habeat.”

30. Cosmas II: 2, p. 84: “dat eis partem silve, que vocatur Crinin, non modicam constituens eis unum ex ipsis prefectum et iudicem et decernit, ut sub lege, quam in Polonia habuerant, tam ipsi quam eorum posterii in sempiternum vivant, atque nomine ab urbe derivato usque hodie nuncupantur Gedcane.”

31. CDB no. 290: “in gratiam meam et defensionem suscipio Theutonicos.” In his report of crusaders “passing through this our land” in 1096 and their attack on the Jews of Prague, Cosmas emphasizes not only the bishop’s helplessness but the duke’s absence, on campaign with his army in Poland “beyond the Neisse river” (Cosmas III: 4, p. 164). The protection of the Jews, he implies, lay with the duke.

32. Stanisław Russocki posits such communal coherence, especially as represented by Saint Václav, but considers it ripped apart by conflict over the throne; my contention, obviously, is the opposite: “*Maiestas et communitas*: Notes sur la rôle politique de la monarchie et de la noblesse en Bohême du XII–XIII^e siècles,” *Medievalia Bohemica* 3 (1970): 27–48.

33. MSázava, p. 255.

34. Vincent, p. 455.

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